

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01103022 8

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN THE REALM OF
S C O T L A N D.



MR. JOHN KNOX

Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.

*Engraved from an Original painting in the possession
of Joseph Williamson Esq: Advocate.*

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
WITHIN THE REALM OF
S C O T L A N D.

CONTAINING

The MANNER, and by what PERSONS, the Light of CHRIST's Gospel has been manifested unto this REALM, after that horrible and universal Defection from the Truth which has come by the Means of that Roman Antichrist.

TOGETHER WITH

The LIFE of the AUTHOR, and several curious Pieces wrote by him, *viz.*

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>I. His APPELLATION from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergy of SCOTLAND; with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonalty of the same Realm.</p> <p>II. His faithful ADMONITION to the true Professors of the Gospel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of ENGLAND.</p> | | <p>III. His LETTER to Queen MARY, Regent of SCOTLAND.</p> <p>IV. His EXHORTATION to ENGLAND, for the speedy embracing of CHRIST's Gospel.</p> <p>V. The First BLAST of THE TRUMPET against the monstrous Regiment of Women.</p> <p>VI. A SERMON, on Isaiah xxvi. 13. &c.</p> |
|--|--|--|

By Mr. JOHN KNOX, Minister of the Gospel at EDINBURGH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

- I. An ADMONITION to ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, to call them to Repentance, written by ANTONI GILBY.
- II. The First and Second BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE; together with some Acts of the General Assemblies, clearing and confirming the same; and an Act of Parliament.
- III. The FORM OF PROCESS in the Judicatories of the Church of Scotland, with relation to Scandals and Censures.
- IV. A large Alphabetical INDEX to this History, and the other Pieces.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY H. INGLIS, AND SOLD AT HIS PRINTING-OFFICE, WESTPORT.

M.D.C.C.XC.



BR
311
H
1730

T H E

L I F E

O F

M R. J O H N K N O X.

THE country of Scotland, though in many other respects inferior to several other countries, yet hath in all times been happy in producing to the world some of the most eminent persons in all professions : The sixteenth century in a special manner is remarkable upon this account, for in that period we shall find as considerable a number of remarkable Scotsmen as any age ever brought forth : I am persuaded, that none of Mr. Knox's greatest adversaries can deny, that upon many accounts he deserves to have his memory transmitted to posterity : The great revolution in matters of religion, in which he was so remarkably instrumental, makes it absolutely necessary to mention him frequently, when that matter is treated of ; and it will be evident from the sequel of this discourse, that all the considerable persons, who were convinced of the necessity of a separation from the church of Rome, at the time it was made, had the highest esteem of Mr. Knox, and that no Protestant of any name wrote of him but in terms of the greatest respect, during the currency of the sixteenth century : It is very true, that he has not been spared by some virulent Popish writers in that time ; but these are of such a sort, that they have very little authority among the men of note of their own profession ; and I think that some late professed Protestant writers add very little credit to their writings, by copying after them. I intend in this narrative to give a fair and undisguised account of the actions of Mr. Knox, and, without interposing my opinion, leave the reader to form his own judgment of him, which, I hope, will be much more agreeable to all impartial persons, than the method of some, who fill all accounts of this kind, either with encomiums of, or invectives against the persons they write of ; for praiseworthy actions will always be valued by virtuous persons, whereas, vicious and enormous deeds, however artfully disguised, will always appear at last in their native colours.

Mr. JOHN KNOX, as all writers of his Life allow, was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in Lothian, in the year of Christ 1505. His father was a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie, which is an ancient family of gentlemen in the West. When he left the grammar-school in the country, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, to study under Mr. John Mair (a man in those days very famous for his learning), by whose instructions, he became such a proficient, that he was thought worthy of degrees even when he was yet but very young in years ; yea, in the disputa-

tive part of philosophy, and in school-divinity (wherein, at that time, almost all learning was placed), he far surpassed his master; and so was advanced to church-orders before the time usually allowed by the canons. Thereafter, laying aside all idle, foolish, and sophistical school-disputes, he betook himself to the reading of the Ancients, especially of Augustine, with whose plainness and solidity of writing he was exceedingly solaced. At last, by the preaching of Thomas Guillian (a black-friar of sound judgment and wholesome doctrine), having gotten a lively impression of the truth, he henceforward spent his whole endeavours in the earnest study of the holy Scriptures; and, by the illumination thereof, attained to so great a measure of spiritual knowledge, that he was honoured to be one of the prime public actors in that worthy work of our primitive reformation. And because some singular fruit, more than ordinary, is expected from him who has some singular endowments more than ordinary, therefore, to shew to the world how far his thoughts were busied upon the good of posterity, and how little he did leave to himself, he brought out of the intrails of actions many choice and worthy secrets, as the laudable travels of his pious and judicious mind; the truth whereof is evidently apparent throughout the whole progress of this Church-history, which may justly be published and sent abroad under his name; because the most part thereof hath either been penned with his own hand, or spoken and uttered by the word of his mouth, or gathered and collected out of his papers and manuscripts. His historical relations are without partiality. He hated no man's person, no not the enemy, but his sin; and therefore, I hope, his impartial expressions shall be unseasonable to no good man, be he never so great. Weary not then in reading, but adventure your patience, as he hath done his pains; and I doubt not but, in each particular, you shall get such a full and satisfactory information of the truth, that you shall not afterwards need to strike fire, and light your candle at another man's torch. But to return to his Life.

Before the Lord employed him as an instrument of his glory in his own native country, he travelled and suffered much among foreigners and strangers. And first, being constrained by the violence of persecution at home to fly to England, he preached certain years in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, with a great deal of content and benefit to those who had the happiness to hear him. At that time, when a bishoprick was offered to him by king Edward VI. with whom he was then in no small reputation, he refused the same, and declared in a grave and bold manner, 'That the proud title of Lordship, and that great state (having *quid commune cum Antichristo*, somewhat common with Antichrist), was not lawful to be in the church of God.' Moreover, in a letter written with his own hand, the 14th of April 1553, I find, That he was called before the council of England, who demanded of him these three questions: First, Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London? Secondly, Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministrations, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England? Thirdly, If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent? To the first he answered, That his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other place than in London; and therefore had no pleasure to accept any office in the same: However, he might have answered otherwise, that he refused that parsonage, because of Northumberland's contrary command. To the second, That many

things at that time were worthy of reformation in the ministry of England, without the reformation whereof no minister did, or could discharge his conscience before God; for no ministers in England had any authority to separate the lepers from the whole, which was a chief point of his office; and he did refuse no office which might in any, yea, the least degree, promote God's glory in the preaching of Christ's gospel. To the third, That Christ's action was most perfect, that it was most sure to follow his example, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention. With regard to this last question, there was great contention betwixt the lords of the English council and him. There were then present the bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the lord treasurer, the earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury, the chamberlain, and both the secretaries. After long reasoning, it was said to him, that he was not called out of any evil meaning or intention, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, That he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and desired to advise with himself, if he would communicate according to that order; but he ever abhorred it, as a profanation of Christ's true religion, and censured the English divines who justified and retained it.

King Edward VI. being dead, and bloody queen Mary being advanced to the crown, John Knox retired to Geneva; and within a short space thereafter departed to Francfort, upon the receipt of a letter sent from the English congregation there, the 24th of September 1554, declaring that they had chosen him to be their pastor. Having preached the gospel for a certain season at Francfort, he wrote from thence his Admonition to England. But because he opposed the English liturgy there, (averring, that it was a superstitious model borrowed from Popery), and refused to celebrate the communion conform to the prescript thereof, Mr. Isaac, and one Parrey (two false brethren, set on edge with malice by the instigation of D. Coxe, D. Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewel of Oxford, and others), not only caused discharge him from preaching, but also assayed, by a most cruel, barbarous, and inhuman practice, to dispatch him out of the way, accusing him before the magistrates (as he himself recordeth, in a brief discourse of his proceedings at Francfort, set down with his own hand), *Læsæ Majestatis Imperatoris*, of high treason against the emperor, his son Philip, and the queen of England: And for probation thereof, they extracted out of his foresaid Admonition to England, these articles against him; 1. ' If Mary and her counsellors had been dead before these days, then should not her iniquity and cruelty to manifestly have appeared to the world. 2. Jezebel never erected half so many gibbets in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done in London alone. 3. Would any of you have confessed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as she has made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father? 4. The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity. 5. She declareth herself an open traitereis to the realm of England, contrary to the just laws of the same, to bring in a stranger, and to make a proud stranger king, to the destruction of the nobility, and subversion of the realm. 6. If God, for our scourge, suffered her and her cruel council to come to authority? 7. Under an English name she hath a Spaniard's heart. 8. Much trouble in Eng-

land for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority, I mean, of her that now reigneth in God's wrath. 9. Marriage ought not to be contracted with those who maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less an enemy to Christ than ever Nero was.' By these preceding articles, John Knox's fraternal enemies proclaimed to the world how virulent the Service-book made them. They alledged treason against him, who knew nothing thereof. Innocency is no shelter against malignant adversaries. Malice never regards how unjust an accusation is, but how despitiful. John Knox could not be justly blamed, but his opposites were self-willed. Their self-will being crossed, did boil in choler to the extraction of a destructive design. *Rumpantur et illa Cedri*: They could take no rest till they were delivered of their malicious birth. But blessed be God, who, by his singular love, providence towards his faithful servant, prevented the evil intended by such a prodigious production; for the magistrates of Francfort, disliking the former bloody attempt, and unnatural project of the false brethren, above specified, sent for Mr. Williams and Mr. Whittinghame, desiring them to advise John Knox to depart, otherwise they would be constrained to deliver him, if the emperor's council (which was then at Augsburgh) should upon like information send for him. John Knox being advertised thereof, after he had made a comfortable sermon at his lodging to fifty persons, or thereabout, of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for God's elect, departed towards Geneva the 26th of May 1555; and was convoyed three or four miles on his way, by some of those to whom he had made the foresaid exhortation, who with great heaviness of heart, and plenty of tears, committed him to the Lord.

During his abode at Geneva, he wrote an Admonition or Warning to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; a Letter to queen Mary, regent of Scotland; an Appeal to the Nobility of Scotland; an Admonition to the Commons of Scotland; an Exhortation to the Realm of England, for their speedy embracing of Christ's gospel; and the First Blast of the Trumpet, &c. In this last tractate, he gave a sufficient proof of his erudition and learning. The reign of queen Mary in England, and the government of Mary of Lorraine in Scotland, provoked him to set forth that treatise. In the preface, he protests he did not conceal his name for fear of corporal punishment; and promiseth at the Third Blast to set down his name, and to take the blame upon him, that others might be purged. His purpose was to have blown the trumpet thrice, which he would have performed, if queen Mary had not ended her days sooner. And because he understood that some had promised a confutation of his First Blast, he delayed his Second till such time as their reasons appeared, by which he might be either reformed in his opinion, or else might have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter his judgment. Yet for discharge of his conscience, and avoiding of suspicion which might have been occasioned by reason of his silence, he did notify to the world (as may be gathered in the postscript extant at the end of Antoni Gilby's Admonition to England and Scotland), these subsequent propositions, which he purposed to prove and amplify in his Second Blast promised; 1. 'It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people, professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity; but, in his election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges must be observed. 2. No manifest idola-

' ter, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to
 ' any public government, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that
 ' hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and his blessed gospel. 3. Neither can
 ' oath nor promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God,
 ' and against his known truth. 4. But if rashly they have promoted any manifest
 ' wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one, as after declareth him-
 ' self unworthy of government above the people of God (and such are all idolaters
 ' and cruel persecutors), most justly may the same men depose and punish him, whom
 ' they, unadvisedly, before did nominate, appoint, and elect.' Within a short space
 thereafter (being solicited by some Scots noblemen, and others, to return homeward,
 and to join with them in the public work of reformation) he came to Diep; from
 whence he wrote to Mrs. Anna Lock, a clear declaration of his judgment concerning
 the great Service-book of England, as follows: ' Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and
 ' Satan his adversary, are now at plain defiance; their banners are displayed, and
 ' the trumpets blow on either side for assembling of their armies. Our master calleth
 ' upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon; yea,
 ' he severely threateneth death and damnation to such as either in their forehead or
 ' hand bear the mark of the beast. And a portion of his mark are all these dregs of
 ' Popery, which are left in your great book of England (*viz.* crossing in baptism,
 ' kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the Litany, *A fulgure et tem-*
 ' *pestate, A subitanea & improvise morte*), any one jot of which diabolical inventions
 ' I will never counsel any man to use. The whole order of your book appeareth
 ' rather to be devised for upholding of massing priests, than for any good instruction
 ' which the simple people can receive therefrom. Your sacraments were ministered
 ' for the most part without the soul, and by these who to Christ Jesus are no true
 ' ministers; and God grant that so yet they be not. Without the soul, I say, they
 ' were ministered, because they were ministered without the word truly and openly
 ' preached; and your ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's
 ' ministers, but mass-monging priests.' And therefore, towards the end of the for-
 mer letter, he very pathetically dissuadeth the gentlewoman, to whom he wrote,
 from countenancing of such superstitious priests in their corrupt, lifeless, liturgical,
 services; affirming, with great fervency, ' That all things should be judged abomi-
 ' nable, yea, execrable and accursed, which God, by his word, hath not sanctified
 ' in his religion.'

The second of May 1559, John Knox, being then fifty-four years of age, came
 home again to his own country, where (after the church had attained to some degree
 of reformation) he was settled minister at Edinburgh; in which place he continued
 in the exercise of preaching till his death, but not without manifold interruptions, by
 reason of the intestine disorders and domestic broils that fell out in these times. In
 his sermons he was powerful and persuasive, and so assisted with the irresistible power
 of God's all-sufficient grace, that when he spake but *Ephphatha* (desiring the Lord's
 people to lift up their everlasting doors, that the King of Glory might enter in), pre-
 sently there was such a piercing and opening in the hearts of his hearers, that they
 were forced to cry out, ' Doubtless God is here, God is with the preacher.' By
 this means the work of the Lord was wonderfully advanced, and mightily promoted

over the bellies of all opposite powers. There were few of his sermons printed, although he was both learned and eloquent, he not being willing to busy himself much with the press, nor to apply his mind to compose tractates for posterity; for he was wont to say, 'That God had called him rather to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, rebuke sinners, and confirm the weak, living in his time, than to make books for ages to come;' yet we have some of his sermons, especially that which he preached the 19th of August 1565, and for which he was prohibited to preach for a season, which you will find at the end of this History, to testify to all men what ground there was to deal so with him. Besides the former sermon, and several other good pieces, of which I have already spoken, he wrote also a learned treatise against the blasphemous Anabaptists, two treatises against the Mass, one of the Eucharist, some sermons upon Genesis, some also upon the Psalms, an Exhortation to all Afflicted Churches, an Advice in Time of Trouble, &c. These refreshing streams of his Christian labours are like most precious ointment, the fragrant savour whereof does exceedingly rejoice the hearts of Christ's faithful members. Valiant Zisca had never greater affection towards the Bohemians (when he desired that a drum might be made of his skin after his death, when his body could no more do them service in their wars), than this worthy light of the gospel has had towards the people of God in Scotland: for not only was he affectionate towards them in his life, but even yet (now after his dissolution) the spikenard of his Christian love, bottled up in his pious works, above mentioned, is so fresh and fragrant that whosoever findeth the smell thereof, must be forced to acknowledge, that his affection is outliving, permanent, and durable.

As his godly sermons were lively and operative, so his prophetic predictions were true and effectual; an instance whereof, in one remarkable particular, I thought proper to subjoin in this place, as follows: Upon the 24th of January 1570 (which was the next day after the murder of the good regent the earl of Murray), John Knox being in the public preaching-place at Edinburgh, a certain paper, among the names of these who desired the prayers of the church, was cunningly conveyed to his hand, wherein were written these words, 'Take up the man whom you accounted another God.' He having privately read the same without expressing any sign of displeasure, and having after sermon made a great mone for the loss which the church and state of Scotland had by the death of that virtuous nobleman, shewing, that as God in his mercy giveth good and wise rulers, so he taketh them away from a people in his wrath: at last he thus vented and uttered his mind; 'There is one in this company, who maketh that horrible murder (whereat all good men have occasion to be sorry), the prime motive and subject of his mirth. I tell him that he shall die in a strange land, where he shall not have a friend near him to hold up his head.' Mr. Thomas Maitland, the author of the insulting speeches, contained in the paper above specified (a youthful gentleman, bearing small affection to the good regent), having heard John Knox's threatening, confessed the truth of what he had done to his sister the lady Trabrown: but John Knox, said he, was raving to speak of he knew not whom. His sister replied, with tears in her eyes, that none of John Knox's threatenings fell to the ground without effect. And so it came to pass in the prediction foresaid; for shortly thereafter, the young gentleman, having gone be-

yond seas to travel, died in Italy, while he was going to Rome, having no man to assist him, much less to lament him.

I will not here speak of the indefatigable travels, and great hostility, which John Knox endured, in helping to set forward the work of reformation in Scotland, because they are all set down at large in the body of this History: but will only clear him, and his fellows, from some aspersions, which have been cast upon them and their proceedings by the adversaries of the truth, and then will make haste to speak of his death.

The enemies of reformation, perceiving there was no hope to get their designs prosecuted, so long as John Knox and his associates had any credit among the people, blazed abroad (like so many infernal furies inflamed with an hellish rage) divers devilish reports and malicious forgeries against them; alledging, That in their enterprize of the work of reformation, they attempted and did many things without any good ground or warrant, yea, contrary to all lawful authority. I might answer for an excuse, That the radiant light of the gospel so dazzled their eyes, coming out of darkness, that they considered not well what they did, so that they might enjoy so great a benefit; and therefore hazarded lands, lives, goods, and children. Yet I need not excuse them, when they may be defended by good reason in the judgment of the learned: for John Knox (in his letter written from Diep, the year 1557, to the Scots nobility, who had taken upon them the public reformation) signifieth, That he had the judgment of the most godly and learned in Europe (meaning, no doubt, Mr. Calvin, and other learned ministers at Geneva), to warrant both his and their consciences for the enterprize of reformation.

The position maintained by them, which is the ground of their enterprize, was this, 'That if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, the inferior magistrates and people, being directed and instructed in the truth before by their preachers, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves. And if all, or the far greatest part be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation.' This ground was amplified and confirmed at large afterwards, by the author of that treatise called, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, which is ascribed to Gentiletus; and by him who wrote that other treatise, *De Jure Magistratum in Subditos*, which some ascribe to Beza. And Pareus, of late, in his Commentary upon the Romans, has maintained the like. I acknowledge indeed, that there were some outrages committed in the manner of dissolution and destruction of abbacies, priories, and nunneries; and many manuscripts, guilty of no other superstition than red letters in the front, were torn in pieces, or committed to the fire: but in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things can be done by square and compass. And although they demolished the mansions of friars, monks, and nuns, yet they demolished no parish-churches, their main intention being only to eradicate all monuments of idolatry, to reform religion, to erect the face of a visible church in the bounds committed to their charge, and to assist others in the work of reformation by a mutual aid and concurrence.

And where it is objected, That such gorgeous fabrics might have been reserved and converted to many good and lawful uses; I answer, That in free and reformed cities or countries, such as are among the Germans, where the state (governed and directed

by laws rather than by rulers) remaineth always alike and unchangeable, who doubteth but such houses, standing there still, might be transferred to some good and lawful uses, without any fear or danger? But in such a realm and kingdom as Scotland, where laws and parliaments are not always one, but are arbitrary and subject to the disposition of the prince, it being uncertain what princes may come, the surest work is to imitate the example of skilful and judicious surgeons, who, in cutting of a gangrene leg, always cut it off above the joint, even where the flesh is heal and sound. Hence was it, that, for prevention of further infection, our first reformers did well to overturn the very foundations of abbacies, priories, and nunneries, that being the best means to banish superstition and idolatry out of the realm for ever. And truly it is a point of no small wisdom, not only to consider what may be done presently in a commonweath, but what may also follow. Giraldus maketh mention, how the king of Meath asked the advice of one Turghefy, how some noisome birds, that were lately come in to Ireland, might be driven away: He answered, Let their nests be destroyed. It had been good for God's church that there had not been so much left as the title of abbots, priors, bishops, deans, archdeacons, or such like Antichristian offices and callings; for they remain still as lures to allure these hawks to come again, to rebuild their old nests.

The malignant party above specified, finding themselves unable, by their despiteful calumnies, to alienate or estrange the hearts of the people from John Knox, they laboured not only secretly to work his destruction, but also, having fortified the town and castle of Edinburgh with their godless garrisons, did publicly vent their malice against him by many furious threatenings. Whereupon, being moved by the urgent importunity and pressing desires of the godly to depart from the town, for his greater safety and security, he went to St. Andrews, in the month of May 1571, where he remained till about the end of August 1572; and then (the civil troubles being pacified) he returned to Edinburgh, upon the receipt of a letter sent to him from his flock, earnestly requiring his presence: but because his body was infirm, and his voice so weak that people could not hear him in the ordinary place of preaching, he made choice of another more commodious place within the town, where he exercised his pastoral gift so long as the Lord enabled him. At length, foreseeing that he was not to remain long in his earthly tabernacle with them, he was instant with the town-council, to provide themselves of a worthy man to succeed in his place.

And so, Mr. James Lawson, who at that time professed philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, being commended for a good preacher, commissioners were directed from the body of the church of Edinburgh, and from John Knox in particular, who desired him by a letter to accept of the charge; to which letter he added this postscript, *Accolera, mi frater, aliqui sero venies*; that is, 'Make haste, brother, otherwise you will come too late.' Meaning, that if he retarded his coming, he would find him dead and gone ere he came. Mr. James Lawson, being much moved with these last words, took journey the morrow thereafter, and made haste towards Edinburgh, where, after two several preachings to the good liking of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admission.

John Knox preached at that diet, though he could scarce walk on foot to the pulpit, with such fervency of spirit, that at no time before was he heard to speak

with greater power, and more content to the hearers. In the close of his sermon, he called God to witness, that he had walked in a good conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preaching the gospel of Christ.' Then having praised God, who had given them one in his room, and having zealously prayed for the continuance of the Lord's favour amongst them, and for augmentation of grace to the preacher, he pathetically exhorted them to stedfastness in the faith; and so, concluding with a blessing, he gave them his last farewell: for his vital spirits were so far spent, that the same day, in the afternoon, he was forced to take bed. All his sermons were religiously tuned; but his last farewell sermon made the sweetest music in the close.

Upon the 13th of November 1572, he was so enfeebled with a cough, that he left his ordinary reading of the Scripture; for every day he read some chapters of the Old and New Testaments, with some psalms, which he passed through every month once. Upon Friday, the 14th, he arose beside his accustomed diet [for preaching]; and yet, when he was risen, could scarce sit upon a stool. Being demanded what he would do up? he said, 'He would go to the church, and preach,' thinking it had been the Lord's Day; and told, 'That he had been meditating all that night upon the resurrection of Christ;' which he should have taught in order after the death of Christ, which he had finished the Sabbath before. Many times desired he of God, that he might end his days in teaching and meditating upon that doctrine; and so he did indeed. He desired the elders and deacons to be sent for, that he might take his last good-night of them, as he had done before of the people. Upon the Lord's Day, the 16th, he kept his bed, and would take no meat, supposing it had been the first Sabbath of the fast, till the laird of Braid, sitting at his bed-side, called him to remembrance, and caused him to eat a little.

Upon Monday, the 17th, the elders and deacons of the church being come to him, he said, 'The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever: and now, God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel; and that the end which I proposed in all my doctrine, was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those that were humbled under the sense of their sins, and to beat down, with the threatenings of God's judgments, such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant, that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity: but God knoweth, that, in my heart, I never hated the persons of these against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Christ: that I did forbear none, of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in this function of the ministry, and, I know, will bring me to an account.' Then he exhorted them to abide constant in the doctrine which they had heard out of his mouth, and desired them never to join with the wickedness of these in the castle of Edinburgh, although they should triumph in the world; but rather chuse, with David, to fly to the mountains, than to remain in the company of the wicked.

Having closed his exhortation to the elders and deacons, he directed his speech to Mr. David Lindsay minister at Leith, and Mr. James Lawson, as followeth: 'For

‘ you, brethren, I have nothing to say, but to warn you, that you take heed to the
 ‘ flock over which God hath placed you overseers, which he hath redeemed by the
 ‘ blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr. James Lawton, fight a good fight,
 ‘ do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from
 ‘ above bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge, against which church,
 ‘ so long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell shall not pre-
 ‘ vail.’ Thus having commended to God by prayer the whole company who were
 present, they went out from him with tears. A little before he took bed, he com-
 manded his wife, and Richard Bannatyne his servant, that when God should visit
 him with sickness, so that he was unable to read any portion of Scripture himself,
 that then one of them should read to him every day the 17th chapter of St. John’s
 Gospel, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 33d chapter of the Pro-
 phesy of Isaiah; which was done. Few or no hours of the day past wherein some-
 what was not read, as he would appoint; and sometimes some of Mr. Calvin’s ser-
 mons in French. While they were reading a certain sermon of Calvin’s upon the
 Ephesians, they asked (supposing he had been sleeping) if he heard? He answered,
 ‘ I hear, I praise God, and understand far better.’

Mr. David Lindsay reported to divers, that at one time when he came to visit
 him, and asked how he did? he answered, ‘ Well, brother, I thank God, I
 ‘ have desired all this day to have had you, that I may send you to that man in the
 ‘ castle, the laird of Grange, whom, you know, I have loved so dearly, and whose
 ‘ courage and constancy in the cause of God you have sometimes seen, although
 ‘ now most unhappily he hath cast himself away. Go, I pray you, and tell him
 ‘ from me, in the name of God, That unless he leave that evil cause, and forsake
 ‘ that wicked course, wherein he hath entered, neither shall the rock (meaning Edin-
 ‘ burgh castle, which he kept against the king’s lawful authority), in which he con-
 ‘ fideth, defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man, whom he counteth half
 ‘ a god (meaning young Lethington), afford him any help: but he shall be pulled
 ‘ out of that nest, and brought down over the walls with shame, and his carcase
 ‘ shall be hung before the sun; so God hath assured me.’ Mr. David thought the
 message hard, yet went to the castle, where, first, meeting with sir Robert Melvil
 walking on the wall, he told him what was his errand, who, as he thought, was
 much moved with the matter; then he communed with Grange the captain, whom
 he thought also somewhat moved: but after the captain had conferred a little with
 Lethington, he came out again to Mr. David, and so dismissed him with a disdainful
 answer. Mr. David returned to John Knox, and reported how he had discharged
 his commission; but that it was not well accepted by the captain. ‘ Well,’ said John
 Knox, ‘ I have been earnest with my God in that man’s behalf; I am sorry that
 ‘ thus it shall befall his body, yet God assureth me that there is mercy for his soul.’
 Mr. David laid up that speech in his mind till John Knox was at rest with God, and
 found the truth of that which had been foretold, within a short space thereafter.

John Knox’s sickness and infirmity did so much at this time increase, that he
 could not utter any words but with very great pain; yet none came unto him to
 whom he gave not some admonition. When a certain gentlewoman, fearing God,
 began to commend him, desiring him to praise the Lord for the good which he had
 done; he answered, ‘ Tongue, tongue, lady, flesh of itself is too proud, and need-

‘eth no means to puff it up;’ and protested, that he did only claim to the free mercy of God in Christ. He exhorted her to humility, and to cast away her stinking pride; and called to her remembrance these words, which a woman had spoken to her long ago, ‘Lady, lady, the black ox hath never trode upon your foot.’ Among others, to the earl of Morton (who was then immediately to be advanced to the public regency of the realm, the earl of Marr, late regent being now only dead), he was heard to speak these words: ‘My lord, God hath given you many blessings; he hath given you wisdom, honour, high birth, riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm: in his name, I charge you, that you will use these blessings better in time to come than you have done in time past. In all your actions, seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his gospel, the maintenance of his church and ministry; and next, be careful of the king, to procure his good, and the welfare of the realm. If you shall do this, God will be with you; if otherwise, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shame and ignominy.’ And so it came to pass; yea, the earl himself, at the time of his execution, which was in the month of June 1581, calling to mind John Knox’s speeches, said, ‘That he had found them to be true, and him therein a prophet.’

Upon the Lord’s Day, the 23d of November, which was the first Sabbath of the fast, none being present but these of his own household, after he had been a long space, in the time of afternoon’s sermon, very quiet, as they thought, he said, ‘If any man be present, let him come and see the work of God;’ for he thought, as they supposed, then to have instantly expired. His servant having sent for John Johnston writer, he burst forth in these words: ‘I have been in meditation, these two last nights, upon the troubled kirk of God, despised of the world, but precious in his sight; and have called to God for it, and commended it to Christ her head. I have been fighting against Satan, who is ever ready to assault. I have fought against spiritual wickedness, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, where presently I am, and have tasted of the heavenly joys.’ After sermon, divers who came to visit him, perceiving his breath to be shortened, asked if he had any pain; he answered, ‘I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven, and am content, if it please God, to lie here seven years.’ He said often, ‘Live in Christ, and let never flesh fear death.’ Many times when he would be lying, as was thought, asleep, he was at his meditations, and would discover the same by these speeches. ‘Lord grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Lord make an end of troubles. O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome unto you! Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus. Come, Lord Jesus; sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit.’ In the evening he slept some hours together, but with great unquietness.

That night about nine o’clock, Dr. Preston being come to him, and understanding, by Robert Campbell of Kinzeanleugh and John Johnston (two of his diligent and constant attenders), what unsettledness he had in his sleep, asked after he awaked, How he found himself, and what it was that moved him to mourn so heavily in his sleep? To whom he answered, ‘In my life-time I have been often assaulted with Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me to despair;

yet God gave me strength to overcome all his temptations: and now, that subtle serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that all my labours in the ministry, and the fidelity that I have shewed in that service, have merited heaven and immortality; but blessed be God, that brought to my mind these Scriptures,' "What hast thou that thou hast not received; and Not I, but the grace of God in me;" "with which he is gone away ashamed, and shall no more return. And now, I am sure my battle is at an end; and that I shall shortly, without pain of body, or trouble of spirit, change this mortal and miserable life, for that happy and immortal life, which shall never have an end.'

Upon Monday, the 24th of November, he arose about nine or ten o'clock, and yet was not able to stand by himself, put on his hose and his doublet, and sat in a chair the space of half an hour, and then went to bed again. Being asked by Kinzaneleugh, if he had any pain? he answered, 'No great pain, but such as I trust will put an end to this battle. Yea, I do not esteem that a pain, which will be to me an end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys.' In the afternoon, he caused his wife read the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, 'Is not that a comfortable chapter?' Within a little space after, he said, 'I commend my soul, spirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord!' About five o'clock at night, he said to his wife, 'Go read where I cast my first anchor.' And so she read the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, and after that, some of Mr. Calvin's sermons upon the Ephesians. About half an hour before ten, they went to prayer; which being ended, Dr. Preston said unto him, 'Sir, heard you the prayer?' He answered, 'Would to God that you, and all men, had heard it with such an ear and heart as I have done: I praise God for that heavenly sound;' adding, 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit.' At last, when his servant, Richard Bannatyne, heard him give a long sigh and sob, he said unto him, Now, sir, the time you have long called to God for doth instantly approach; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign that you remember upon the comfortable promises which you have often shewed unto us. At these speeches he lifted up one of his hands, and immediately thereafter, without further motion, as one falling asleep, rather than dying, he departed about eleven o'clock at night, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

After the foresaid manner died blessed old Knox (*plenus dierum*), in a full age, having fought that good fight, and overcome all his enemies. He was a mirror of godliness; and a pattern to ministers, for a holy life, soundness in doctrine, and boldness in reproving vice. And although court-parasites, and proud prelates, have been, and are displeased and offended, the one sort with his doctrine touching the power of princes, the other sort with his doctrine concerning the government of the church, yet there was never man born who did more heartily reverence, nor more willingly obey, all the lawful commands of civil authority: neither was there ever any man more observant of the true and just orders of ecclesiastical policy, according to the word of God, and the practice of the purest primitive times. He was a man endowed with so great a measure of the Spirit, that the trouble never came to the church, after his entry in public preaching, but he foresaw the end thereof. Many things in particular did he foretell, which came truly to pass, as you may perceive, partly by the predictions already mentioned, and partly by several

passages of the following History. I add, how he foretold the queen, because she would not come and hear God's word, that she should be compelled to hear it, whether she would or not; and so she was at her arraignment. Also to her husband, sitting on the king's seat in the Great Kirk at Edinburgh, he said, 'Have you, for the pleasure of that dame, cast the Psalm-book in the fire? The Lord shall strike both head and tail.' Mr. Thomas Smeton, in the description of his life, sheweth, that the death of the good regent (whom he calleth, *Ornamentum et lumen hujus nationis, quo nullus unquam extitit, aut religionis observantior, aut amantior æqui*, 'The ornament and light of the Scots nation, than whom there was none a greater observer of religion, nor lover of equity') made a wonderful deep impression in his heart: but the massacre of Paris did almost exanimate him: and he giveth him this commendation, *De quo aut vere aut ingenue dicam, nescio an unquam Deus magis pium aut majus ingenium in fragili et imbecillo corpusculo collocavit. Certe scio haud facile quenquam inveniri posse, in quo plura Spiritus Sancti dona, in solidum Scoticanæ ecclesiæ gaudium illuxerint. Nemo, in subcundis animi et corporis laboribus minus, sibi pepercit; nemo, in concreditam sibi provinciam, intentior fuit: nemo tamen, dum viveret, odiis impiorum hominum magis impetitus est, et maledicorum calumniis laceratus: quamvis illi ea fuit animi magnitudo, ut contra audentior iret.* That is, 'I know not if ever God placed in a frail and weak little body a more godly or great spirit. I am certain that scarcely could any man be found, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the solid comfort of the church of Scotland, did shine. None less spared himself, in undertaking of spiritual and bodily exercises; none more diligent in the charge intrusted unto him: yet no man, while he lived, more assaulted with the hatred of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproaches of evil-speakers: notwithstanding whereof, he had such resolute courage, that he went forward in God's ways with the greater Christian boldness.' But has the malice of the wicked against him been silent since he died? No certainly, nor never will, so long as the devil's goats are permitted to live amongst Christ's sheep. I wish his malignant enemies may take heed what they do: *Tot enim post se famæ suæ vindices reliquit, quot ex fædo errorum barathro detractos, ad Evangelii puritatem, fideliter prædicando, perduxit;* 'For he has left so many maintainers of his good name behind him, as he hath brought from the filthy gulf of errors to the purity of the gospel, by his faithful preaching.' Neither wanteth he the defence of learned Beza, who calleth him, 'The Apostle of the Scots,' and comprehended all his praises in a few words, when, in his Icones, he calleth him, 'GREAT MASTER KNOX.' In a word, he was so zealous for God's glory, so careful for the church's good, and so constantly conscionable in all his practices, that I am fully confident, there is no man, except he have a vertigo in his brain, will be so blockish, as to imagine that such a fixed star can be made subject, by any vile aspersions, to the falling sickness of disgrace.

Upon Wednesday, the 26th of November, John Knox was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, being conveyed by the earl of Morton, and several lords, with people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the earl of Morton, pronounced his eulogium in these words, 'Here lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour.' For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, even when his life was fought, as by the remark-

able sign following, of God's singular care towards him, may evidently appear. It was his custom in his own house, to sit at the head of the table with his back to the window; yet, upon a certain night, he sat at the side of the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window, on purpose to kill him: but the conspirator missed, and the bullet lighted upon the candlestick, and made a hole in the foot of it.

An ACROSTIC on that famous and renowned Light of the Gospel,

J O H N K N O X.

J CHABOD *! O Ichabod!
 O nce was Scotland blest of God;
 H ouse of Christ in it shin'd clear:
 N ow Heav'n's Light doth disappear.
 K NOX our great Apostle's gone:
 N ight o'erclouds our Horizon.
 O! but yet he lives by Story;
 X istus-like †, being crown'd in Glory.

* 1 Sam. iv. 21.

† Xistus was a primitive Martyr.

*To the precious Memory of JOHN KNOX, that worthy primitive Reformer
 in the Church of Scotland.*

HEAV'N'S Joy, Earth's Praise, Truth's Champion, Scotland's Brightness,
 Pope's fatal Foe, prime Patron of Uprightness,
 Choice Pearl of Price, pure Orient Gem,
 Grand Zealot for the God of Shem,
 A burning Lamp most clear.
 Light of the World's round Sphere
 Was much eclips'd,
 When this Day-star
 Was hid by Death.
 His Virtues are
 Transparent; but his Glory
 No Tongue can tell by Story.
 Earth's Fabric is too base a Place
 For thrice blest KNOX, so full of Grace.
 A supreme Orb's most fit for Heaven's great Light:
 Sun's radiant Beams do dazzle Man's weak Sight.

J. L.

P R E F A C E.

THE Scots, by the most judicious writers, and by those who have most diligently studied their antiquities, are acknowledged to be among the first who embraced the faith of Christ; yea, they are said, by some, to be of the very first-fruits of the Gentiles: for, in a few years after the ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the apostles and disciples being constrained to leave Jerusalem and Judea, by reason of the persecutions raised against them by the Jews, according to the dispensation of the all-wise God, went up and down the world; and, speaking to every people in their own language, declared unto them the glad tidings of salvation in Christ Jesus. Those who came into our northern parts, *viz.* into Scotland, and first made known unto our fathers the mysteries of heaven, were of the disciples of John the apostle*.

Some years thereafter, *viz.* in the second persecution raised against the Christians, many Britons, provincials of the empire, professing the name of Christ, left their own country, and went into Scotland, for shelter from the general massacre, then executed throughout the whole empire, by that bloody butcher Domitian; and to enjoy the freedom of the gospel, which they knew to be received then in Scotland †. Among these fugitive Britons there were sundry learned and pious men who staid in Scotland, after the persecution ended, propagating the faith of Christ there, by their preaching. This we have related unto us by the historians of best trust. We have not then from the see of Rome our first institution in the Christian faith; yea, we are so far from it, that, for many years together, we hardly had any communication with Rome at all. Palladius was the first, some years after the beginning of the fifth age, who made our acquaintance with Rome. Although the general current of the Romish writers give out, that the gospel was first planted among us in Scotland, by means of Victor, bishop of Rome; yet Baronius, that renowned chronologer, albeit he would fain have the Scots owe this obligation unto Rome, disclaimeth this opinion of his party, as untrue, and disagreeing with the best antiquity.

Tertullian ‡, who lived in the second age, and wrote books several years before the end thereof, and so was so near the planting of the Christian faith amongst the nations, that in a manner he may be said to have been an eye-witness unto it, in his book against the Jews, speaking how the light of the gospel was spread through the world, saith thus, ‘The gospel was diffused into all the parts of the world, yea, into Britain, and into that part of the island whereunto the Roman forces did never pierce.’ By these last words of Tertullian, are meant the inhabitants of that part of the island which lieth on the north side of the walls, first built by Adrian, then by Antonius Pius, thirdly by Severus; and those were the Scots by name †.

* Buchan. lib. v.

† Ibid. lib. iv.

‡ Lib. contra Judæos.

for the Romans put walls betwixt them and the Scots bow-men, as our poet expresseth it :

Roma sagittiferis præterdit mania Scotis.

And Claudian, many hundred years before this our poet, speaking of the legion which then was called from its garrison on the foresaid walls, saith thus, ‘ The legion came, which was placed before the utmost Britons, and which bridled the fierce Scots *.

Lucius Florus, many years before Claudian, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth age, *viz.* in the beginning of the second age ; and Spartianus, who alledgeth Florus wrote towards the latter end of the third age ; Lucius Florus the poet (is the same with the historian who wrote the short history of the Romans, as Salmasius judgeth) is brought in by Ælius Spartianus, in the history of the Life of Adrian the emperor, saying these words, ‘ I would not be Cæsar, to walk among the Britons, and suffer the Scots morning hoar frosts.’ The word *pruina*, which the author useth, doth signify so much ; for it is *quasi πρωινά Πρωί*, morning. What Florus, in these words here alledged, calleth in his language *Scoticas pruinas*, Claudian calleth *Caledonias pruinas*, speaking of another Roman, in these words, ‘ And he placed his camp in the middle of the Caledonian morning hoar frosts.’ I know that commonly in Spartian, of whom we have these verses of Florus, it is read *Scythicas* for *Scoticas*, but wrong, notwithstanding that the great critics have not corrected it : for how, I pray you, can Adrian be said to suffer *Scythicas pruinas*, who never was in the country which then went under the name of Scythia ? Yea, the Romans had never any war with the Scythes ; for albeit the Scythes heard of the Roman arms, yet they never felt them : besides, what sense had it been in Florus to say unto Adrian, ‘ That he would not be Cæsar, to walk in Britany, and endure the morning hoar frosts of Scythia ?’ For although the Romans heard it said, that Scythia was a cold country, yet they more perfectly knew Scotland to be cold, having been upon the place. Now it was very easy to those who copied books of old, and hardly understood what they wrote, to change one letter for another, namely, when two letters are so like one another, as these two vowels *v*, *e* ; for *v*, not being initial or capital, was written formerly without the draught under it, which hath been written for distinction sake, as we see it commonly now thus *y*. This change of these two vowels hath been found elsewhere than in this place of Florus, by the critics, in the same words ; who seeing the name of the sea upon the coast of Scotland written *Scythicum*, presently mended it, and made it *Scoticum*. Then Erasmus found the same fault in Jerome’s Epistle to Ctesiphon, against Palladius, and his discipulè Cælestius, in these words, ‘ Britany and the Scots nations had not then known Moses and the prophets.’ Erasmus finding *Scythica*, he changed it into *Scotica*.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred years before Florus, that is, about forty years after Christ, in his satire upon the death of Claudius, makes mention of the Scots in the compound word *Scoto-Brigantes*, as followeth ; ‘ He (*i. e.* Claudius) commanded the Britons beyond the known seas, and the blue *Scoto-Brigantes*, to submit their necks to the Roman chains.’ This word hath puzzled many of the critics how to read it, so that a right meaning or sense might be had of

* Euchar. lib. i.

these lines, with the true measure of the verse, some reading it one way, some another way; till at last, the learned Joseph Scaliger corrected it, as you have it here, giving to these words a plain and easy sense, and keeping the law of the verses, against which all others did fail: and to this correction of Scaliger have many learned men submitted; yet some, partly for envy against the nation of whom it is here spoken, partly for vanity, will stand out against the truth, because of the author of this correction, at whose great and most rare learning they are offended, as the former are, at any advantage that the nation whom these words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Cerulei*, or *Blue*, because they used much blue in their garments; and so do the old Scots to this day; witness their plaids, whereof the best sort ordinarily hath the ground blue; as also their blue caps.

Mamertin, in his Panegyric to Maximinian, tells us, That the Britons had war with the Scots and Picts before Julius Cæsar entered into the island. So by these testimonies you may see how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their name known for many years, yea, some hundred years, after the entry of the Romans into the island.

The Romans having settled themselves in the island, they divided the whole into two parts. Their part, or the fourth part, they called *Britannia Major et Superior*: and their provincials went most commonly under the name of *Britones*, although sometimes under the name of *Britanni*, but not so oft; and they were subdivided into several peoples. The other part of the island without the Roman province, that is, the northern part, was called *Britannia Minor et Inferior*: now all the inhabitants of the northern part, who were in continual bickerings and war with the Romans and their provincials, were called *Scoti*, sometimes *Transmarins*, sometimes *Foreigners*; and they did consist of two chief peoples, *viz.* *Brigantes* and *Picti*; which both were subdivided into several lesser peoples, of which we forbear to speak at this time. So the name of *Scoti* was at first appellative, and given to more than to one people; but, in success of time, appropriated to one*.

And this is not singular in this name, for the proper names of divers peoples at first hath been appellative, and thereafter appropriated to one alone: I will instance only in one, for brevity's sake, which is this, The name *Franck*, or *French*, at first was common to all those that stood out together for *franchise* and liberty against the Romans, about the Rhyne, and other parts of Germany; but at length it became peculiar unto one people, as we see it is at this day. Moreover, that the name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more than one people, you may clearly see, by the ordinary expression of ancient writers in the plural number, thus, *Scotorum gentes*, *Scoticæ gentes*; when otherwise all men ordinarily, both by word and writing, have ever used, and to this day use, the singular number, speaking of one people; as *gens*, not *gentes*; *populus*, not *populi*; nation, not nations.

As all the northern people of the main land, or continent, both in Europe and Asia, went anciently under the name of *Scythæ*, witness Strabo, in these words, 'The ancients commonly called the northern people Scythes †;' and in another place he saith, 'The ancients did call by one name of Scythes all the known places towards

* Scaliger, Euseb. Bedæ, Buchan.

† Strabo, lib. xi.

‘the north;’ he means in the continent, or main land; so the northern people of Britany, which is another little world, were of old, and to this day are, called *Scoti*. The two names *Scythia* and *Scotus* signify one and the same thing, *viz.* an archer or bow-man; in Latin, *Arcuarius*; in Greek, Τεξέρης. The ancient writers tell us, That the Scythes were much given to archery, and to hunting; so were anciently, and to this day are, the old Scots bow-men; in Hebrew, *Keshbut*, from *Keshbet*, bow. And so you have the signification of *Scythia* and *Scotus*, which are truly one and the same, with little change, more in Latin than in Greek; for the one is written Σκυθῆς, so at first the other was written Σκοθῆς, which afterwards they turned into Σκοτῆς. This is the true original of the name *Scotus*: it comes neither then from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the foolishly-invented Σκοτῆς, darkness; for if the days be as long in summer as the nights are in winter, why should the country be called *Scotia*, from Σκοτῆς, rather than *Photia*, from φῶς, light? Also, the Britain writers use one and the same word, when they speak of Scyth and Scot, *viz.* γ *Scot*; as likewise the Low German calleth them both *Schutten*: from the Hebrew *Keshbet*, we have the vulgar *Schut* and *Schut*.

Now this etymology of *Scot*, as it is true, so it is easy, by the transposition of a letter; *viz.* by putting *Koph* behind *Schin*, which is ordinary, not only in the derivation of words from one language into another, but also obvious in one and the same language, in common discourse. Let this one example satisfy for all: To be short, Is not one and the same word both written and pronounced, according to the writing *thirty* and *thrity*, in our vulgar tongue? as the names of Scyth and Scot do signify one thing? so the people, in many things, may be said to be like one another? as for example, The Scythes in the continent generally were of two kinds, *viz.* European and Asiatic: so the Scots in Britany were of two sorts in general, *viz.* the *Brigantes* and the *Picti*. Next, the Scythes did not till the ground, but, feeding cattle and sheep, had a custom to remove from one place, or solitude, to another: of old, so did all the Scots; and to this day the ancient or *prisci* Scots do. The Scythes did live much upon milk, and so do our old Scots. The Scythes, not knowing the use of riches, did not desire them; and so it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythes were never vanquished by foreigners; so the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have suffered very much by their enemies at several times. The Scythes were hard for toiling and war; so are our Scots, as is known to all, &c.

We have said, That the indwellers of the north part of the island were named *Scoti*; and that by a general division they were of two kinds, *Brigantes* and *Picti*: now, we must enquire who are *Brigantes*, and who *Picti*, where they both lived, and from whence they came. And to begin at *Picti*, they inhabited the east side of *Britannia Minor*, which is the best; and, for the most part, they were of the ancient native Britons, of whom, sundry of old, before the entry of the Romans into the island, had drawn themselves northward, to have more elbow-room for their course of life, which was to feed cattle, and to hunt, removing from one place to another; whereunto largeness of bounds is required. Then others of the old Britons, flying from the tyranny of the Romans, upon grievance, went from time to time northward, beyond the limits of the empire, to their ancient com-patriots.

Next came in to these North Britons, at divers times, several colonies of northern people, from beyond sea. Hence it is, that some late authors have written, That the inhabitants of the east side of *Britannia Minor* came from Scandy. The North Britons having received these men come from beyond sea into their society, and being joined with them, made up a people, called, by the Romans and South Britons, *Picti*, because they continued the custom of painting their bodies, of old in use among many nations: which custom the South Britons left off, with other rites, having now become provincials of the empire. The whole island was first called *Albion*; of which we shall speak anon, God willing.

Then *Βεττανία*, *Britannia*, which signifieth a woody country; for of old it was *κατὰ δρυμῶν*, *sylvias obfita*, covered with woods, as Strabo terms it: and to this day we see that part of the country opposite to the continent full of woods and inclosures. We find in ancient authors, the peninsula of Italy, next Sicily, whereof Rhegium was the metropolis, called *Βεττία*, and *Βεττανία*, for the same reason, because it was *κατὰ δρυμῶν*. So Strabo names it also. The original of the word is *Barat*, which signifieth several kinds of trees, fir, ash, cedar, &c.

The *Picti* had divers people under them, whereof the chief were *Caledonii*; by whose name sometimes all the Picts were named, although *Caledonii* properly were those of the Picts who dwelt among the lesser hills; of which hills, some are called *Ocelli Montes*, in vulgar language, Ochel Hills. The country of the *Caledonii* did begin at Forth, and went northward beyond Tay; where their chief city was *Caledon*, now Dunkeld, by a transposition. In this country were the woods called, *Saltus Caledonius*, or *Sylvia Caledonia*. The rocky and hilly part of *Ætolia*, in Greece, was called by the same name; and there was there a town of this name, yea, and a forest, so much spoken of by the old poets: true it is, that the second vowel is now and then changed, which makes no difference: for in words the consonants are mainly regarded. Strabo, lib. x. calleth the one and the other country *ὄρηαν, ἢ πετρώσαν*, hilly, and stony or rocky. The name cometh from *Galcatan*, which is as much as *Βεντῶν τετραχύς*, *tumulus asper*, a rough little hill.

On the north of the limits of the empire of this island, all people beside the Picts were called *Brigantes*, which importeth as much as indwellers of mountains or high hills: so you have the *Brigantes* near the lake of Constance, indwelling mountains. On the Alps in Dauphine you have *Brigantium Briançon*, the highest town in Europe. The *Brigantes* of Spain, as those of Ireland, of old did inhabit mountains; and so did our *Brigantes* in this island mainly keep upon the mountains. The name cometh from *Briga*, *Brica*, or *Bria*, as it is differently written: it signifieth a high place, or mountain. Our vulgar hath interpreted it Brae; hence we haply call our *Brigantes* Brae-men, whom we call otherwise Highlanders, or Highlandmen. Strabo tells us, that *Bria*, among the Thracians, doth signify a town or city. And so the word *Bria* must needs come from the Hebrew *Bira*, town or palace, by the transposition of a letter; which is ordinary in the derivation of words, as we have said a little before. Here, for further proof of the transposition of a letter, in a derivative word, take this example only, *Dunbarton* for *Dumbriton*.

Causabon, in his notes upon Strabo, tells us, from Hesychius, That *Bria* signifieth a village or town upon a hill: so *Bria* signifieth not simply a town or village,

but such an one as is built upon a hill. And truly, in the most ancient times, towns or villages were, for the most part, built upon high places; as any man, that hath taken pains to remark, either by histories, or by considering the places he may have seen, knoweth. So then *Brigantes* are men inhabiting the hills, or having their towns, cities, villages, upon the hills. Yea, in old times, when they had not yet fixed their abode certain, they were wont to remove from hill to hill, as we have said formerly; and to this day some of our Highlanders do, within their own extent and limits.

The *Brigantes* in the continent, namely, were so given anciently to take away goods from their enemies, with a strong hand, that, by success of time, all those that openly did rob and plunder, were called *Brigantes*; and the French has from hence derived the verb *brigander*, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kind of armour called *Brigantine*, the use and manner whereof is borrowed from the *Brigantes*: it is like a mail coat. Lastly, there is a kind of ship used at the sea, called *Brigantine*, of the middle size, as being most proper for war at sea. Thus much for the name of *Brigantes*.

The *Brigantes* of this island came hither from Ireland, at several times, and upon several occasions. The *Brigantes* in Ireland, by Ptolomy, are placed well southward: but those that are come after Ptolomy, I mean those of nearer antiquity, have placed them more northerly by many miles, as may easily be seen, by looking upon Ptolomy's maps, and Ortelius's maps of the geography of the ancients. So you see that the *Brigantes*, at their first coming to Ireland from Spain (for thence they came, with many other inhabitants of that island), dwelt in the south parts, but by degrees drew northward, for convenience to their wandering course of life, in keeping cattle and hunting, and for freedom from the trouble of too near neighbours: they went, by success of time, so far north, till at length having come to the part next to Britany, they came hither, and possessed themselves of the little islands and hills next unto Ireland; and finding themselves fitted in this new found land for their purpose, according to their mind, they made their abode there, and drew daily more and more company unto them, till at length they made up a great body of people in Britany, and by little and little came all along the west side of Britany, keeping the hills, till they came to the river *Belisana*, that is, Rhibet, in Lancashire, and from thence went straight eastward, till they came to the mouth of *Abus*, now Humber.

The North Britons were glad to give them way, contenting themselves with the east side of *Britannia Minor* (which indeed was, and is the best), and were glad also to have them for a rampart against their enemies in the south, or in *Majore Britannia*. The *Brigantes* were great enemies to the Romans, with whom they had divers bickerings: but at last they were compelled to go northward, and were hemmed in by the wall built by the Romans, betwixt the *Fluvius Tina*, now Tyne, on the east side, and *Irina*, now Eden in Cumberland, on the west side. Although they left the country on the south of this wall, yet the Romans continued there the names of *Brigantes*: yea, some of the *Brigantes*, allured by the bounty of the soil, did chuse rather to submit to the Roman yoke than change their abode, although it was with thraldom. Then, after various encounters with the Romans, they were yet constrained to yield more ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them

and the Picts northward with a wall, betwixt *Bodotria* or Forth, and *Glotta* or Clyde. At last the Romans, by cunning, raised jealousies betwixt the *Brigantes* and Picts, and so not only withdrew the Picts from the friendship of the *Brigantes*, but made them join with them to overthrow the *Brigantes*; and, taking occasion of the *Brigantes*'s domestic troubles, fight with them; yea, at length, after a bloody well-fought battle, defeat them, and give the best of their lands they possessed to the Picts, for their reward. After this, the *Brigantes* were constrained, for the most part (I mean of the better sort), to retire thence, whereof some went to the next isles; some returned to Ireland, to their ancient *Patria*; and some went to the north countries beyond seas; and so they were for a time distressed, and in exile, till, after divers attempts, they were restored again under the conduct of Fergus II. Here let us remember, that the whole island Britany was first named Albion, from *Albe*, or *Alpe*, which signifieth hill, or high place. This word *Albe*, or *Alpe*, cometh from *Albus*, white; and this from the Hebrew *Laban*, per metathesin, *Alban*, *Albus*, et Αλφ in Greek, because the high hills and mountains, yea in the hot countries, are frequently covered with snow, and so appear white; witness the high hills betwixt France and Italy, which, by reason of their highness above other mountains, are named particularly Alps. The island, when it had the name of *Britannia* given unto it, by little and little left off the old name of Albion, which continued in the north part of the island, on the north side of the limits of the empire; and so the whole country beneath the Humber was called; and Albion, in this second sense, in following times, was called *Britannia Minor*, as we have heard: but as the Romans did gain ground upon the indwellers of Albion, or *Britannia Minor*, beating them northward, they lessened Albion, or *Britannia Minor*, so far, till they brought them to keep north *Bodotria* or Forth, and *Glotta* or Clyde.

Last of all, the Romans having, by their cunning, divided the *Brigantes* and Picts, and having drawn the Picts on their side against the *Brigantes*, Albion was taken for that part of *Britannia Minor*, beyond Clyde and Forth, which did not belong to the Picts; that is, the north-west side of that hilly continent, with the hilly islands adjacent, where to this day dwell our Highlandmen, or Highlanders, who are the remnant of the ancient *Brigantes*. That the ancient name of a whole great country, as this island is, should be kept in one corner, or a little portion thereof, may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell you, That you have the like in our neighbouring country, of old called Gaul, now France; where the ancient name of Gaul, among the vulgar, is only kept in a little country lying about Sens, of old *Sinones*: this little country is called *Pays Gaulois*, and is divided in *Haute et basse Gaule*. So it was judiciously said by the historiographer, 'The name of the isle Albion is derived from *Albe*, and remains in Scotland, as it were in its native soil*.'

Of *Albe*, or *Alpe*, signifying hill, or high place, you have the indwellers thereof sometimes named *Albani*, as in Asia, Dalmatia, Italy, and North *Britannia*, and their country *Albania*; sometimes *Albici*, *Albigois* in Languedock, and their country *Albium*, or *Albi*, in vulgar language; sometimes *Albini*, or *Alpini*, and *Albienses*, as the indwellers of our Albion, who to this day call themselves, as they have done of

* Buchan.

oid, &c.; which name is one and the same with *Brigantes*. Here let us remark, That as the provincials or indwellers of *Britannia Superior*, subject to the Romans, are ordinarily called by the writers *Britones*; so the others, on the north side of the empire, have been called by the writers *Britanni, Peregriini, et Transmarini*, strangers and beyond-sea-men, as if they had been of another island. And truly, if it were not for the strait betwixt the rivers afore-named, which did serve for a border unto them, they were in another island. Hence England is said to be *inter quatuor maria*.

Ptolomeus, Tacitus, and Seneca, tell us, That the *Brigantes* inhabited Albion, which, when they wrote, was that part of the island beyond the Roman empire: therefore the *Brigantes* were then *Albini*, or *Albani*.

Moreover, the *Brigantes* about *Eboracum*, now York, were of the Scots, who came from Ireland, a great and mighty people.

John Fordon, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, writes, That the Scots came so far south as Humber, and possessed lands there. Also the Isle of Man was for a long time under the crown of Scotland, which isle is as far south as the country about York, although it be westward, and in the sea: and these were the *Brigantes* we now have spoken of. The *Brigantes*, at their first coming into Albion, came, as we have said, without any certain or settled way of government; but, being grown to a considerable number or body, they sent unto Ireland for Fergus I. to be their king, whose coming into Albion, with a new colony, is reckoned to be about the time of Alexander the Great; that is, about 300 years before the birth of Christ.

The *Brigantes*, alias *Albini*, for a certain time, by some have been called *Dalreudini* (although this name did not last long), from the king *Reuda*, who brought into Albion the second remarkable colony from Ireland, after Fergus, about 180 years before Christ, that is, about 220 years after Fergus; and *Dale*, which signifieth country and province, as is known to this day. There is a certain place, in the west of Scotland, called to this very day *Riddale*.

We have heard, That the people on the north side of the Roman province, upon the east side, were originally Britons, whence they were called *Britanni Picti*, or sometimes *Britanni Caledonii*, from one of the chief people; sometimes simply *Picti*, or *Caledonii*. Also we have heard, That the people on the north side of the province, westward, were come from Ireland, and called *Brigantes*, or *Albini*; yea, for a time *Dalreudini*. Likewise we have heard, That all the people on the north of the empire, by a general appellation, were called *Scoti*, where they were all spoken of together; but when they were spoken of apart, those of the east were called *Scoto-Britanni*, those of the west were called *Scoto-Brigantes*, as we have heard out of Seneca.

Moreover, by progress of time, the Irish came to go under the name of Scots, with those of *Britannia Minor*, or Albion; who from them had help, supply, and recruits, in their war against the Roman and Briton provincials. This naming the Irish by the name of Scots began some hundred years after Christ; that is, towards the middle ages. And about that time Ireland was called by the name of *Scotia*, as Abrahamus Ortelius hath remarked in these words; ‘I have observed Ireland to be named *Scotia*, by the writers of the middle age.’ And so it hath been observed by the learned, That ancient authors did never name Ireland *Scotia*; as you may see by those who have exactly reckoned up the old names of Ireland, out of the ancient

and classic authors*. So it was not said much amiss by one, That this naming of Ireland by the name of Scotland, was first about Beda's time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth age. Scaliger tells us, That the word Scot is no Irish word, but British; that it is not used in Ireland, but in *Britannia*: what is the original and signification of the word, we have heard before.

As the Irish began to be called Scots, so the Picts left off to be so named; now withdrawing themselves from the *Brigantes*, or *Albini*, and striking in with their enemies, the Irish by the writers were called *Scoti Hibernienses*, and the Albins were called *Scoti Albionenses*; and Ireland was called *Scotia Major*, because *Albania*, or Albion, in those days, which they called *Scotia Minor*, was of less extent. But this name of Scots was not for any long time given to the Irish; so that at length the name of Scots became peculiar to the Albins or *Brigantes* alone.

Lastly, The Albins having subdued the Picts, and made them no more a people, communicated unto the country, newly conquered by them, the name of *Scotia*, as one country with *Albania*; and so all the indwellers there were called Scots with the Albins, as one people with them, and so they are to this day.

Now the Albins or *Brigantes*, being the only masters of *Britannia Minor*, came to be called *Scoto-Britanni*, as the Picts had been of old; and are upon occasion called so to this day, to distinguish them from the South Britons, of whom some are called *Cambro-Britanni*, the rest *Anglo-Britanni*.

Although the ancient *Brigantes* were called by foreigners *Scoti*, namely, by the Briton provincials, and the Romans, yet they never named themselves so; neither do the Highlanders to this day, in their own language, call themselves Scots, but Albins: so Scaliger had just reason to say, That *Scoti* was not an Irish name: as the Hellenes did never name themselves Greeks, although they were so commonly called by foreigners: and the Misraims did not call themselves Egyptians, although foreigners named them so.

The Scots now-a-days are divided into Highlandmen and Lowlandmen: the Highlanders are the true progeny of the ancient *Brigantes*, or Albins, for the most part, I say, because some are come in later times from other countries. And to this day our Highlanders, as the *Brigantes* of old, make main use of their bows and arrows in their war, namely, when they are among the hills; so, when they praise one for a military man, they say he is a good bow-man, and brae-man; which two epithets were expressed by the ancients of one compound word, *Scoto-Brigantes*.

The Lowlandmen are made up of divers nations; for a few of them are a little remnant of the ancient Picts; another few are descended from the ancient Albins, who, leaving the hills, after the defeat of the Picts, did betake themselves to the Low Country. Divers from the south parts of Britany had fled thither from the tyranny of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as they did of old from the tyranny of the Romans. Then the English, being so oft in Scotland with their armies, have left divers in the country. Also marriages, and other private occasions, have drawn fundry men from England into Scotland. Lastly, some of the Low Country people are come from beyond seas, as from France, Germany, Hungary, Flanders, Ireland, &c. of

* Vide *Hermodolum Barbarum* in Plinium, et *Vedianum*, in Solinum.

late days : fo all being reckoned, there are but few in the Low Country come of the old Albins, *Brigantes*, or old Picts.

The Low Countrymen call the Highlanders Irish, not fo much for their ancient defcent, as for their language, only differing from the Irish by dialect ; and for their ways of living, not much unlike : yet one main difference is to be feen in the activity of the Scots, and the lazinefs of the Irish. On the other fide, the Highlanders call the Low Countrymen Saxons, not fo much for their defcent (although many of them are come from the fouthern people, as we have faid, who are a progeny of the Saxons), as for the language, which differeth only by dialect from the language of the fouth, which acknowledgeth the Saxon language for its mother tongue ; and for the way of living not fo different, fave that the Scots are harder bred, and confequently more fitted for toiling, namely at war, than the Englifh are : for we fee the Englifh account it painful to toil, and endure wars at the firft going to the fields, by reafon of their tender and foft breeding. The language of the South Britons of old was not much different from that of the Gauls, from whence they came into Albion ; witnefs Tacitus, in Agricola's life. The Gauls then did fpeak a corrupt Greek ; for they are come of the Greeks. Befides, many words of the old *Gaulois*, the phrafe and construction, are to this day in the French language kept ; which doth fignify, that of old the Greek was fspoken in Gaul, although grofsly corrupted by ignorant men, who could neither read nor write : yet in the fouth parts of Gaul, near the Mediterranean fea, wherein the Greek iflands are, the Greek was fspoken and taught, at Marfeilles namely. The ancient language of the Britons fuffered a great change by the Romans, and other foreigners, who brought in among them their terms of law, of divine fervice, of war, and of policy, with the names of divers commodities, and the names of divers trades.

When the Saxons and Danes came into the land, they confined the remnant of the ancient Britons unto the weft country, with their language, fuch as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other foreigners of old ; and with themfelves planted the language which is fspoken in all England now-a-days, with fome alteration and change. The firft notable change happened by the Normans, in whofe language the law hath been adminiftered, &c. : the next change is from the Latin, in which language divine fervice hath been for many years officiated : then the Englifh language hath borrowed from all neighbouring nations many words, without any great change ; fo that the Englifh language is faid to be the quinteffence of all neighbouring languages : from it the Scots tongue differs but in dialect, as we have faid. The language of the Highlanders, as hath been faid, is likewise Irish, which of old was a corrupt Greek alfo ; for the Irish came into Ireland from the north parts of Spain, who fpake a corrupt Greek, as thofe of Gaul did ; for the ancient indwellers of the north parts of Spain came alfo from the Greek iflands : fo that of old, the language of the ancient Britons was not altogether ftrange unto the *Brigantes*, or Alpines : yea, in this time wherein we live, notwithstanding the great changes that both the languages have fufained, by time, and commerce of foreign nations, they have many words, which are one and the fame, fignifying the fame thing.

Thus much I have written of the beginning, names, way of living, and languages, of Scotland, to make known to all, how unjuft and injurious unto us are fome mo-

diern antiquaries of our neighbouring countries; who first think they cannot prove their own people to be sufficiently ancient, except they take from their neighbours their just right of good antiquity. Next, they conceive they cannot set forth fully enough the greatness of their own country, except they make their neighbours no people at all, or at least hardly considerable. Thirdly, they imagine, that they cannot extol and magnify the glory of their country highly enough, unless they not only depress and extenuate their neighbour's name, but also attribute unto themselves the advantages of their neighbours. But if these antiquaries had considered with the eyes of men, that there is enough to be said for the credit of their own country, without wronging others, they had not stuffed their books with mistaken and misapplied allegations of good ancient authors, or with a collection of fabulous and lying monks tales, wherein some of them do fancy learning mainly to consist. But of this enough.

For here I will only add this: As the Scots, although they are not of the greatest people, yet they are truly one of the most ancient people in Europe; so I dare be bold to say, that God, to whose praise be it spoken, in his goodness towards them, hath raised up of them, and among them, so many excellent and virtuous men, in church and state, in piety and learning, in policy and war, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few nations, ancient or modern, although of greater bounds, can compare with them, fewer equal them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this: for which we praise God, who of the best things hath given us the best measure; and say with the historian, 'That the land is more fertile of good men than of good fruits.'

But now, since all former walls of separation and division, both ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical, are in a great measure taken away by God's blessing; and since, in so many respects, the Scots and English are so near one to another, as we have said; but, above all, since they both are members of the true church, and pure spouse of Christ Jesus, to the upholding of whose truth, and purging of it from uncleanness, they have newly bound themselves together as one people, yea, as one man; let them then, in God's name, laying aside all excuses, envies, jealousies, and by-ends, as feeling members of one and the same body, concur unanimously, with their mutual and best endeavours, to settle the true worship of God in all true purity, and quiet all things speedily with wisdom, to the good of the people, with due obedience to our lawful sovereign under God, as we are taught by the law of God, the law of nature, the law of nations, and the municipal laws of our several countries. But to return to the church.

The Scots, although they received among them the light of the gospel with the very first of the Gentiles, as we have said, yet they had not the gospel so universally professed through the whole country, till towards the first years of the third age; that is, till Donald I. who not only professed the faith of Christ himself, with his family, but did his best to cast out idolatry wholly from his dominions, and to settle the ministry of the gospel in every corner thereof. But this religious king could not bring to pass this good design fully, being diverted by continual wars against the Romans the whole course of his life.

After the death of Donald, till toward the latter end of the third age, that is, to the reign of Crathilinth, this work of totally putting down idolatry, and settling the

gospel every where in the country, by the negligence of the following princes, was at a stay. In the days of this king Crathilinth happened the ninth persecution under Aurelius, and the tenth under Dioclesian; which gave occasion to many Christians, from several parts of the empire, but namely from the fourth parts of Britany, now another time to flee into Scotland for refuge, as they had done before under Domitian. Among those fugitives who did then repair into Scotland, for shelter from the general massacre, were many excellent men in piety and learning, whom the king Crathilinth not only kindly received, but also employed to aid and help him and his council, in the further settling of Christ's truth in his kingdom, and in the total extirpation of idolatry out of it; which was so much the harder work, because of the Druides, the principal false prophets and idolatrous priests in those days; who, not only by their subtle hypocrisy, and sense-pleasing divine service, but also by a cunning forecalt, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of civil affairs, had so gained upon the spirits of the poor and simple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The resolute care and diligence of king Crathilinth and his council, with the help of these pious and learned men, surpasseth all difficulties; and having put quite down the groves and altars under the oaks, and, in a word, all idol service, established the pure worship of the true God in every place of his dominions, and filled up the room of those false prophets with godly and learned teachers of the people; which was done every where through the kingdom, but particularly in the islands, which those pious men chose for their principal abode, as being most fit for a retired life; and namely, in the Isle of Man the king Crathilinth caused to build a church to the honour of our Saviour, which, in following times, by corruptions, was called, *Fanum Soderense*, for *Soterense*; the original word is $\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$. Hence the town near the church was called *Sodora*, as *Minster* in our vulgar language, and *Mouster* in French, signifying a town, in a secondary signification, near a church. These godly men being settled as aforesaid, and having withdrawn themselves from the solicitude of worldly affairs, did wholly give themselves to divine service; that is, to instruct the ignorant, comfort the weak, administer the sacraments to the people, and to train up novices and disciples to do the same service in their due time. These men, for their single and retired life, were called $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\chi\alpha\iota$, or monks, by abbreviation; and for their travelling altogether in God's worship and service, were called *Culdeci*, or Culdees.

These Culdees were so given to the exercise of devotion, by meditating upon the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and by prayers, that the very cells whereinto they had inclosed and separated themselves from the world, after their death, were reputed so many temples or chapels set aside for divine service; hence, to this day, *Cella* is taken for a church among the ancient Scots, as you may see in these compounded names, *Celmarnoc*, Marnoc's church, *Cel'patric*, Patrick's church*.

The Culdees thus settled, as we have seen, did chuse out of themselves some eminent men in piety, knowledge, and wisdom, to oversee the rest, and to keep them to the discharge of their duty towards the people, and towards the disciples, with an orderly and discreet carriage of each one towards another, in their several

* Buchan.

focieties, and in their private. Thefe overseers, or superintendents, chosen of themselves, and by themselves, did discharge the duties of their function indifferently every where, throughout the whole kingdom, without restraining themselves to any certain place, or lording over their brethren, or any part of the flock of Jesus Christ, not attributing unto themselves any particular distinct holy order from the rest, belonging only to them, and to be only conferred by them. This way of instructing the people, and governing the church by Culdees, did continue for many years under God's mercy; the ministry of God's church, as yet, having not become a business of gain, and of worldly pomp and pride: so these Culdees, and overseers of others, had no other emulation but of well-doing, nor striving, but to advance true piety and godly learning. The overseers, or superintendents, of the Culdees, were commonly called by the writers who wrote of those days, *Scotorum Episcopi*, without any definition of place, or pre-eminence of one above another. But to return to Crathilinth, who, till his dying day, which was about the year 312, did constantly continue to advance the kingdom of Christ, as likewise his successor Fincormac, under whose days the gospel did flourish in purity and in peace; he died about the year 358. After the death of Fincormac, both the church and state of Scotland fell into great disorder and troubles, by domestic dissensions and factions for some years. The Roman lieutenant, Maximus, seeing the intestine troubles of Scotland, began to lay hold upon the occasion. First, he foments their divisions within them: next, he not only withdraws, under fair promises, from the Scots their ancient allies the Picts, but also obtained help of the Picts to make war against the Scots, and so to defeat them; which he did effectuate indeed, in a battle fought with much bloodshed on both sides, at the water of Dunne, in Carrick, wherein the king Ewen was killed (this defeat happened about the year of Christ 380): the most part of the nobility, and numbers of the people who escaped, fled into the western isles, some into Ireland, and others to the northern parts of Germany or Scandia; some submitted themselves to the will and discretion of the conqueror, with the poor people that had not taken arms. Among those that fled away, was Ethod the king's brother, who went with several of the nobility into Scandia, where he and they staid several years, and from whence, now and then, they made secret attempts upon Scotland, with the help of their brethren, retired into the islands and Ireland; but to small effect.

Now, as the face of the politic state of the country was quite altered and undone, so the condition of the church also was much disordered, and the Culdees were constrained to withdraw, and seek shelter up and down where they could find any; namely, they returned into the isles, and into Ireland: at last, the Picts perceiving, by several attempts made by the exiled Scots to return home, and re-establish their state (although with little success, as we have said), that the Scots were fully resolved to bestir themselves continually, till they were restored, and re-established in their ancient inheritances; the Picts themselves being moved with the groaning miseries of their neighbouring poor people of Scotland, now under the Roman yoke, chiefly by their means; and taking to their consideration, how foolishly they had suffered themselves to be so far circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the ruin of their old friends, by whom mainly, in former times, they had with-

flood the common enemy, did not only comfort the poor oppressed remainder of the Scots at home, but also did invite these that were in exile to return, promising unto them the lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their strength and counsel, in the recovery of their whole state from the Roman tyrants.

The exiled Scots, under the conduct of Fergus II. son to Ethod, beyond sea, gathered all they could, both of their own people, and of their friends, from the places of their exile, namely from Seandy, and from Ireland likewise, and came into Scotland: from whence they chased away the Romans, by strong hand, with the help of the Picts, who made good their promise unto them, both in assisting them in the act of war, and in restoring unto them the land they had been possessed with by the Romans. The auxiliaries from Ireland staid still in Scotland, and had allowed unto them the country of Galloway for their reward; and, because they were of the ancient *Brigantes* of Ireland, some of the late writers have said, that the *Brigantes* of Albion had their abode in Galloway. No sooner was Fergus crowned in the fatal chair, and settled in his kingdom, than he takes to his first care to restore the purity of divine service, which had been eclipsed in these bounds for several years; and, to this effect, he calls some of the dispersed Culdees of his country, whom he settles in their ancient abodes; namely in the Isle of Iona, where he furnished them with a library of books, which he had gathered beyond sea, as the story tells us.

This return of Fergus into Scotland (son of Ethod, brother to the late Ewen) happened about the year 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native country, under the command of Fergus II. will not seem strange unto those who have read what they did under the command of William Wallace; and how, under the conduct of Robert Bruce, they recovered their liberty from the thralldom wherewith they were then oppressed.

Ewen, son to Fergus II. by the counsel and aid of his grandfather by his mother Graham, did not only keep his father's ancient kingdom, but did also enlarge the limits thereof, having passed the next wall of the Romans, which by Graham was pulled down in many places (hence it is called Graham's dyke): and he possessed himself, and the Picts, with all the lands lying an hundred miles southward, that is, unto Tyne, and kept them till the entry of the Saxons into the island. Next, he took unto his care not only to seek out the Culdee fugitives, which had not yet returned, under his father, but also he sent for others into the neighbouring country of Britain, and assigned unto them convenient places for their abode, with a moderate competency of means for their maintenance, that they should be in no ways burdensome to the people, now looking to have some respite from their pressures and grievances. And such was the happiness of these days, that a very small proportion did content the churchmen, setting wholly their minds to the conscientious discharge of their calling, which they did, preaching God's word carefully, truly, and simply, instructing the people in the fear of God, and so gaining their souls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their carriage, they gained very much respect among the people, who honoured them as fathers, instructors, and guiders to heaven, under God: the virtuous civil magistrate was the secondary cause of this good behaviour of churchmen, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his

own example taught them to discharge their duty faithfully, and live discreetly : but so soon as the civil magistrate left them to themselves, then they, neglecting their calling, set their minds upon ambition and avarice, and consequently upon all evil, thinking of nothing less than of that they were called to.

Here we are to observe, That as the Scots did constantly withstand the ancient Romans, and kept themselves so free of their yoke, that they neither acknowledged their authority, nor received any law from them, although it was not without great struggling and hazard, yea, almost to their utter ruin, as it fell out under Ewen I. but after some few years, the Scots, under the conduct of Fergus II. and Ewen II. not only regained what they had lost by the Romans and Picts, but also conquered a great deal of ground beyond their last limits, as we have newly said ; so the Scots, in church-affairs, for many years together, had nothing to do with the bishop of Rome, neither made they acknowledgment unto him in any way, neither did they receive any laws from him ; for as they had the gospel planted among them, without his help, *viz.* by the disciples of St. John the apostle, so they kept themselves under the constitutions and canons settled by the same first planters of the gospel amongst them. But, by success of time, they became to be infected, by their neighbouring nations, with the poison of the Pelagian heresy. Celestine, then bishop of Rome, takes occasion to send unto the Britons, a learned man called Palladius, to help the orthodox Britons to convince the heresy of Pelagius, then spreading itself amongst them ; which was done accordingly.

Ewen II. king of Scots, hearing how the Britons, by the help of Palladius, had repressed the Pelagianism, being most desirous to purge the church of his kingdom also, where this Pelagian error had crept in, sends for Palladius ; who with small difficulty assisted the orthodox to disabuse those who had been carried away by Pelagianism ; and thereafter, in a very short time, by subtle insinuations, gained so far upon the well-meaning Scots, that they consented to take new governors of their church, who were to have a degree and pre-eminency above their brethren, *viz.* the prelate bishops. Hitherto the church of Scotland had been governed by monks and priests, without any such dignity or pomp. I call their new governors Prelate bishops, to distinguish them from their former overseers and superintendents of the Culdees, who are sometimes by writers called Bishops, as they were indeed ; but they had no pre-eminence, or rank of dignity, above the rest, neither were they of any distinct order from the rest of their brethren. That at this time, by Palladius, were brought into Scotland these new kind of bishops, appears by the relations of the authors following. Thus,

Palladius is thought to be the first who made bishops (that is, of this new order) in Scotland * ; for, till then, the churches were without bishops, governed by monks ; with less vanity truly, and outward pomp, but with greater simplicity and holiness.

Before him, saith Hector Boece †, ‘ Palladius was the first of all that did bear the holy magistrature among the Scots, being made bishop by the great pontiff or bishop ; for till then, by the suffrage of the people, the bishops were made of the monks and Culdees.’

John Mair speaks thus ‡, ‘ Before Palladius, by priests and monks, without bishops, the Scots were instructed in the faith.’

* Buchan. lib. iii.

† Lib. vii. cap. 28.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 2.

John Leslie saith this *, ‘ Among us (Scots) the bishops were only designed by the suffrage of monks.’

John of Porden, in his Scots Chronicle, saith †, ‘ Before the incoming of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters only, or monks following the rites and customs of the primitive church.’ Mark the latter words; for according to this saying goes the judgment of the best divines, who write the truth without any respect: whose mind John Semeca declareth thus, ‘ In the first primitive church, the office of bishops and priests was common to the one and the other; and both the names were common, and the office common, to the one and the other: but in the second primitive church, the names and offices began to be distinguished.’

Baleus, one of the Briton writers, before Palladius, ‘ The Scots had their bishops and ministers, according to the ministry of the sacred word, chosen by the suffrage of the people, after the custom of those of Asia: but those things did not please the Romans, who hated the Asiatics.’

Baronius, in his Annals, saith this, ‘ The Scots got their first bishop from Celestine pontiff Roman.’

Prosper, in his Chronicle, ‘ The pontiff Celestine sendeth unto the Scots Palladius to be their bishop.’

Item, ‘ Unto the Scots, then believing in Christ, Palladius is ordained by pope Celestine, and sent thither the first bishop.’

Beda, in the History of England, ‘ Palladius was sent first bishop unto the Scots by Celestine, pontiff of the Roman church.’

By all these authorities we see, that the Scots, before Palladius, had no bishops at all; or, at least, their bishops were not of any distinct order from other priests and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were chosen, as we have touched before; and so they were not as those bishops have been with us in these later times.

Next, let us observe, That the Scots bishops, since Palladius, must acknowledge themselves clients of the Roman Antichrist, seeing of him they have their beginning and dependence: although in words, yea, in some part of doctrine, they seem to disclaim him, yet in many parts they shew themselves to be of his family, namely in government; for they, with him, ‘ lord over the inheritance of Christ,’ and, forsooth, take unto themselves the name of Lords spiritual, as if they were ‘ lords of the spirits of men,’ contrary to God’s word, wherein we are taught, that the Father and Maker of spirits is the only Lord over them: or, at least, ‘ lords of spiritual things,’ against the express words of the apostles, who acknowledge themselves to be only ministers of the Spirit, and spiritual things, reputing it the greatest honour in the world to be so; and Peter, who after he had stiled himself no more than co-presbyter with the rest of the presbyters, he forbids them to exercise lordship over the flock of Christ. Then, since, in the first primitive church, the functions of bishop, and pastor, and presbyter, were undistinguished, and any one of the names indifferently denoted the office, it must be confessed, that the change of government which

* Lib. iv. in Eugenio 2.

† Lib. iii. cap. 8.

hath entered into the church, is not immediately from Christ and his apostles, neither by precept nor example, but contrary to Christ's will and intention declared in his word, and according to the inventions of men, serving the exorbitant affections of avarice, ambition, and lust; to the satisfaction of which they have domineered over the flock of Christ like tyrants, devoured the substance thereof, like ravening wolves; yea, what is worse, they have not only been negligent and careless to distribute unto the people the word of God, but also with their might and power have hindered and stopped others to make known unto God's people the pure light of his gospel, the ordinary means of salvation; and consequently, so far as in them lieth, by thus starving the people of this heavenly food, send them to hell.

Such were those spiritual lords; who as they have encroached upon the spiritual lordship of Christ Jesus over his flock, and usurped his authority, yea, and opposed it flatly, under the name of spiritual authority and jurisdiction; so have they boldly and cunningly invaded the prerogative of civil magistrates, by their courts and regalities within the dominions of princes where they live; yea, in sundry places they usurped the full authority of princes, and in others they flatly opposed it: and all this hath been done, not only of old, by those who were called Romish bishops, but also in our days by bishops, who in some things make a shew that they disclaim their father the Roman pontiff, whom in their heart they love and respect, as their actions do witness.

Although by Palladius, Prelacy was brought into the church of Scotland, and by that means the government was changed; and thereafter immediately, by degrees, other alterations crept into the church; yet those times after Palladius, till the sixth age, I mean till Augustine the monk, may be said to be golden times, and pure, in regard of the following days, wherein churchmen, without any restraint, abandoned themselves to ambition, avarice, and lust, neglecting altogether their function; for, in these fourth and fifth ages, there were many godly and learned men, who were diligent in discharging the true duty of a pastor, as Colomb, Libthac, Ethernan, &c. Then Kintogern, who by nickname was called Mongo; because his master Servian, speaking unto him, used ordinarily this expression, *Monga*, which, in corrupt French, is as much as to say, 'My boy.'

Palladius having brought into the church of Scotland Hierarchy, as we have said, takes to his next care to provide for the maintenance of this new degree and order, which was obtained without great difficulty, both of prince and people, under pretext of piety, but with bad success, as by the woful experience of following times we have found.

These new bishop prelates, having pretty well settled their own condition for maintenance, which although it did exceed much the allowance of former ages to churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following times: next, they obtained great lands and revenues from prince and people; for other presbyters and ministers, who formerly had been very little burdensome to the people, by their own industry and work of their hands, did provide for themselves necessaries for the most part: by this means, the prelates tie the other presbyters and ministers to them; and secondarily bring in, by little and little, idleness, and slackness in discharging their calling; from whence are risen all the evils we have since seen in the church. After the

beginning of the sixth age, *viz.* 521 years, in this island began the old *Saturnalia* of Rome, which first was kept in honour of Saturn, but by the successors of Julius Cæsar, it was ordained to be kept in the memory of him, and was called *Julia*, to be celebrated unto the honour of Christ's birth, in the latter end of December. The occasion was this, Arthur, that renowned prince, wintering at York (whereof he newly had made himself master), with his nobles, bestowed himself with them to pass some days, in the dead of winter, in good cheer and mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out, for devotion to Christ, although that then true devotion was very little regarded; for as these men did exceed the Romans, during this feast, in riot and licentiousness, so they continued the feast double the time that the *Latinick* Romans were wont to keep it: for the Romans kept it only five days, but these kept it ten days with their new devotion; yea, those of the richer sort, in time following, have kept it fifteen days. This was the beginning of the profane idleness and riot of *Christmas*, now kept twelve days with foolish excess and riot.

As these *Christmas-keepers* did mistake the way of honouring Christ's birth, by this kind of solemnity, so did they mistake the time of his birth; for the most exact chronologers tell us, 'That Christ was born in October, and not in December.' The Scots retain still the old name *Julia*, of this preposterous holy feast; for they call it corruptly *Yule*, although they never kept it of old, not being subject to the Romans. The French and Italians in this are nothing behind us; for, beside that they share with us in these *Saturnalia*, *Julia*, or *Christmas*, they go beyond us in riot and fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnival*, or *Mardi-gras*, before *Lent*; which in old time was kept to the honour of Bacchus. But the corruptions that were brought into our church from Rome, in the fourth and fifth age, were nothing to what was brought in the sixth and seventh age; for then was religion turned upside-down, and so changed into superstitious ceremonies and idolatry, authorized by false miracles, that there was hardly any trace of true religion left among men in these days.

Palladius was the first that acquainted us with Rome, as we have said, and that brought in Prelacy among us, a little after the beginning of the fourth age; which he and his successors by degrees brought unto a great height, both in worldly pomp and means (for the times), by the inconsiderate debonairity of the prince, and simplicity of the people: but not without struggling and resistance by pious and wise men for many years. It was the work of the churchmen, set a-foot by Palladius so till the sixth age, that is, upon the matter, 200 years, to raise themselves to power, and authority, and means, whereunto they came insensibly; so much the rather, because they were sparing, for these days, to invert the main doctrine of the true religion. The people and magistrate seeing their religion remaining in its main, were, without great difficulty, drawn over to give way unto the greatness of the churchmen. But when these gallant fellows had wrought their own ends, they did shew plainly what was within their hearts: for then they declared themselves to be enemies both to God and man, by their vicious lives, contrary to the laws of God and man; their false doctrine, contrary to God's word: their tyrannical domineering over the people, and withdrawing themselves from due obedience unto the lawful magistrate.

In a word, by directly opposing God, abusing men to their utter ruin of soul and body, and setting up their own inventions for the laws of God and men, they were bringing this height of iniquity to pass, about the matter of 200 years likewise, *viz.* the sixth and seventh age. Although the workers of iniquity did at last bring their mischievous design to an end, by the permission of God, irritated against men for their sins, who, not adhering unto him, were abandoned, so that they became a prey unto Satan and his instruments, to follow all iniquity; yet such was the mercy of God towards men in these most corrupt times, that the devil and his instruments went not so clearly on with their wicked business, but that they had now and then, from time to time, remoras and lets in it, by those whom God raised up to bear witness to his truth: and, in these days, sundry of the Scots divines were very stout in the keeping of the ancient tenets and rites, which they had received from their first apostles, disciples to St. John, according to the church of the East; witness the great struggling they had about the keeping of Pasch or Easter-day; for, till then, the Scots had kept the day of Pasch upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatsoever day of the week it happened on: the Romanists called those that kept so this day, *Quartadecimani*, and condemned them as heretics; and they kept the day constantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working-day; at last the Scots were constrained to yield in this, as in other rites, unto Rome. Colman, and several other Scotsmen, did so stoutly oppose the Romanists in the point of Easter-day, and in other tenets, that they chose (it being given to their choice, either to submit unto Rome, or to quit the settlings they had in the north of England) rather to lose their benefices than to yield. So, standing fast to the customs of the Scots church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to Scotland.

About the end of the seventh age, men from Scotland, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and seeing it lay much that way then, they did their best to advance the design of the Romish party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome, and among the Scots of that party. Many men went to and fro, between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity; by name, there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in these affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Culdees, or divines; namely, by Clemens and Sampson, who told him freely, That he, and those of his party, studied to bring men to the subjection of the pope, and slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Christ; and so, in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his assistants, That they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the apostles, excluding other bishops; that they used and commanded clerical tonsure; that they forbade priests marriage, extolling celibacy; that they caused prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches: to be short, that they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them: for the which, and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Councils; although the true reasons of their excommunication are not there set down.

In the eighth age, the poor people were so blindly enslaved and intoxicated with the cup of Rome, that they thought it a truly holy martyrdom to suffer for the interest of Rome: yet, although most men had left God to worship the beast, in these days, God raised up sundry great lights in our church, as, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus his disciple, John Scot, and Claudius Clemens. In this we shall remark the constant goodness of God towards his people, who made his light to shine, in some measure, through the greatest and thickest darkness, by raising up these men, who did bear witness to the truth both by word and writing; so that God did not altogether leave off his people. The bishop of Rome caused declare Alcuin (for his book of the Eu-
charist), many years after his death, an heretic. So Rome persecutes the saints of God, even after their death.

In the ninth age, both prince and people, by doleful experience, did find the idleness, pride, ambition, avarice, and riot of churchmen, occasioned by the indulgence of prince and people; wherefore at Scoon, under king Constantine II. there was held a convention of estates, for reforming the disorders in the church. In this assembly it was ordained, 'That churchmen should reside upon their charge; have no meddling with secular affairs; that they should instruct the people diligently, and be good examples in their conversations; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, and horses, for their pleasure; that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of civil causes; but live contented with their own provision:' in case of failing in the observance of these points, for the first time, they were to pay a pecuniary mulct or fine; for the second, they were to be deprived of office and benefice. Thus you see, in these most blind and confused times, that resolute princes and people did oppose manifestly the pope's omnipotence, and highest sovereignty. In the latter part of the same age, king Gregory was most indulgent to the churchmen; he was so far from curbing and keeping them under, that he granted them many things they had not had before. Then, in a convention of estates holden at Forfane, it was ordained, 'That all churchmen should be free of paying taxes and impost, from keeping watch, and going to warfare. *Item*, They should be exempted from all temporal judicature. *Item*, All matrimonial causes were given over to the judgment of churchmen; as also, testaments, legative actions, and all things depending upon simple faith and promise; likewise the right of tithes, with liberty to make laws, canons and constitutions: to try, without the assistance of the temporal judge, heretics, blasphemers, perjured persons, magicians, &c.' Lastly, it was ordained, 'That all kings following, at their coronation, should swear to maintain churchmen in these their liberties and privileges.'

In these days lived a learned man, called John Scot, surnamed *Ærigena*, because he was born in the town of Air: he published a treatise, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini in Sacramento*, wherein he maintained the opinion and doctrine of Bertram; whereby he highly offended the see of Rome.

In the tenth age, things grew worse and worse. The churchmen did so blind the king, *viz.* Constantine III. that they persuaded him to quit the royal crown, and take the clerical tonsure of a monk, which he did at St. Andrews. There were some priests in these days, who did strive to have liberty to take lawful wives, but in vain. A little thereafter, there were new disputes for priests marriage: one Bernet,

a Scots bishop, stood much for that cause in a national council. In this age, although that avarice and ambition had corrupted and perverted religion generally, yet there were constantly some godly men, who, albeit they could not openly stop and oppose the torrent of these times, given to idolatry and superstition, did instruct and teach the people, 'That Christ was the only propitiation for sin; and that Christ's blood 'only did wash us from the guilt of sin.'

In the eleventh age, Malcom gave away a part of the crown lands among his nobles, for their good service against the Danes; the nobles, in recompence thereof, did grant unto the crown the ward of these lands, with the benefit that was to arise by the marriage of the heir. Until the latter part of this age, the bishops of Scotland, although they had raised their order unto great power and riches, yet they were not distinguished in dioceses; so till then indifferently, wheresoever they came, they did minister their function, without lording over any one particular place, or calling themselves lords of any place. The dioceses wherein Scotland was divided at first, were these, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Murray, Caithness, Murchilac or Aberdeen. The bishops of Rome taking upon them in these days to be above kings, and to confer in matters of honour upon kings, how, and where they pleased; and so, by this means, to put a farther tie of vassalage and subjection upon princes.

To this effect, in the year 1098, the pope ordained king Edgar to be anointed with external oil, by the bishop of St. Andrews; a rite which, till that day, had not been in use among our kings: yet they were as much the anointed of the Lord before as they have been since, and as any other princes, who before them had this external anointing from the see of Rome; although the Romish writers make a greater esteem of these kings, anointed by them, than of others, because they conceive them to be more their own.

Here note by the way, That all princes whatsoever, in Scripture language, are said to be the anointed of the Lord: and so Cyrus was named, although he was never anointed with external oil. Next, although the first kings of Israel were anointed, as Saul, David, and Solomon, with some of the following kings, namely, where there was any opposition feared of settling them in the royal throne, for further confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the history of the kings, and you shall not find that each one, or every one of them, was anointed externally, although they were all the anointed of the Lord. Next, you shall note, That the oil wherewith Samuel anointed Saul and David (and so the oil wherewith other kings were anointed), was not an oil consecrated, as that wherewith the high priest, &c. was anointed, but common oil.

The reason of the Scripture phrase, whereby all princes are said to be anointed, is this; Anointing, in the first and most ancient times, was a sign of setting apart a man for the office of a king: hence, by progress of time, any man that was set aside by God's providence to execute the office of a king, whether he came thereunto by succession, or by choice, or by conquest, was called, 'The anointed of the Lord,' because they had the thing signified by God's appointment, notwithstanding they wanted the sign, *viz.* the ointment.

Further, we shall observe here, That not only those whom God hath set aside to be kings, are called the anointed of the Lord; but also the people whom he hath

set aside, or apart, for a peculiar end: so the prophet speaking of the people of Israel in God's name, useth this expression, 'Touch not mine anointed; for their sake I have reproved kings.'

Moreover note, That as the people set aside by God are said to be his anointed, so they are also called, 'A royal priesthood, kings and priests.' Not that every one of the people is a king or a priest, these being particular callings, no more than they were anointed, but because they are set aside by God as priests, to offer daily unto him the sacrifice of righteousness, &c. And as kings were anointed with oil, to signify their setting aside for their peculiar office, so every one of us, being anointed in baptism by the Holy Spirit, is set aside to do justice, &c. as a king, in our several stations.

Thus much have I, in few words, spoken of the anointing of kings, and how the people are said to be anointed, or to be priests and kings; because, in the beginning of the sixteenth age, sundry were condemned as heretics, for saying, 'That every man is a priest in some kind: and that the anointing of kings is now needless, being an invention of Rome, to subject princes unto it.'

Some years after the beginning of the twelfth age, king David, beside the bishoprics formerly erected, did erect the bishoprics of Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Demblain. This debonnaire prince was so profuse towards churchmen, that he gave them a good part of the ancient patrimony of the crown: so he and his successors were necessitated to lay taxes and impost upon the people, more than formerly, to the harm of the commonwealth. In this also he wronged the church; for the clergy being rich and powerful, lost their function, and gave themselves over to all riot and idleness. Till riches made churchmen lazy, this distinction in discharging the duty of a pastor, or of the souls, *per se, aut per alium*, was unknown. While riches did not so abound in the church, churchmen kept more conscience in the discharging of their places.

In the twelfth age, the Scots, although they had bishops ever since Palladius, who for a long time did discharge the function indifferently in every place where they came to; and although they had of latter times distinguished the limits of the bounds wherein they were to execute their calling by dioceses; yet, in that age, I say, they were not come to that height, to have primates, metropolitans, and archbishops. Wherefore their neighbour, the archbishop of York, having gained the consent of the pope, besirred himself very earnestly, by the assistance of his king, to have the Scots bishops acknowledge him for the metropolitan; whereunto the stoutest of the Scots clergy would not consent, but they would depend immediately upon the pope; and, to this effect, legates were sent from Rome to Scotland, who being come hither, and seeing the resolution of the Scots bishops not to submit to the archbishop of York, and finding there own benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots clergy from the trouble of the archbishop of York. There was one Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, a great struggler for this business.

About the latter end of this age, sundry priests were put from their office, because they had taken orders upon Sunday. In that time there was a synod of divines in Perth, such as they were, who decreed, 'That Sunday should be kept holy from all work, from Saturday at mid-day, or twelve of the clock, till Monday morning.'

In the thirteenth age, few years after the beginning thereof, divers kinds of monks came into Scotland, formerly unknown to the land; as Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobins, and sundry other of that sort of locusts. In this age these vermin of monks did so multiply every where, that at a council at Lyons it was decreed, 'That no more new orders of monks should be admitted or tolerated.' But how the decree hath been kept, we see in our days.

Next, the monks of several kinds gave themselves so to begging, that the people were much eaten up by them, and the portion of the poor was withdrawn; which occasioned a great murmur among the commons. Upon this, there was a decree made then, 'That only the Minorites, Prædicants, Carmelites, and Hermites of St. Augustine, should have liberty to beg:' whence they are called, The four mendicants; *Les quatre mendicants*.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, fell out that great desolation of the state of Scotland, occasioned by the controversy for the succession of the crown betwixt Baliol and Bruce; Baliol being constrained by the states of Scotland, to break the promise he had made to Edward of England, to subject the crown of Scotland unto him, for judging the cause on his side. After much trouble and misery of war, the state of Scotland receives Robert Bruce, come of the second branch, for king, recalling all the subjection and allegiance that they had given to Baliol; because of his unworthiness to reign; who, besides unsuitness to bear rule over a military people, had basely condescended to inflame that nation, to whom their liberty hath been so dear to this day, that for it, and the purity of true religion, which both by God's mercy they now enjoy, they have willingly and cheerfully undergone all hazard of life and means; judging, that if they suffered these twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them whereby they might be called men.

The remarkable history of king James I. of Scotland, fitteth this purpose well. The passage is this; King James I. going into France, was taken by the English, and kept prisoner by them for many years. In that time, the king of England goes to France, to make war; and, at his arrival there, he finds an army of Scots, ready to fight for the ally of Scotland, the French king, against the English. Upon this, the king of England moves king James, whom he had taken along with him, to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their allegiance, not to draw their swords against the party where he, their king, was in person. The Scots answered, That they were sent into France to assist their allies against the common enemy: as for him who wrote unto them, since he was a prisoner, and not a free man, they neither owed him allegiance, nor would they give him any, so long as he was in prison; but if he were set at liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according to the laws of the country, since the crown was settled upon him by the consent of the states; and so they did: for these kingdoms were governed in his name, without any communication with him, during the time of his imprisonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as king,

From this, princes may learn, that although people submit themselves to their government, the resignation is not so full as to divest themselves of all power in such

a way, that the prince may dispose of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being misled and kept captive by those that are about him, who, for the most part, have no regard to the public good, nor to the credit and esteem of him, to whom, in shew, they profess themselves so addicted. The people have constantly reserved even unto themselves, by the consent of all men, yea of the greatest court parasites, and sycophants of princes, that the prince cannot, nor ought not, to enslave or subject the people to any foreign power: and where princes, by pusillanimity and ill counsel, have essayed or attempted such a thing, they have smarted for it; witness Baliol, who was not only excluded from the crown himself, but also his posterity, and it was settled upon the next branch, *viz.* Robert Bruce, with his descendents. Then, since the people have reserved this power in themselves, to stop the prince from putting them under any foreign yoke or slavery, is it possible that they have not reserved a power to right themselves from domestic slavery and misery? slavery being ever one and the same: for what is it to me by whom I suffer evil of one and the same kind and degree, whether it be by a neighbour or a stranger, a foreigner or a fellow citizen? yea, when I suffer by him who should be my friend, and stand for the same freedom with me, my suffering is the greater.

To this purpose, you have a memorable passage of William the Norman; who although he had invaded England with the sword, and by it had defeated him who did oppose him for the crown, with all his adherents and party, and, in consequence of this victory, had committed many outrages with a strong hand; yet the same William could never assure himself nor his posterity of the allegiance of the people, till he had sworn solemnly (according to the rite of the times) for himself and his, to govern according to the good and approved laws of the land, as the best kings before him had done.

Then the county of Kent, in its own name, and in name of the whole kingdom, declared, That neither Kent nor any other of the kingdom was conquered, but in a peaceable way did submit to William the Norman, upon condition, and with proviso, that all their liberties and free customs in use and practice should be kept. If this was not accomplished afterwards, it was silliness of the people that suffered themselves to be abused, and the fault of misled princes, that did not keep their promise, whereunto they were tied: and fundry, for the breach of this promise, have had occasion to repent when it hath been too late.

We shall add one example more, which is of Henry VIII. who, *anno* 1525, the seventeenth year of his reign, by the advice of his council, put a tax upon the people; which the people did not only refuse to pay, but declared, that the thing was unjust and unlawful. Withal, wherever they met those whom the king had employed for the gathering the money, they used them so kindly, that they did never come twice to one place for the payment of the tax. The king seeing this, he disclaims the imposition of the tax, and so do the nobles that convened at London, by his command, for that purpose, and lays all the fault upon ill counsel, namely, upon Wolsey. This was Henry constrained to do, notwithstanding his resoluteness against all foreign enemies, chiefly the pope, with his shavelings. By this instance, Henry acknowledged his power to be limited, and nowise arbitrary, against the doctrine of our now court parasites.

Now, if the people have this much power in them, as to stand for their temporal liberty, both against foreign and domestic slavery, far more may they, and ought they, to defend the spiritual freedom, which Christ, having purchased with his blood, hath left them, as members of his church. But all this defence of liberty and religion ought to be made so, that it be without by-ends, sinister respects, of hatred, malice, ambition, &c.: the only scope and main drift being, to have God's glory, in the light of his gospel, settled and maintained, the people at quiet, the prince obeyed in God, and for God, *i. e.* according to the law of God, nature, nations, and the country or kingdom, so far as possibly can be. This being looked to carefully, there is no gap opened to rebellion, which is a fighting against God's ordinance, and not the just and necessary opposing of the abuse and corrupting of the good ordinance of God.

But here a court slave will say, 'If things be so, there is no absoluteness in monarchs and princes.'

To answer this, we must know what is to be meant by *absolute*, or *absoluteness*; whereof I find two main significations. First, *absolute* signifieth perfect, and *absoluteness* perfection: hence we have in Latin this expression, *Perfectum est omnibus numeris absolutum*. And in our vulgar language we say, 'A thing is absolutely good, when it is perfectly good.' Next, *absolute* signifieth free from tie or bond; which in Greek is *απολευμενον*. Now, I say, if you take absolute for perfect, that prince or magistrate is most absolute that is most perfect, who governs most absolutely, or most perfectly: the absoluteness or perfection of government consists in its conformity to the perfect rule which is written in the law of God, printed in the heart of man, received generally of all wise people, and in practice by all well-polished commonwealths. Next, I say, if you take *absolute* for free from tie or bond, that no prince or magistrate is free; for every magistrate or prince, as well as the private man, is bound to keep the law of God, of nature, &c. not only in particular things, for his own singular carriage, but also in public businesses, for the good and society of men, or of the people: for God hath given his law, and nature her dictates to all, to the observance of which all men are tied. Yea, further, they are not only bound in their several conditions, and tied to the performance thereof in their own persons, but also are bound to further it with all their might, and take away all things that may let and stop this performance, or deter and withdraw men from it. Read Leviticus xix. 17. where every man is commanded to rebuke his neighbour, and stop him from sinning. Read Deuteronomy xvii. 19, 20. where the king is commanded to have continually the copy of the law before him for his rule and guide.

What is in 1 Sam. viii. 10. is what a king is likely to do, and not what he ought or should do: this is clear; for, in the place now named in Deuteronomy, the king is told what he ought to do; but that he is said to do in Samuel; is contrary to the ordinance of God. Compare the places, and you will easily see this truth.

Next, a prince is said to be absolute, that is, not in any kind subaltern to another, and whose subjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may see, that the Popish kings and princes are not absolute; for, beside the great number of people within their dominions, who are immediate sworn vassals to the pope,

I mean the shavelings, the prince himself takes oath at his reception, to uphold the over-ruling government of the pope, under the masked name of spirituality; and the simple abused prince shall have for a reward, to make up all, a little holy oil to anoint him, and bear the title of *Most Christian, or Catholic prince*. Further, I say, that the prince, who although in some things hath cast off the yoke of this god upon earth (for so is the pope now and then called), but keeps up a part of his tyranny in the church of God over his people, wants and loses so much of his absoluteness, for this tie upon him from a foreign prince, the pope.

But here the pope sheweth the height of his cunning: for he, seeing that princes are told frequently, that they are either absolute, or ought to be such, be-thinks himself to keep up his supremacy above princes, as his vassals, and yet make the princes find an absoluteness: which he acts by his emissaries, and their inferior instruments, for their own private ends, whom he makes inculcate in the ears of princes, That their absolute benefits consisteth in doing with the life, liberty, and fortunes, of the people, as seems good in their eyes, without any regard to the good of human society, which is the true end of all government; but with this proviso, That those who have relation to him immediately be exempted: and these are not only his shavelings, who are openly obedient to his commands and orders, &c. but also those, yea, in kingdoms where his name is in a kind rejected, who keep up his tyrannical laws and ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely, in these dominions wherein we live, to our woful experience; for they, to uphold and increase their power, have cast both prince and people into great troubles, making the prince believe, that without them he hath no being.

But to shew thee that princes may use the people committed to their charge like beasts, and yet nevertheless are not absolute, cast thy eyes to the neighbouring countries only upon the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Florence; who although they be sovereigns in a kind over the people, and deal most hardly with them, taking their lives and fortunes away at their pleasure, yet they are not acknowledged to be absolute princes: for they are vassals of the empire, and their chief titles are to be officers thereof: so the duke of Savoy is qualified Vicar of the Empire, &c.

If you consider the prince, and people committed to his charge, as having relation one to another, I say, they are both bound one to another by duty; the prince first, bound to rule and govern according to the law of God, of nature, of nations, and municipal laws of the country, and the people is bound to obey him accordingly: but if the prince command any thing against these, his commands are not to be obeyed, God being only he to whose commands obedience is simply due, and to be given; but to men, only obedience with limitation, and, in external things, according to the laws so oft above named, at the least not against them, or opposite to them.

The chimera, or rather solecism in reason of passive obedience, is not to be thought of among rational men, it being the invention of court parasites, a mere nothing, or *non-ens*; for obedience consisteth in action, as all other virtues do, and not in suffering. Further, whosoever, for not obeying a wicked command of a superior, suffers, if he can stop it or shun it, is an enemy to his own being, wherein he offends against nature; for you see every natural thing striving to preserve itself

against what annoyeth it; then he sins against the order of God, who in vain hath ordained us so many lawful means for the preservation of our being, if we suffer it to be destroyed, having power to help it.

But then, it will be demanded, What, is there no absoluteness in human authority? I answer, Simple absoluteness there is none under God; for all human authority is limited by the laws aforesaid, and extends no farther than external things. Yet, comparatively, human authority is said to be absolute, when it is free from any foreign superior power: so, when Henry VIII. having cast off the Romish yoke, and putting down the vassalage of these his dominions unto the pope, caused divers books to be written of the absolute empire or authority of the prince; although after freeing himself from the pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have, any more absolute power over the people than he had before; but albeit this prince did much for the regaining the absolute authority of the crown again, in chasing away the Romish pontiff, yet he did it not fully, in so far as he kept still the Romish rites, and the Hierarchy or Prelacy, wherein the Romish fox lurking, hath kept himself in these countries unto this day; and now, having acted the fox long enough, he is acting the wolf, by destroying the people of God: if the successors of king Henry had not kept in the Romish superstitious rites and Hierarchy, they and we all had had better times than we have all tasted of. Although king Henry, for his vices, be blameworthy of all posterity, yet I must say, in all human appearance, that if the prelate bishops, to whom he trusted the reforming of the abuses of the church, had been as forward as he was willing, there had been a better reformation than was in his time: witness this instance, 'The people desired freedom to read the Scripture, the then ' bishops refused this unto the people.' Whereupon the king was petitioned in the name of the people; the king grants their petition: the bishops hearing of the king's grant, thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly, 'That all gentlemen should have ' liberty to read the Scripture, since it was the king's pleasure;' but for others, the permission was stopt, as if yeomen and tradesmen had not as much interest in God's word as gentlemen.

Then remark, all those that were put to death for the testimony of the truth in the days of Henry VIII. were persecuted by the bishops of the time, although the blame lieth upon the prince; for albeit they had, in compliance to the king, renounced the pope by word of mouth, yet in effect they kept up his tyranny, by his doctrine (with small alteration), his rites and ceremonies, canons and laws, Prelacy or Hierarchy maintained: and seeing the king so opposite to the pope, they condescended that the king should bear the blasphemous title of the pope, 'Head of the church,' although with reluctance: and so it proved; for notwithstanding all the statutes that were made in favour of this title taken from the pope, and attributed to the king, the bishops, with cunning and subtle proceedings, kept a-foot the power of the pope; and so soon as they saw the occasion of queen Mary's reign, they freely and easily brought all back again to Rome, without mask or limitation: and ever since, their successors, although by the course of affairs they have been obliged to disclaim the pope's authority, yea, and his doctrine in some measure, yet they, ever since, to this day, have expressed their inclinations, and done their endeavours, to return thither again, as we all know by doleful experience.

But here it may be demanded, What drift or policy can it be in the bishops to desire to be subject to Rome, rather than to their prince, and the laws of the country? The answer is, The propensity of us all to follow evil rather than good, is known; namely, when the evil hath the mask of worldly dignity, pomp, power, and pleasure, which hinders it to be seen in its own colours. Now, the bishops, and all the rabble of that corrupt clergy, are given to temporal, howsoever unlawful, advantages; as their ambition, avarice, and lust, from the very beginning hath shewn: which exorbitant passions lead men headlong, without measure, when once way is given unto them, unless they meet with some let or stop, which is both lesser and slower when it is a-far off, namely, when it cometh from one who is possessed with the same distempers, and himself of the same order of men with the delinquent; and so the bishops of this island had rather have to do with the pope than with the prince.

First, Because of mutual infirmity, the pope proveth more indulgent than any prince.

Next, The prince is too near them, and so it is best for them to be so free of the prince's jurisdiction, that they may be able not only to neglect him, but also to oppose him. For all, let that example of the Canterbury prelate serve, who made the king for the time to hold the stirrup till he got upon his horse. The story is known.

I called a little before the title of 'Head of the church,' used by the pope, and then given to Henry, blasphemous. To lay aside all other things that may be alledged against this title, I shall only say this; The church is the spouse of Christ; no spouse can be said to have any other head but him whose spouse she is: now, if the church should acknowledge herself to be the spouse of any other but of Christ, she were a professed whore and adulteress. By no means then a prince is to be called, 'The head of the church:' for although the civil magistrate is obliged, according to his rank and place, to see the ministers of the church do the work of the Lord truly, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the will of God declared in his word; yet, for all this, he is nothing but a servant, overseer, or grieve, and not the head, which is a title belonging only to Christ: wherefore, princes or magistrates, that by slavish flatterers had this title given unto them at the first, had done well to reject it; as their successors, who have followed, had done well likewise (according to God's will), if they had not suffered this title to have been continued unto them; namely, in the public prayers, where the time-serving inconsiderate minister prayeth, in the name of the church, for her head. If the head of the church needs to be prayed for, then the influences of the head upon the church will be but poor and weak, &c. But of this enough for this place.

Moreover, the flattering preachers, unrequired, in the public prayers, in the name of the church, call the prince, forsooth, 'The breath of our nostrils,' taking for their ground the words of Jeremiah, in his Lamentations, chapter iv. verse 20. which words, by the current of the ancients, and Septuagint, are to be understood of Christ Jesus: true it is, the Rabbins have interpreted the words of one of the kings of Judah, *viz.* Josias, or Zedekias; and hence some of the later expositors have explained these words, 'That first and literally, they may be applied to one of the kings of Judah, who were all figures of Christ to come; but principally and mainly, the words are to be understood of Christ Jesus, by the consent of all:' to to attribute these words

to any prince earthly, cannot be without offence to Christ; for who can be said properly and well, ‘To be the breath of our nostrils,’ but he who inspirith into us life, that is God? In like manner, the inconsiderate ministers of the gospel, abusing the text of Psalm lxxx. which, by the consent of all, is understood of Christ truly, and of David, as a figure of Christ to come, call the king, ‘The Man of thy right hand:’ this in nowise, without blasphemy, can be attributed to any earthly prince; for none is said to be a figure of Christ, as David, and his successors were, by a particular dispensation. But if misapplying and mistaking texts of Scripture will do business, since magistrates are said to be gods, you may as well call the prince god, as the Roman emperor was of old by some so called, and now the pope, by his court parasites; which title of God, no prince will suffer to be given unto him: surely, as it is a very great crime, not to give due respect, reverence, and obedience, unto him whom God hath set over us for our good, according to his wise ordinance; so, on the other side, it is a heinous sin to idolize the prince, making him a god, when he is but a weak and infirm man, servant of God. This second fault is committed chiefly by the sycophants and parasites, who have no other church nor chapel but the court, and make petition to none but to the king, whom to please, they wholly study, that they may catch somewhat to satisfy their inordinate desires. And the first is committed, namely, by their prelati- cal clergy, who withdraw from the prince a great part of his due, when they study to exempt themselves from his obedience, and take from him any inspection upon them, namely, concerning the discharge of their calling; although, by God’s ordinance, it be a main part of his office, to see God served and worshipped, according to his will revealed in his sacred word.

We have a little above seen, how that, by the flattery of some court preachers the custom is brought into the church, to give unto the prince, not only swelling, but blasphemous titles, in the public prayer that is made by the minister in the name of the church: but, although this be too great an evil, and requireth reformation, yet the flattery of some preachers hath not staid here; for they, according to their custom, having addicted themselves to any one, whom they conceive may help them to preferment, stick not in the pulpit, where all relation should be laid aside, save that of a minister of God’s word, to publish themselves, yea, in their prayers, to be varlets to this man, or that man; and, what is worse yet, in the prayer they call their masters and lords virtuous, pious, and religious, when it is known to all, that, for the most part, they have little virtue, less piety, and no religion at all. To have pointed at these things, shall suffice for this place. If any man will be contentious for these practices, I answer him, That the well-reformed churches have no such customs; for among the other abuses, whereof they have been purged by the care and diligence of the faithful vine-dressers, under God’s blessing, they have been pruned of this rotten bud of slavish flattery, as a corruption much opposite and contrary to the dignity and power of the gospel. But let us return, after this long digression.

In these days (that is, in the thirteenth age) lived Michael Scot, renowned for his learning in phyfic, astronomy, &c. He is mentioned by Picus Mirandula, and Cornelius Agrippa, very honourably. Also then lived Thomas Learmonth, commonly called the Rhymer, whose predictions are extant to this day: but no wise

man can make any thing of them, more than of Merlin's prophecies, who lived long before him ; although fundry have pleased their fancies with idle expositions of these two mens dreams.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, the good Roman pontiff, Boniface VIII. making use of the heavy moans and complaints that some of Scotland, namely, of the bishops, and other clergymen, with their clients, made against king Edward of England, who then did cruelly afflict the country, claims a right unto the crown of Scotland, as resigned unto him by the states : and upon this he writes an insulting letter, and full of threatenings, unto Edward, that he was so impudent as to do any wrong to his vassals and subjects, where he had none truly save the bishops and shavelings, with their clients. Whether the clergy did make this offer of subjection unto the pope, or whether he did falsly invent this lie, we cannot tell ; but it is betwixt the pope and his shaved creatures : such master, such men. Let this teach us, how the popes are, and have been, and will be ever constantly ready watching at all occasions, to draw all things to their cross. But this owning of the Scots by the pope for his peculiar people did not last long ; for in a very short time thereafter, notwithstanding the great ignorance of these days, the Scots shewed themselves refractory to his holy orders ; and he, in revenge, did thunder the fire-bolts of his excommunication against these rude fellows, putting them to the interdict, all to small purpose ; for by these bolts they were but very little dashed.

We have heard, how that in former times the church of Scotland was served by Culdees, and they ruled by their presbyteries or elders, having a moderator, or prefect of themselves, and of their own chusing : this was for many years. When Palladius brought in Prelacy, a new holy order, into the church of Scotland, unknown to the preceding ages, it was with this restraint, that bishops should be chosen by the Culdees, and of them : but when bishops had once gotten certain diocesess and limits allotted unto them, they set up a new presbytery of their own, or council of canons or regulars, which they called Chapters, by whom they intended to be chosen in following times. The Culdees seeing this, did oppose it with their main strength, namely under king David, who did take up the business thus (being carried away by the prelates), that so many of the Culdees as would be canons, should have hand in the chusing of the bishops. But the bishops, to elude this ordinance of the prince, obtained a mandate from the pope, That no Culdee should be received in the convent of canons, but by the consent of the prior, and most part of the canons. By these means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their voice in chusing of the bishops.

In the time of the troubles of Baliol and Bruce, one William Cumming, prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit to bestir himself, to try what he could regain upon the canons ; and so he opposeth the election by the canons of one William Lambertton to the see of St. Andrews : the business being come to a great height, by appeal was drawn to Rome, where, after much debate *pro forma*, time and money employed, the holy father, Boniface VIII. pronounces sentence in favour of his dear clients the canons ; and so Lambertton is made bishop, and consecrated by the pope Boniface. This fact turned so to the disgrace of the Culdees, that after that time we read no more of them ; so the name and order, by little and little, came to be quite extinguished about the beginning of the thirteenth age.

In the beginning of the fourteenth age, the order of the templars was put down, whether for their just demerits, or for private ends and hatred, we leave it to the histories of these times; pope Clement V. by his bull did cashier them, the bull beginning thus, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus, &c.* After which all Christian princes did cause them to be apprehended in their several dominions, and put them from their estates, which were then given to hospitallers and knights of St. John, after they had stood about two hundred years, instituted by Baldwin king of Jerusalem, for defence of that city and temple, and the safe conveying of all such as did travel thither: they are also called Red-friars, because their gowns were red.

In this fourteenth age did flourish the great scholastic Johannes, called Scotus from his nation, and Dunse from the place of his birth, for he was born in the town of Dunse in the Merse: he was a great opposer of Thomas of Aquin's doctrine: his sectaries were called Scotists: his epitaph was thus,

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

In the beginning of the fifteenth age, there was a great schism in the Romish church, pope against pope; yea, sometimes there were three popes at one time fighting one against another, and excommunicating one another: this schism lasted about thirty years; and by the council of Constance, Martin the V. was made pope, and the rest defeated. There was one John Fogo, a monk of Melrose, who in Scotland defended the election of Martin by the council, against Benedict, *alias* Peter de Lune.

During this forenamed schism, many (taking occasion, from the openness of the times) began boldly and freely to speak against the bad doctrine, government, and lives of the churchmen; and that not only in private discourse, but they also preached it publicly; as John Wickliff in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, who spoke before the people freely of the tyranny of the government of the clergy, the corruption of their doctrine, and wickedness of their lives. In those days also there were some in Scotland, who feared not to make known to the people the truth of God, as namely, James Resby and Paul Craw (among others), who suffered martyrdom for the truth.

About this time the Carthusians were brought from England into Scotland, and had built unto them a monastery at Perth. In this age the university of St. Andrews was set up, chiefly by the means of Henry Wardlaw bishop of the place, that in some kind the schools of learning might not be altogether wanting, which formerly had flourished for so long a time among the Culdees, and of later years had quite decayed: this good did Wardlaw. As his predecessor William Trail had built the castle of the same city, so his successor James Kennedy built the old college likewise, called St. Salvator's College. Patrick Graham, that came after him, was the man that brought into Scotland the title of primate, metropolitan, and archbishop, by bull of Sixtus IV. From the first preaching of the gospel, till Palladius, the church of Scotland was happy without bishops. From Palladius to king Malcolm's days, the bishops had no distinct dioceses, or parishes, from king Malcolm: till Patrick Graham they were without archbishops: this title and higher rank of authority did not succeed well with Graham; for the other bishops could suffer no superior-

under the pope, namely so near them, hitherto having rejected all the pretensions of the archbishop of York. The inferior clergy also were afraid of the increase of the authority of the man whom they conceived austere and rigid; and so, by the faction of the corrupt court and disordered clergy, poor Graham lost the title he had procured, with the benefice, and one Shevez got his spoil; and what a sweet bird Shevez was, the stories of that time do sufficiently manifest.

Robert Blacater, seeing the bishop of St. Andrews now a metropolitan and archbishop, obtains from Alexander VI. a bull, whereby he is made archbishop also, and he had under him the bishops of Galloway, Argyle and Isles; which new dignity angered the archbishop of St. Andrews, above the loss of his vassals; for to have a companion, in equal dignity, set up beside him, was hard; but he must digest the pill, since the pope will have it so.

Lastly, David Beaton brought in the title of cardinal into Scotland, who hath been the only man that hath borne that title in this country; and how it did speed with him, the following history will tell you.

As, in the beginning of the fifteenth age, the schism from the papacy opened many mens mouths through Christendom, and busied their pens to set forth the corruption of the church, and the vices of the clergy; even so, in the beginning of the sixteenth age, those that fought for the bishoprick of St. Andrews, by their dissention, gave occasion to many in Scotland to speak in public and private of the corruption of churchmens lives, government, and doctrine in Scotland; which coming to the pope's ears, presently he sent unto the king, James IV. a sword, with the title of 'Protector of the Faith;' as if all Christian princes were not in duty bound to protect the faith in Christ; but the faith which the pope would have the king to protect, was his erroneous doctrine, and tyrannical authority.

Some few years after this, Henry VIII. was declared by the pope, 'Defender of the Faith,' and had the sword likewise. James IV. of Scotland being dead, now, by the corrupt courtiers, the young inconsiderate king James was made believe, that the conferring of this new title by the pope, did bring unto him a great pre-eminence; yea, the court sycophants did not flick to call it, 'A new Royalty,' when, in effect, it was nothing else but a new note of his vassalage to Rome: and, by the accepting of the sword, he did engage himself to make war for Rome: and so he did indeed; for sundry men after this, during his short reign, were persecuted, and suffered death for the truth of Christ. This is the second remarkable badge of slavery put upon our princes by the pope: the former was their anointing by him, as we have seen before.

Here he pleased with me to remark, That of all the bishops of Scotland before the reformation, namely, since they were made lords of certain places, and had particular dioceses, you cannot find one who had any care of the true charge of a pastor; for their whole study was, to raise their power, and to increase their means for the upholding of their power: and, to effectuate this more easily and fully, they kept both prince and people in dark ignorance of God's will and word. But because they must seem to do somewhat for the name-sake of bishops, they caused to build walls of temples and churches; set up images and pictures richly dressed, to content the eyes: and brought in the church instruments of music, and artificial singing with great skill, to content the ear: also they brought in sweet perfume and incense,

for the smell: so the most subtiler senses were thus satisfied. And, to make a shew to keep under the senses which are more gross, there must be some kind of fasting enjoined to the people, and chastity to churchmen; but how, and to what purpose, these two last have been kept, all men know. But kept or not, all is one; all these ordinances which the bishops set up for religion, have been discovered, by God's mercy, to be not only without warrant in God's word, but plainly contrary to the same.

Of all the bishops of Scotland in the time of reformation, there was only one or two who embraced the truth; all the rest were either professed persecutors of God's children, and open enemies of the truth, or else they were given altogether so to satisfy their bellies and lusts, that they had no care of religion; witness George Crichton (in the name of all the rest), bishop of Dunkeld, who confessed truly, That he had lived a long time bishop, and never knew any thing of the Old or New Testament.

Impiety, ignorance, and wickedness, came to such a height among the churchmen of all ranks, degrees, and professions, that God being, after so long patience, in a manner vexed with them, did stir up the people to chase them from the service of his house, and to put others in their places, as you will see in the following history, whereunto I refer you. And I shall close up this discourse with one or two passages, worthy to be known; whereby you may see the learning of the church-doctors in those days, and how they did employ the knowledge they had to the abuse of the poor people.

The first passage is this: One Richard Marshal, prior of the black-friars at Newcastle in England, preached in St. Andrews, That the pater-noster should be said to God only, and not to the saints: the doctors of St. Andrews offended at it, made a gray-friar, called Totis, preach against Marshal's tenet; which he did thus (taking his text out of Matthew, chap. v. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit'), seeing we say, Good-day, father, to any old man in the street, we may call a saint, Pater, who is older than any alive; and seeing they are in heaven, we may say to any of them, 'Our father which art in heaven;' and seeing they are holy, we may say to any of them, 'Hallowed be thy name;' and since they are in the kingdom of heaven, we may say, 'Thy kingdom come;' and seeing their will is God's will, we may say to any of them, 'Thy will be done:' but when the gray-friar, in his preaching, came to the fourth petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' he was hissed at, and so was constrained not only to leave off preaching, but also to leave the city for shame.

Yet, among the doctors then assembled, the dispute continued about the Pater; for some would have it said to God *formaliter*, and to the saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, to the saints *minus principaliter*; others, *primario* to God, *secundario* to the saints; others would have it said to God taking it *strictè*, and to the saints taking it *late*. Notwithstanding all these distinctions, the doctors could not agree upon the business. A fellow called Tom, servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, one day perceiving his master much troubled with some business, and as he conceived, weighty, said to him, 'Sir, what is the matter of this your trouble?' The master answered, 'We cannot agree about the saying of the Pater.' The fellow replied, 'To whom should it be said but to God alone?' The master answers

again, 'What shall we do then with the faints?' The fellow replies, 'Give them *Acc's* and *Cred's* enough, that may suffice them, and too well too.' If this was good divinity, God knows.

The second passage likewise is very well worth the knowing, and to this purpose very fit, which fell out about the same time with the former, that is, about the first beginning of the reformation. A little before the death of George Wishart, there came home from Rome a fellow charged with very many holy relicks, and new things of great virtue, as he gave out; but the things were not to be had, nor any benefit by the sight or touching of them, without money. Now, upon a holy-day, in a village near Haddington, this Romish pedler did open his pack, to try if he could vend any of his wares among the country people. Among other commodities the good merchant did shew unto the people, there was a bell of much value, by reason of its great virtue; which he gave out to be this, That if any two parties had any difference, which could not otherwise be decided but by oath, the truth of the oath was to be made known by this bell. For (said he) when any one sweareth, laying his hand on this bell, if he swear true, he shall, after the oath sworn, remove his hand easily from the bell, without any change to the bell; but, if he that sweareth, having his hand upon the bell, sweareth falsely, his hand will stick to the bell, and the bell will rive atunder. Now, we must tell you, that already there was a rift in the bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a false oath of one that had sworn having his hand upon the bell. At this tale the poor simple people were astonished, and fell in admiration; but among them was one farmer, who had some light of the truth of God; he drawing near the Romish merchant, desired to have the bell in his hand, to see it nearly. This desire was granted unto him. Then he takes the bell, and looks on it, expressing great admiration at first; but, immediately thereafter, he asked at the Romipete, if he would suffer him to swear in the presence of the company, having his hand upon the bell; for he had mind to take an oath upon a weighty business. The man could not refuse him. Then said the farmer to the company, 'Friends, before I swear, you see the rift that is already in the bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing on my fingers to make them stick to the bell.' With this he sheweth them his hand open; then laying his hand upon the bell, he did swear thus: 'I swear, in the presence of the living God, and before these good people, that the pope of Rome is Antichrist, and that all the rabble of his clergy, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, with the rest of the crew, are locusts come from hell, to delude the people, and to withdraw them from God: moreover, I promise, they will return to hell.' Incontinent he lifted up his hand from the bell before them all, and said, 'See, friends, that I have lifted up my hand freely from the bell, and look unto the rift in the bell, it is one and the same, without change; this sheweth, according to the saying of this merchant, that I have sworn truth.' Then this poor fellow went away, and never was more seen in Scotland, nor any other of his kind, who brought relicks, or other like toys from Rome.

Many more of this kind might be alledged, but let this suffice, to demonstrate the miserable ignorance from which God in his mercy hath delivered us; to whom be praise and glory, for this and all other benefits.

T H E

A U T H O R ' S P R E F A C E .

TO THE GENTLE READER,

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

IT is not unknown, Christian reader, that the same cloud of ignorance that long has darkened many realms under this accursed kingdom of that Roman Antichrist, had also so overspread this pure realm, that idolatry had been maintained, the blood of innocents hath been shed, and Christ Jesus' eternal truth hath been abhorred, detested, and blasphemed. But that same God that causeth light to shine out of darkness, in the multitude of his mercies, hath of long time opened the eyes of some even within this realm, to see the vanity of that which then was universally embraced for true religion, and has given unto them strength to oppose themselves unto the same. And now, into these our last and most corrupt days, has made his truth so to triumph amongst us, that in despite of Satan, hypocrisy is disclosed, and the true worshipping of God is manifested to all the inhabitants of this realm, whose eyes Satan blinds not, either by their filthy lusts, or else by ambition and insatiable covetousness, which make them repugn to the power of God working by his word. And because we are not ignorant that divers reports were dispersed of us the professors of Jesus Christ within this realm, in the beginning of our enterprise, order was taken, that all our proceedings should be committed to register, as that they were by such as then painfully travelled both by tongue and pen; and so was collected a just volume (as after will appear); containing things done from the fifty-eighth year of God till the arrival of the queen's majesty from France, with the which the collector and writer for that time was content, and never minded farther to have travelled in that kind of writing. But after invocation of the name of God, and after consultation with some faithful, what by them was thought expedient to advance God's glory, and to edify this present generation, and the posterity to come, it was concluded, that

faithful rehearsal should be made of such personages as God had made instruments of his glory, by opposing of themselves to manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatry. And albeit there be no great number, yet are they more than the collector would have looked for at the beginning, and therefore is the volume somewhat enlarged beyond his expectation: and yet in the beginning must we crave of all the gentle readers, not to look to us for such an history as shall express all things that have occurred within this realm, during the time of this terrible conflict that has been betwixt the saints of God, and those bloody wolves who claim to themselves the title of Clergy, and to have authority over the souls of men: for with the policy we intend to meddle no farther than it has religion mixed with it. And, therefore, albeit that many things which were done be omitted, yet if we invent no lies, we think ourselves blameless in that behalf. Of another we must forewarn the discreet readers, which is, that they be not offended that the simple truth be spoken without partiality, for seeing that of men we neither hunt for reward, nor yet for vain glory, we little pass by the approbation of such as seldom judge well of God and of his works. Let not therefore the reader wonder, albeit that our style vary and speak diversely of men, according as they have declared themselves sometimes enemies and sometimes friends, sometimes fervent, sometimes cool, sometimes constant, sometimes changeable, in the cause of God and of his holy religion; for in this our simplicity we suppose that the godly will espy our purpose, which is, that God may be praised for his mercies shewed, this present age may be admonished to be thankful for God's benefits offered, and the posterity to come may be instructed how wonderfully the light of Christ Jesus hath prevailed against darkness in this last and most corrupt age.

BOOK FIRST.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

S C O T L A N D.

IN the records of Glasgow is found mention of one whose name was James Reiby, an Englishman by birth, scholar to Wickliff; he was accused as an heretic, by one Laurence Lindors in Scotland, and burnt for having said, That the pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowledged for pope. This happened *anno* 1422. Further our chronicles make mention, That in the days of king James I. about the year of God 1431, was apprehended in the university of St. Andrews, one named Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who was accused of heresy, before such as were then called doctors of theology. His accusation consisted principally, That he followed John Hus and Wickliff, in the opinion of the sacrament; who denied that the substance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that confession should be made to priests, or yet prayers to saints departed; while that God gave him grace to resist them, and not to consent to their impiety. He was committed to the secular judge (for our bishops followed Pilate, who both did condemn, and also wash his hands), who condemned him to the fire, in which he was

consumed, in the said city of St. Andrews, about the time afore-written. And, to declare themselves to be the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been an enemy to the truth, and he that desireth the same to be hid from the knowledge of men, they put a ball of brass in his mouth, to the end he should not give confession of his faith to the people, neither yet that they should understand the defence which he had against their unjust accusation and condemnation. Both these godly men, Reiby and Craw, suffered martyrdom for Christ's truth, by Henry Wardlaw bishop of St. Andrews, whom the prelates place among their worthies.

But that their wicked practice did not greatly advance their kingdom of darkness, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguish the truth: for, albeit that in the days of king James II. and III. we find small question of religion moved within this realm; yet, in the time of king James IV. in the sixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-second of his age, which was in the year of God 1494, were summoned before the king and his great council, by Robert Blacater, called archbishop of Glasgow, the number of thirty persons remaining,

Case, is X. K. "New" in Kintyre, and some in Cambridgeshire, and one in Devon. George Campbell of Cambray, Adam Paton of Edinburgh, John Campbell of Newmilns, Andrew Bellair of Polletra, John Chalmers of Dalrymple, Daniel Chalmers of Salsburgh.

III. That the articles of the Church of Kyle: they were made by the articles following, as we have seen, and drawn out of the number of Glasgow:

I. That the pope is not the head, *but the chief*, nor yet the pastor.

II. That the articles of faith are not to be worshipped.

III. That the laws and ordinances of man vary from the law of God, and that by the pope.

IV. That it is not lawful to fight for the faith, nor defend the faith by the sword, *if we be not compelled to do so*, which is above all law.

V. That Christ gave power to Peter, *as chief* to the church, and not to the pope his pretended successor, to bind and loose within the kirk.

VI. That Christ ordained no priests to consecrate, as they do in the Romish church: these many years.

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

VIII. That the keys ought not to be given to ecclesiastical men, as they were then called, *to wit*, wholly; *but a part to the poor, widows, or orphans, and to other places*.

IX. That Christ at his coming hath taken away power from kings to judge. *This article we doubt not to be the persons accusers: of the enemy, who se pretend to have been to make the disciples of Jesus Christ suspected by kings and rulers, as if God thereby would deprive them of their royal seats; while, on the contrary, making confirms the power of magistrates more than doth God's truth. But to the articles.*

X. That every faithful man or woman is a priest, *in that sense that they are called by the apostle 1. Pet. ii. 9. and v. 10. and xx. 6.*

XI. That the creation of kings ceased at the coming of Christ: *and truly it seems, but late since kings were abolished, namely in Scotland; for Edgar was the first abolished King in Scotland, about the year 1100.*

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

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

XIV. That the mass profiteth not the souls who at these days are said to be in purgatory.

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

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

XVII. That the pope exalts himself against God, and above Christ.

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

XIX. That the blessings of the bishops (if *doubtless* they should have been freely) are of no value.

XX. That the excommunication of the kirk is not to be feared, *if it be by no true cause for it.*

XXI. That in no estate it was lawful to swear, *to wit*, fully, *partly*, and *in vain*.

XXII. That priests may have wives, according to the constitution of the law, *and of the primitive Christ in church.*

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

XXIV. That after matrimony is contracted and consummated, the kirk may make no divorcement.

XXV. That excommunication binds not, *if unjust*.

XXVI. That the pope forgives not sins, but only God.

XXVII. That faith should not be given to miracles, *to such namely as the Romish were then, and are to this day.*

XXVIII. That we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only, *since he only hears us, and can help us.*

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

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

XXXI. That such as worship the sacrament in the kirk (*see just se they meant the sacrament of the altar*) commit idolatry.

XXXII. That the pope is the head of the kirk of Antichrist.

XXXIII. That the pope and his ministers are murderers of souls.

XXXIV. That they which are called princes, and prelates in the church, are thieves and robbers.

By these articles, which God of his merciful providence caused the enemies of his truth to keep in their registers, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this realm, retaining within it some spark of his light, even in the time of its utter darkness. Neither ought any man to wonder albeit that some things be obscurely, and some

things doubtfully spoken; but rather ought all the faithful to magnify God's mercy, who, without public doctrine, gave so great light. And further, we ought to consider, that seeing that the enemies of Jesus Christ gathered the foregoing articles, thereupon to accuse the persons aforesaid, that they would deprave the meaning of God's servants, so far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done, in the heads of excommunication, swearing, and of matrimony; in the which it is no doubt but the servants of God did condemn the abuse only, and not the right ordinance of God: for, who knows not that the excommunication in those days was altogether abused; that swearing abused, without punishment or remorse of conscience; and that divorcement was made, for such causes as worldly men had invented? But to our history. Albeit that the accusation of the bishop and his complices was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for divers of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusators, that the enemies in the end were frustrated of their purpose: for, while the bishop, in mockage, said to Adam Reid of Bantvining, Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven? he answered, Not as I do the sacraments seven. Whereat the bishop thinking to have triumphed, said, Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven. Whereat the king wondering, said, Adam Reid, what say ye? The other answered, Pleaseth your majesty to hear the end betwixt the churl and me: and therewith he turned to the bishop, and said, I neither think nor believe, as thou thinkest that God is in heaven; but I am most assured, that he is not only in heaven, but also in the earth: but thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or else that he is so set up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for, if thou firmly believedst that God were in heaven, thou shouldst not make thyself cheek-mate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, gave to his apostles, which was, To preach his gospel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir, said he to the king, judge ye, whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven. While the bishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the king, willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, Wilt thou burn thy bill? He answered,

Sir, the bishop and ye will. With these and the like scoffs, the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance, that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter. After that died, we find almost no question for matters of religion the space of near thirty years; for not long after, *viz.* in the year of God 1520, the said bishop Blacater departed this life, going in his superstitious devotion to Jerusalem: unto whom succeeded Mr. James Beaton, son to the lord of Eddfour in life, who was more careful of the world than he was to preach Christ, or yet to advance any religion, but for the fashion only. And as he sought the world, it fled him next; for it was well known, that at once he was archbishop of St. Andrews, abbot of Dunfermline, Ab. Rothock, Kilwinning, and chancellor of Scotland: for, after the unhappy field of Flowden, in which perished king James IV. with the greatest part of the nobility of the realm, the said Beaton, with the rest of the prelates, had the whole government of the realm, and by reason thereof, held and travelled to hold the truth of God in freedom and bondage; till that it pleased God, of his great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up his servant Mr. Patrick Hamilton, at whom our history doth begin: of whose progeny, life, and erudition, because men of fame and renown have in divers works written, we omit all curious repetition; sending such as would know further of him than we write, to Francis Lambert, John Firth; and to that notable work lately set forth by John Fox an Englishman, of the Lives and Deaths of Martyrs: within this life, in this our age.

This servant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, being in his youth provided to reasonable honours and living (he was entitled Abbot of Fern), as one hating the world and the vanities thereof, left Scotland, and passed to the schools in Germany; for at that time the fame of the university of Wittenberg was spread through all countries; where, by God's providence, he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Jesus Christ of that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and the said Francis Lambert. He did so grow and advance in godly knowledge; joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did so erect him up, that he could not long continue to remain there, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in public as in secret; for he

was (besides his godly knowledge) well learned in philosophy: he abhorred superstition, and wished that the text of Aristotle should have been better understood, and more used in the schools, than then it was; for Aristotle had corrupted all, as well in civility as in humanity. In short process of time, the fame of his reasons and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of bishop James Beaton, of whom before we have made mention, who being a confirmed enemy to Jesus Christ, and one that long hath had the whole government of this realm, bore impatiently that any trouble should be made to the king in his darkness, whereof within that year he was the head; and therefore he so troubled with the said Mr. Patrick, that he got him out of Scotland, where, after the conference of divers days, he had his freedom and liberty. The said bishop, and his brethren, called doctors, refused to approve his doctrine, and to grant that many things craved reformation in the ecclesiastical government; and, amongst the rest, there was one that secretly contented with him almost in all things, named John Alexander Campbell, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupted by the world, as after we will hear. When the bishops and clergy had fully understood the mind and judgment of the said Mr. Patrick, and fearing that by him their kingdom should be endangered, they travelled with the king, who was then young, and altogether addicted to their commandment, that he should pass in pilgrimage to St. Dunstons in Ross, to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God, who, suspecting no such cruelty as in their hearts was conceived, remained still (a lamb amongst the wolves), till that upon a night he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the bishop's band was carried to the castle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morrow after brought forth to judgment: he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's truth. The articles for which he suffered, were but of *Purgatory, Purgatory, Prayer to Saints, and for the Dead*, and such trifles; albeit that matters of greater importance had been in question, as his treatise, which in the end we have added, may witness. Now, that the condemnation of the said Mr. Patrick should have the greater authority, they caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that with them were present; and, to make their number great, they took the subscription of children, if they were of the nobility; for the earl of Cassils, which last died in France, then being but twelve or thirteen years of age,

was compelled to subscribe his death, as himself did confess. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared before the Old College, and he led to the place of execution; and yet men supposed that all was done but to give unto him terror, and to have caused him to have recanted, and become cowardly before these bloody beasts: but God, for his own glory, for the comfort of his servant, and for manifestation of their beastly tyranny, had otherwise decreed; for he so strengthened his faithful witness, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruel death, could move him a jot to swerve from the truth once professed. At the place of execution, he gave his servant, who had been his chamberlain for a long time, his gown, his coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee: after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for, albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance unto eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation. The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake, in the midst of some coals, timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made, and set on fire, which gave to the blessed martyr of God a blaze, and scorched his left hand and that side of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals; and so remained the appointed to death in torment, till that men ran to the castle again for more powder, and fire-wood more able to take fire, which at last being kindled, with a loud voice cried, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit: how long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?' The fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more: but most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, among whom Campbell the black-friar (of whom we spake before) was principal, who continually cried, 'Convert heretic, call upon our lady, say, *Salve regina*, &c.' To whom he answered, 'Depart and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan.' But, while that the aforesaid friar still roared, one thing in great vehemence he said unto him, 'Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and the contrary to me thou hast confessed: I appeal thee before the tribunal-seat of Christ Jesus.' After which, and other words, which could not well be understood nor marked, because of the tumult and vehemency of the fire, this witness of Jesus Christ got victory, after long suffering, the last of February, in the year of God 1527. The said friar departed thi-

life within few days after, in what estate we refer to the manifestation of the general day; but it was plainly known, that he died in Glasgow in a frenzy, and as one in despair.

Now, that all men may understand what was the singular erudition and godly knowledge of the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, we have inserted this his little pithy work, containing his assertions and determinations, concerning the law, the office of the same; concerning faith, and the true fruits thereof; first by the said Mr. Patrick collected in Latin, and after translated into English.

Of the Law.

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

The Ten Commandments.

1. THOU shalt worship but one God. 2. Thou shalt make thee none image to worship it. 3. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain. 4. Hold the Sabbath day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou shalt not kill. 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou shalt not steal. 9. Thou shalt bear no false witness. 10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God. 'Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour: if any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a liar: he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth the whole commandments of God. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the law and the prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law: Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour: Thou shalt not desire, and so forth.' If there be any other commandment, all are comprehended under this saying, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself. He that

loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God,' Rom. xiii. Gal. v. 'He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour, 1 John iv.' *Ergo*, He that loveth God, keepeth all his commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God: 'My Father loveth you, because ye love me, and believe that I came of God.' He that hath the faith, keepeth all the commandments of God; he that hath the faith, loveth God; and he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God: *ergo*, He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. He that keepeth one commandment keepeth them all; for without faith it is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God; and he that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God: *ergo*, He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all. He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the commandments of God, he keepeth all: *ergo*, He that keepeth not all the commandments, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of God's commandments; without grace it is impossible to keep one of God's commandments, and grace is not in our power: *ergo*, It is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. Even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith. The law was given to shew us our sin: 'By the law cometh the knowledge of sin; I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; I knew not what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust; without the law sin was dead;' that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law. The law biddeth us do that which is impossible for us; for it bids us keep all the commandments of God, and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them: *ergo*, It biddeth us do that which is impossible for us. Thou wilt say, wherefore doth God command us that which is impossible for us? I answer, To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand, and that thou mayest seek remedy at some other: for the law doth nothing but command thee.

Of the Gospel.

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

Christ is the Saviour of the world.

Christ is our Saviour.

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

The Nature of the Law, and of the Gospel.

The law sheweth us our sin.
 The law sheweth us our condemnation.
 The law is the word of ire.
 The law is the word of despair.
 The law is the word of displeasure.
 The gospel sheweth us a remedy for it.
 The gospel sheweth us our redemption.
 The gospel is the word of grace.
 The gospel is the word of comfort.
 The gospel is the word of peace.

A Distinction betwixt the Law and the Gospel.

The law saith, pay thy debt.
 The law saith, thou art a desperate sinner.
 The law saith, thou shalt die.
 The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.
 The gospel saith, thy sins are forgiven thee.
 The gospel saith, be of good comfort, thou art saved.
 The law saith, make amend, for thy sin.
 The law saith, the Father of heaven is wroth with thee.
 The law saith, where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?

The law saith, thou art bound and obliged unto me, the devil, and hell.
 The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee.
 The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.
 The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction.
 The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

Of Faith.

FAITH is to believe God, like as 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.' He that believeth God, believeth his word. To believe in him, is to believe his word, and account it true that he speaketh. He that believeth not God's word, believeth not himself, he counteth him false, and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God and himself. Faith is the gift of God; every good thing is the gift of God; faith is good: *ergo*, Faith is the gift of God. The gift of God is not in our power; faith is the gift of God: *ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impossible to please God, all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God; besides that, he that lacketh faith, he trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not in his word; he that trusteth not in his word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God. O how can a man, being of this fashion, please God! No manner of ways, yea, suppose he did all the works of man and angel.

All that is done in faith pleaseth God: right is the word of God, and all his works in faith: Lord, thine eyes look to faith; that is as much to say, as, Lord, thou delightest in faith: God loveth him that believeth in him; how can they then displease him? He who hath faith, is just and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: *ergo*, All that is done in faith, pleaseth God. Moreover, he that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and cannot lie; but knoweth well that he both may and will fulfil his word: how can he then displease him? for thou canst do no greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then say, That theft, murder, adultery, and all vices please God;

no, verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath faith, wotteth well that he pleaseth God, for all that is done in faith, pleaseth God; faith is a sureness: 'Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and a certainty of things which are not seen: the same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.' Moreover, he that hath the faith, wotteth that God will fulfil his word: *ergo*, Faith is a sureness.

A man is justified by Faith.

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

Of the Faith of Christ.

THE faith of Christ is, to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil. Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The gospel. He that believeth in Christ, shall be saved. He that believeth the Son, hath everlasting life. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life. This I write unto you, that believing in the name of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have eternal life. Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou believest; but happy are they that have not seen, and yet believe in me.' All the prophets to him bear witness, That whosoever believeth in him, shall have remission of their sins. 'What must I do that I may be saved?' the apostle answereth, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart, that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. He that believeth not in Christ, shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son, shall never see life, but the ire of God abideth upon him. The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, 'because,' saith Christ, 'they believe not in me.' They that believe in Jesus Christ, are the sons of God. Ye are all the

sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ. He that believeth in Christ the Son of God, is safe. Peter said, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.' Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Happy art thou, Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my Father which is in heaven.' We have believed and known that thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God. I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God, which should come into the world. These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jesus is the Son of the Living God. He that believeth God, believeth the gospel. He that believeth God, believeth his word, and the gospel is his word: therefore he that believeth God, believeth his gospel. As Christ is the Saviour of the world, Christ is our Saviour; Christ bought us with his blood; Christ washed us with his blood; Christ offered himself for us; Christ bare our sins upon his back. He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God; he that believeth not God's word, believeth not himself; and the gospel is God's word: *ergo*, He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, they that believe not, as is above written, and such other, believe not God. He that believeth the gospel, shall be saved: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature; he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.'

A Comparison betwixt Faith and Incredulity.

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

INCREDULITY is the root of all evil; maketh them deadly foes; bringeth them asunder.

All that proceedeth from faith, pleaseth God.

All that proceedeth from incredulity, displeaseth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.

Incredulity maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith only maketh a man the member of Christ, the inheritor of heaven, the servant of God.

Faith sheweth God to be a sweet Father, holdeth stiff by the word of God, counteth God to be true; faith knoweth God, loveth God and his neighbour; faith only saveth; faith extolleth God and his works.

Incredulity maketh man a member of the devil, maketh him inheritor of hell, maketh him the ser-

vant of the devil; incredulity maketh God a terrible judge, causeth man wander here and there, maketh him false and a liar, knoweth him not; incredulity loveth neither God nor neighbour; incredulity only condemneth; incredulity extolleth flesh and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

HOPE is a truly looking for of things that are promised to come unto us, as we hope the everlasting joy which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him. We should put our hope and trust in God only, and in no other thing. It is good to trust in God, and not in man. He that trusteth in his own heart, he is a fool. It is good to trust in God, and not in princes: they shall be like unto images that make them, and all that trust in them. He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly: cursed be he that trusteth in man. Did the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the Living God: it is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of God? Moreover, we should trust in him only, that can help us; yea, we should trust in him only. Well is he that trusteth in God, and wo to them that trust him not. Well is the man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust: he that trusteth in him shall understand the truth. They shall all rejoice that trust in thee, they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.

Of Charity.

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

A Comparison betwixt Faith, Hope, and Charity.

FAITH cometh of the word of God, Hope cometh of faith, and charity springeth of them both: faith believes the word, hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word, and charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself. Faith looketh to God and his word, hope looketh unto his gift and reward, charity looketh unto her neighbour's profit. Faith

receiveth God, hope receiveth his reward, charity looketh to her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God only, hope to his reward, and charity to her neighbour.

Of Good Works.

No manner of works make us righteous: we believe that a man shall be justified without works. No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law. If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain: that no man is justified by the law, it is manifest; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith. Moreover, since Christ, the Maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned in sins, that neither the deeds, nor all the creatures that ever God made, or might make, might have helped us out of them: *ergo*, No deeds nor works can make us righteous. No works make us unrighteous; for if any works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous; but it is proved, that no works can make us righteous: *ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither Good nor Evil.

It is proved, That works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: *ergo*, No works either make us good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil another. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man; but a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works: good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works; for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A good man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he doth evil works; for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit. Every man is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit likewise evil. Every man's work is either good or evil; for all fruit is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit also, or else

make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil. A good man is known by his works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil, evil works: ye shall know them by their fruits; for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. 'Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruit.'

None of our Works either save us, or condemn us.

It is proved, That no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good or evil; but first we are good before that we do good works, and evil before we do evil works: *ergo*, No work either saveth us, nor condemneth us. Thou wilt say, Then maketh it no matter what we do? I answer thee, Yes; for if thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith; if thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit: yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good before he do good works, and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree, the works are the fruit: faith maketh the good tree, incredulity the evil tree; such a tree, such a fruit; such man, such works; for all that is done in faith pleaseth God, and are good works, and all that is done without faith displeaseth God, and are evil works. Whosoever thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is our Saviour, and that Christ died for him, and finally all things that belongeth to Christ: for, how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself with thy works? Or, to what end should he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have saved thee? What is this to say, Christ died for thee? is it not that thou shouldst have died perpetually, and that Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death? For thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before ever thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now, since he hath paid thy debt, thou diest not, no, thou canst not, but shouldst have been damned, if his death were not; but, since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished. Finally, he hath delivered thee from condemnation, and desiring nothing of thee, but that thou shouldst acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear

it in mind, and that thou would help others for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath helped thee for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us! He is a good and gentle Lord, and he doth all things for nought; let us, I beseech you, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. *Amen.*

He that thinketh to be saved by his Works, calleth himself Christ.

For he calleth himself a Saviour, which appertaineth to Christ only. What is a Saviour? but he that saveth; and thou sayest, I save myself, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ is only the Saviour of the world. We should do no good works, to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sins through them; for whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sins through works, he believeth not to get that for Christ's sake. And they who believe that their sins are not forgiven them, and that they shall not be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel; for the gospel faith, Thou shalt be saved for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven you for Christ's sake. He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God; and consequently, they that believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good works? I say not so, but I say, we should do no good works, to the intent to get the kingdom of heaven, or remission of sins; for if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God; or, if we think to get remission of our sins by good works, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Christ; and so we count God a liar: for God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake. You say, it is not so, but I will gain it through mine own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicated or poisoned, and become evil. Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them not to get any good through them; for, if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take.

nothing from him for naught. What? needeth he any thing of thing, who createth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart will give us all things that we need, than we take of him. So that if we want any thing, let us take of him. It is not then to the influence of heaven, through presumption of the good works; for if thou doest, thou countest thyself holy and equal unto him, because thou wilt take nothing of him for naught; and so shalt thou fall. Lucifer fell from heaven for his pride.

Thus ends Mr. Patrick's articles; and so we return to our history.

When those cruel wolves had (as they supposed) clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm (who heard of that fact), there was none found who began not to enquire, wherefore was Mr. Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And so within short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inasmuch that the university of St. Andrews and St. Leonard's College, principally by the labours of Mr. Gavin Lagy, the novices of the abbey, and by the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after, began both black and gray friars publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate; amongst whom was one called William Arithe, who, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the bishops than they could well bear. He spake further against the abuse of cursing and of miracles. The bishop of Brechin, having his parasites and jick-men in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar, impatient of the injury received, past to St. Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his sermon to Mr. John Mair, whose word then was held as an oracle in matters of religion; and being assured of him that such doctrine might be well defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresy. There was one day appointed to the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon: and advertisement was given to all such as was offended at the former, to be present. And so in the parish church of St.

Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had amongst his auditors, Mr. John Mair, Mr. George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, Mr. Patrick Hepburn prior of St. Andrews, with all the doctors and masters of the universities.

The theme of his sermon was, 'Verity is the strength of all things.' His discourse of cursing was, that if it was not wisely used, it were the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth; for it were the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners; but now, said he, the avarice of priests, and the ignorance of their office, hath caused it altogether to be despised. For the priest, said he, whose duty and office is to pray for the people, standeth up on Sunday, and crieth, Anne has lost her spindle; there is a nail stolen from behind the barn: 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 thy goods, and restoreth them not. How the people mocked their cursing, he further told a merry tale, how, after a sermon that he made at Dunfermline, he came to a house where gossip were drinking their Sunday's penny, and he being dry, asked drink; yes, father, said one of the gossips, ye shall have drink, but ye must first resolve one doubt which is risen among us, *viz.* What servant will serve a man best at least expences? The good angel, said I, who is man's keeper, who maketh good service without expences. Tush, said the gossip, we mean no such high matters; we mean, what honest man will do greatest service for least expences; and while I was musing, said the friar, what that should mean, he said, 'I see, father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men.' Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of cursing for a plock, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our ditch, and that keeps our corn better than the sleeping boy, that will have three shillings of fee, a shirt, and a pair of shoes in the year? And therefore, if their cursing do any thing, we hold the bishops the cheapest servants in that behalf that are within the realm. As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false. But now, said he, the greediness of priests not only receive false miracles, but also they cherish and hire knaves for that purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and offerings may be augmented; and thereupon are many chapels founded, as that if our lady were mightier, and that

he took more pleasure in one place than in another; as, of late days, our lady of Karfgrange hath hopped from one green hillock to another; but honest men of St. Andrews, saith he, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in good honest company; for if ye know what miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God nor our lady. And thus he merrily taunted their priests, of whoredom and adultery used at such devotion.

Another article was judged more hard; for he asked of the common law, that the civil magistrate might correct the churchmen, and deprive them of their benefices, for open vices. Another day the same friar made another sermon of the abbot of *Unraefin*, unto whom, and whose laws, he compareth prelates of that age; for they were subject to no laws, no more than was the abbot of *Unraefin*. And, among other things, he told such a merry jest; There was, said he, a prelate, or at least a prelate's peer, a true servant to the king of love, who, upon a night after supper, asked of his gentlemen, by the faith that they owed to the king of love, that they truly declare, how many sundry women every one of them had, and how many of them were mens wives. One answered, he had lien with five, and two of them were married. The other answered, I have had seven, and three of them are married. It came last to my lord abbot himself, who making it very nice for a little space, gave in the end a plain confession, and said, I am the youngest man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and seven of them are mens wives. Now, said the friar, this god and king of love, to whom our prelates do homage, is the master-devil of hell, from whom such fruits and works do proceed. This friar was known by his proper tokens to have been prior Patrick Hepburn, afterwards bishop of Murray, who continued in the profession that he had made to his god and king of love.

It was supposed, notwithstanding this kind of preaching, that this friar remained Papist in his heart: for the other friars, fearing to lose the benediction of the bishops, *viz.* Their 'malt and their meal,' and their other appointed pensions, caused the said friar to flee to England, where, for defence of the pope and Papistry, he was cast into prison at king Henry's commandment. But so it pleased God to open the mouth of Balaam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of that age.

Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there, that some should be burnt; for men began

liberally to speak. A merry gentleman, named John Liddisay, familiar to bishop James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said, My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon. Thus it pleased God that they should be taunted in their own face. But here followeth the most merry of all: One Alexander Furrou, who had been imprisoned seven years in the tower of London, Sir John Dugswail (according to the charity of churchmen) entertained his wife, and waited the poor man's substance: for the which cause, at his returning, he spake more liberally of priests than they could bear: and so was he declared to be accused of heresy, and called to his answer at St. Andrews: he leapt up merrily upon the scaffold, and casting a gambol, said, Where are the rest of the players? Mr. Andrew Oliphant offended therewith, said, It shall be no play to you, Sir, before ye depart; and so began to read his accusation; the first article whereof was, 'That he despised the mass.' His answer was, 'I hear more masses in eight days than three bishops there sitting say in a year.' Accused secondly, 'of the contempt of the sacraments.' 'The priests,' said he, 'were the most common contemners of sacraments; and especially of matrimony.' And that he witnessed by many of the priests there present, and named the man's wife with whom they had meddled, and especially Sir John Dugswail, who had seven years together abused his own wife, and consumed his substance; and said, Because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt: for God's sake, said he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others, whom ye have abused, may be revenged upon you. Then bishop Gavin Dunbar, named the old bishop of Aberdeen, thinking to justify himself before the people, said, Carl, thou shalt not know my wife. The said Alexander answered, My lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God I shall drink with your daughter or I depart: and thereat was smiling of the best, and loud laughter of some; for the bishop had a daughter married to Andrew Balfour in that town. Then the bishop bade away with the carle. But he answered, Nay, I will not depart this hour; for I have more to speak against the vices of priests than I can express this whole day. And so, after divers purposes, they commanded him to burn his bill. And he de-

rumbling the cause, they said, Because ye have spoken these articles whereof ye are accused. His answer was, The great devil bear them away that first and last said them: and so he took the bill, and chewing it, he spat it in Mr. Andrew Oliphant's face, saying, Now burn it or drown it, whether ye will, ye hear no more of me; but I must have somewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack again, which a priest, and my wife a priest's whore, have spent: and so every prelate, and rich priest, glad to be quit of his evil, gave him somewhat, and so departed he, for he understood nothing of religion. But so fearful was it then to speak any thing against priests, that the bold word spoken against them, yea, though it was spoken in a man's sleep, was judged heresy: and that was practised upon one Richard Carmichael, living in wife, who being young, and singer in the chapel-royal of Stirling, happened in his sleep to say, The devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack. He therefore, accused by Sir George Clapperton dean of the said chapel, was compelled forthwith to burn his bill. But God shortly after raised up against them stronger champions: for Alexander Seton, a black-friar, of good learning and estimation, began to blame the corrupt doctrine of Popistry. For the space of a whole Lent, he taught the commandments of God only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, That the law of God had not of many years been truly taught; for mens tradition had obscured the purity of it. These were his accustomed propositions; 1. Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. 2. There is no sin where God's law is not violated. 3. To satisfy for sin, lies not in man's power; but the remission thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father merciful in Jesus Christ his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in mind of this and the like heads, he maketh no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, nor of such trifles. The dumb doctors, and the rest of that fore sworn rabble, began to suspect him, and yet said they nothing publicly, till Lent was ended. And he passed to Dundee, and then one in his absence, hired to that purpose, openly condemned the whole doctrine that before he had taught; which coming to the ears of the said friar Alexander, then being in Dundee, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, caused immediately to toll the bell, and give signification that he would preach, as he did indeed; in which sermon he affirmeth (and that more plainly than at any other

time), whatsoever in all his whole sermons he had taught before, the whole Lent past; adding, That within Scotland there were no true bishops, if that bishops should be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires in bishops. This declaration flew with wings to the bishop's ears, who, without further delay, sent for the said friar Alexander, who began sharply to accuse, that he had so slanderously spoken of the dignity of bishops, as to say, That it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly. The man being witty, and minding that which was his most assured defence, said, My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars. Whereat the bishop rejoiced, and said, Your answer pleaseth me well; I never could think of you that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things: where are the knives that have brought me this tale? Who comparing, and affirming the same that they did before, he still replied, That they were liars. But while the witnesses were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the bishop, and said, My lord, ye may hear and consider what ears these aunes have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, and friar Alexander Seton. In very deed, my lord, I said, that Paul said, It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher; Isaiah said, That they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and Zechariah said, They are idle pastors: I of mine own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced, at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so yet again, my lord, I say, That they are manifest liars that reported unto you that I said, that ye and others that preach not, are no bishops, but belly-gods. Albeit after that the bishop was highly offended, as well at the scold and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man, yet durst he not hazard for that present to execute his malice conceived: for not only feareth he the learning and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had, as well of the people, as of the prince king James V. with whom he had good credit; for he was at that time his confessor; and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's law, and unto purity of life. But the said bishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the prince and a man so learned, and so repugnant to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the said friar Alexander odious unto the king, and

easily found the means, by the gray-friars (who by their hypocrisy deceived many), to traduce the innocent as an heretic. This accusation was easily believed of the young prince, who, being much given to the lusts of the flesh, abhorred all counsel that repugned thereto; and because he did remember what a terror the admonitions of the said Alexander was unto his blinded conscience, without resistance he subscribed to his accusation, affirming, that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he understood well enough that he smelled of the new doctrine, by such things as he had shewn to him under confession: and therefore he promised, that he should follow the counsel of the bishops in punishing of him, and of all others of that sect. These things understood by the said Alexander, as well by the information of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the king unto him, provided the next way to avoid the fury of a misled prince; and so, in his habit, he departeth the realm; and coming to Berwick, wrote back again to the king his complaint and admonition; the very tenor and copy whereof followeth, and is this:

‘ MOST gracious soveraign, under the Lord and King of all, of whom only thy highness and majesty hast power and authority to exercise justice within this thy realm under God, who is King and Lord of all realms, and thy majesty, and all mortal kings, are but only servants unto that only immortal Prince, Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wot, unknown to thy gracious highness, how that thy majesty’s sometime servant and orator (and ever shall be to my life’s end) is departed out of thy realm, unto the next adjacent of England; nevertheless, I believe the cause of my departing is unknown to thy gracious majesty, which only is, Because the bishops and churchmen of thy realm have had heretofore such authority upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather king, and thou the subject; which unjust government is of itself false, and contrary to holy Scripture, and God’s law. Then thou art the king and master, and they thy subjects, which is very true, and testified expressly by the word of God; and also, because they will give no man of any degree or state (whom they often call heretics) audience, time, nor place to speak and have defence, which is against all law, both the old law (called the law of Moses), and the new law of the gospel. So that if I might have had audience, and place to speak, and have shewed my just defence, conformable to

the law of God, I should never have fled to any other realm, suppose it should have cost me my life: but, because I believed that I should have no audience, nor place to answer (they are so great with thy majesty), I departed, not doubting, but moved of God, unto a better time that God illuminate thy majesty, even to give every man audience (as thou shouldst and mayst, and art bound by the law of God), who are accused to the death. And to certify thy highness, that these are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy majesty to come in thy realm again, so that thy majesty will give me audience, and hear what I have for me of the law of God, and cause any bishop or abbot, friar or secular, which is most cunning (some of them cannot read their mattins, who are made judges of heresy), to impugn me by the law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy majesty being present and judge, I refuse no pain worthy or condign for my fault. And if that I convince them by the law of God, and that they have nothing to lay to my charge, but the law of man, and their own inventions, to uphold their own glory and prideful life, and daily scourging of thy poor subjects; I refer myself to thy majesty as judge, Whether he hath the victory that holds him at the law of God, which cannot fail or be false? or they that hold them at the law of man, which is very often plainly contrary to and against the law of God? and therefore of necessity false, and full of lies: for all things that is contrary to the verity (which is Christ and his law), is of necessity a lie. And to witness that this comes of all my heart, I shall remain at Berwick while I get thy majesty’s answer, and shall without fail return, having thy hand-writ that I may have audience and place to speak. No more I desire of thee, whereof, if I had been sure, I should never have departed; and that thou mayst know the truth thereof, if fear of the justness of my cause, or dread of persecution for the same, had moved me to depart, I could not so pleasantly revert; only distrust was the cause of my departing. Pardon me to say that which lieth to thy majesty’s charge; Thou art bound by the law of God (suppose they falsly lie, saying, It pertaineth not to thy majesty to intermeddle with such matters), to cause every man, in any case accused of his life, to have their just defence, and their accusers produced conform to their own law. They blind thy majesty’s eyes, that know nothing of this law; but if I prove not this out of their own

law, I offer me to the death. Thy majesty there-
 fore, by experience, may daily learn (seeing they
 neither fear the King of heaven, as their lives
 testify, neither thee their natural prince, as their
 usurped power in their actions shews), why thy
 subjects should be no longer blinded. Then
 mayst thou see, that they pretend nothing else,
 but only the maintenance and upholding of their
 lordly malice, enervating of their insatiable a-
 varice, and continual exercising and swallowing
 up thy poor subjects; neither preaching nor
 teaching, out of the law of God (as they should),
 the rude ignorant people, but contend who may
 be most high, most rich, and most thy majesty,
 to put the temporal lords and lieges out of thy
 counsel and favour, who should be, and are, most
 tender servants to thy majesty in all time of need,
 to the defence of thy and thy crown: and where
 they desire thy majesty to put out thy temporal
 lords and lieges, because they despise their vicious
 life, what else intend they, but only thy death
 and destruction, as thou mayst easily perceive?
 Suppose they colour their false intent and mind
 with the pursuit of heresy; for when thy barons
 are put down, what art thou but the king of
 land, and not of men? and then of necessity must
 be guided by them; and there, no doubt, where
 a blind man is guide, must be a fall in the mire.
 Therefore let thy majesty take boldness and au-
 thority, which thou hast of God, and suffer not
 their cruel persecution to proceed without audi-
 ence given to him that is accused, and just place
 of defence; and then, no doubt, thou shalt have
 thy subjects hearts, and all that they can or may
 do in time of need, tranquillity, justice, and po-
 licy, and finally the kingdom of the heavens. May
 it please you to give one copy of this to the cler-
 gy, and keep the original, and thy majesty shall
 have experience, if I go against one word that I
 have spoken. I shall daily make my hearty de-
 votion for thy majesty, and for the prosperity and
 welfare of thy body and soul. I doubt not but
 thy gracious highness will give answer to this
 Later, unto the presenter of it unto thy highness.
 At B. rwick, by thy highness's servant and orator.
Si. subscribitur, ALEXANDER SETON.

This letter was delivered to the king's own
 hands, and of many read: but what could greatly
 avail, where the pride and corruption of prelates
 commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of
 courtiers flattered the undivided prince in all dissi-
 tulencies, by which means they made him obsequi-

ous unto them? From the death of that constant
 witness of Jesus Christ, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, God
 disclosing the wickedness of the wicked, as before
 we have heard; there was one Forrest of Linlith-
 gow taken, who, after long imprisonment in the
 said tower of St. Andrews, was adjudged to the
 fire, by the said bishop James Beaton and his doc-
 tors, for no other crime but because he had a New
 Testament in English. Further of that history we
 have not, except that he died constantly, and with
 great patience at St. Andrews. After whose death
 the flame of persecution ceased, till the death of Mr.
 Norman Gurlaw, the space of ten years or there-
 about: not that the bloody beast ceased by all
 means to suppress the light of God, and to trouble
 such as in any sort were suspected to abhor their
 corruption; but because the realm in these times
 was troubled with intestine and cruel wars, in
 which much blood was shed; first at Melrose, be-
 twixt Douglas and Buccleugh, in the year of
 God 1526, the 24th day of July; next at Linlith-
 gow, betwixt the Hamiltons and the earl of Len-
 nox, who was sister's son to the earl of Arran,
 where the said earl, with many others, lost his
 life, the 13th day of September in the same year;
 and last betwixt the king himself and the foresaid
 Douglas, whom he banished the realm, and held
 him in exile during his whole days. By reason of
 these, we say, and of other troubles, the bishops,
 and their bloody bands, could not find the time so
 favourable unto them as they required, to execute
 their tyranny.

In this middle time, so did the wisdom of God
 provide, That Henry VIII. king of England, did
 abolish from his realm the name and authority of
 the pope of Rome, commanded the Bible to be
 read in English, suppressed the abbeyes and other
 places of idolatry, with their idols, which gave
 great hope to divers realms, that some godly re-
 formation should have thereof ensued: and there-
 fore from this our country did divers learned men,
 and others that lived in fear of persecution, repair
 to that realm; where albeit they found not such
 purity as they wished (and therefore divers of
 them sought other countries), yet they escaped the
 tyranny of merciless men, and were referred to
 better times, that they might fructify within his
 church in divers places and parts, and in divers
 vocations. Alexander Seton remained in England,
 and publicly (with great praise and comfort of
 many), taught the gospel in all sincerity certain
 years. And albeit the craftiness of Gardner bishop
 of Winchester, and of others, circumvented the

said Alexander, so that they caused him at Paul's Cross to affirm certain things that repugned to his former doctrine; yet it is no doubt, but that God potently had afflicted him in all his life, and that also at his death (which shortly after followed), he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. Alexander Alæsius, Mr. John Fife, and that famous man doctor Machabeus, departed unto Holland, where, by God's providence, they were distributed to several places. Maedoual, for his singular prudence, besides his learning and godliness, was elected borrow-master in one of their steads. Alæsius was appointed to the university of Lipsia, and so was Mr. John Fife, where, for their honest behaviour and great erudition, they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and estimation, doctor Machabeus was with Christian king of Denmark, Cawpmanhowen, and famous men of divers nations, can testify. Thus did God provide for his servants, and did frustrate the expectation of those bloody beasts, who, by the death of one (he means Mr. Patrick Hamilton) in whom the light of God did clearly shine, intended to have suppressed Christ's truth for ever within this realm; but the contrary had God decreed, for his death was the cause (as is said) that many did awake from the deadly sleep of ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ the only true light shine unto many, for the away-taking of one. And, albeit that these notable men did never after (Mr. John Fife only excepted) comfort their country with their bodily presence, yet made he them fructify in his church, and raised them up lights out of darkness, to the praise of his own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled; *viz.* of the king, council, and nobility, yea, of the whole people, who suffered such notable personages, without crimes committed, to be unjustly persecuted, and so exiled: others were after even so dealt withal; but of them we shall speak in their own place.

No sooner got the bishops opportunity (which always they sought), but so soon renewed the battle against Jesus Christ: for the aforesaid leprous bishop, in the year of God 1534, caused to be summoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Dayis, Henry Kernes, John Stuart of Leith, with divers others, such as Mr. William Johnston advocate, Mr. Henry Henderson schoolmaster of Edinburgh; of whom some compeared in the abbey-kirk of Holyroodhouse, and so abjured, and publicly burnt their bills; others compeared not, and therefore were exiled. But in judgment were produced two, *viz.* David Strai-

ton a gentleman, and Mr. Normand Gourlay, a man of reasonable erudition, of whom we may shortly speak. In Mr. Norman appeared knowledge, albeit joined with weakness: but in David Straiton could only be espied for the first, a hatred against the pride and avariciousness of priests; for the cause of his accusation was, he had made to himself one fish-boat to go to the sea: the bishop of Murray then being prior of St. Andrews, his agents urged him for the tithe thereof. His answer was, If they would have tithe of that which his servants gained in the sea, it were but reason that they should come and receive it where they got the stock; and so, as it was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants to cast the tenth fish into the sea again. Process of cursing was led against him for not paying such tithes; which when he contemned, he was summoned to answer for heresy. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a man very stubborn, and one that despised all reading (chiefly of those things that were godly), but miraculously, as it were, he appeareth to be changed, for he delighted in nothing but in hearing of reading (for himself could not read), and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord and quietness, and the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the laird of Dun-Elking, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated. Upon a day, as the laird of Lauristoun, who was then a young man, was reading unto him in the New Testament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read these sentences of our Master Jesus Christ; 'He that denieth me before men, or
' is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my
' Father, and before his angels.' At which words, he suddenly being as one revived, cast himself upon his knees, and extending both hand and visage constantly to heaven a reasonable time, at length he burst forth in these words, 'O Lord, I have
' been wicked, and justly mayst thou withdraw thy
' grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercie sake,
' let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear
' of death or corporal pain.' The issue declared that his prayer was not in vain; for when he, with the aforesaid Mr. Norman, was produced in judgment in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, the king himself (all clad in red) being present, great labour was made, that the said David Straiton should have recanted, and burnt his bill: but he, ever standing at his defence, alledging that he had not es-

fended, in the end were judged to the fire, and then when he perceived the danger, asked grace at the king (which he would willingly have granted him to him). The bishops proudly answered, that the king's hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned. And so was he, with the said Mr. Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1534 aforesaid, led to a place besides the Wood of Greenfield, and there they two were both hanged and burnt, according to the manner of the Popistical church. To the same diet were summoned, as before we have said, others, of whom some escaped into England, and so for that present escaped the death. This their tyranny notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the Popistical religion openly rebuked: amongst whom were those of Dundee and Leith principals, against whom was made a very strict inquisition, by David Beaton cruel cardinal. And divers were compelled to assure and burn their bills, some in St. Andrews, and some at Edinburgh. At the same time captain John Borthwick, provost of Glasgow, was burnt in figure, but by God's providence escaped their fury. And this was done for a spectacle and triumph to Mary of Lorraine, lately arrived from France, as wife to James V. king of Scots: what plagues she brought with her, and how they yet continue, such as are not blind men manifestly see. The rage of these bloody beasts proceeded so far, that the king's court itself cleaned not that danger; for in it divers were suspected, and some accused: and yet ever did some light burst out in the midst of darkness; for the truth of Christ Jesus entered even into the cloisters, as well of friars and monks as of canons. John Lyn, a gray-friar, left his hypocritical habit, and the den of those murderers, the gray-friars. A black-friar, called friar Kilior, set forth the history of Christ's passion in form of a play, which he both preached and practised openly in Stirling, the king himself being present upon a Good-Friday in the morning; in the which all things were so lively expressed, that the very simple people understood and confessed, that, as the priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn him; so did

the bishops, and men called religious, blind the people, and persuaive princes and judges to persecute such as profess Christ Jesus his blessed gospel. This plain speaking so inflamed the hearts of all that bare the beast's mark, that they ceased not, till the said friar Kilior, and with him friar Deveridge, Sir Duncan Simion, Robert Pomeister gentleman, and dean Thomas Ferrar canon regular and vicar of Dollar, a man of upright life, who altogether were cruelly murdered in one fire, upon the Castle-hill, the last of February, in the year of our Lord 1538. This cruelty was used by the aforesaid cardinal, the chancellor, the bishop of Glasgow, and the incessuous bishop of Dumblain. After that this cruelty was used in Edinburgh upon the Castle-hill, to the effect that the rest of the bishops might shew themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God, than he of St. Andrews was, were apprehended two of the diocess of Glasgow, the one named Jeremy Russell, a gray-friar, a young man, of a meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning; and one Alexander Kennedy, who passed not eighteen years of age, one of excellent wit in vulgar poetry. To assist the bishop of Glasgow in that cruel judgement, or at least to dip his hands in the blood of the saints of God, were sent Mr. John Lauder, Mr. Andrew Ophant, and friar Meisman, servants of Satan, apt for that purpose: the day appointed to the cruelty approaching, the two poor saints of God were presented before those bloody butchers; grievous were the crimes which were laid to their charge: Kennedy at the first was faint, and gladly would have repented; but while the place of repentance was denied unto him, the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of all comfort, began to work in him; yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in visage, as in tongue and word; for his countenance began to be cheerful, and, with a joyful voice, upon his knees, he said, 'O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy which thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me the most cauld and miserable wretch above all others! for even now when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort, which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death, do what ye please, I praise my God I am ready.' The godly and learned Jeremy, railed upon by these godless tyrants,

answered, 'This is your hour and power of darkness: now sit ye as judges; and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day shall come, when our innocence shall appear, and that ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity.' While that these servants of God thus behaved themselves, a variance ariseth betwixt the bishop and the beasts that came from the cardinal; for the bishop said, 'I think it better to spare these men, than to put them to death;' whereat the idiot doctors offended, said, 'What will ye do, my lord? will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal, and the other bishops, and we, have done? If so ye do, ye shew yourself enemy to the church and us, and to we will repute you, be ye assured.' At which words, the faithless man afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked. The meek and gentle Jeremy Rusiel comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, often saying unto him, 'Brother, fear not, more mighty is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have end; and therefore let us contend to enter in, unto our Master and Saviour, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us: death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer.' With these, and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of execution, and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire. And thus did these cruel beasts intend nothing but murder in all the quarters of this realm; for so far had they blinded and corrupted the inconsiderate prince, that he gave himself to obey the tyranny of those bloody beasts, and he made a solemn vow, That none should be spared that was suspected of heresy, yea, although it were his own son. To press and push him forward in this his fury, he lacked not flatterers enow; for many of his minions were pensioners to priests, amongst whom Oliver Sinclair, yet remaining enemy to God, was principal; and yet did not God cease to give that blinded prince documents, that some sudden punishment was to fall upon him, if he did not repent, and amend his life; and that his own mouth did confess: for after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded (justly or unjustly we dispute not), this vision came unto him (as to his familiars himself did declare), the said Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn

sword, with which he struck from the king both the arms, saying to him, 'Take that till thou receive a final payment for all thy impiety.' This vision, with sorrowful countenance, he shewed on the morrow; and shortly thereafter died his two sons, both within the space of twenty-four hours, yea, some say, within the space of six hours. In his own presence George Steil, his greatest flatterer, and greatest enemy to God that was in his court, dropped off his horse, and died, not saying one word, that same day that, in audience of many, the said George had refused his portion of Christ's kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin Mary should not bring him thereto. How terrible a vision the said prince saw, lying in Linlithgow, that night which Thomas Scot justice-clerk died in Edinburgh, men of good credit can yet report: for, afraid at midnight, or after, he called aloud for torches, and raised all that lay beside him in the palace, and told that Thomas Scott was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had said unto him these words, 'O wo to the day that ever I knew thee, or thy service! for serving of thee, against God, against his servants, and against justice, I am adjudged to endless torment.' How terrible voices the said Thomas Scot pronounced before his death, men of all estates heard; and some that yet live can witness his voice ever was, *Justi Dei judicio condemnatus sum*; that is, I am condemned by God's just judgment. He was most oppressed for the false accusation of such as professed Christ's gospel, as Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks and Mr. Hugh Rig, then advocates, did confess to Mr. Henry Balnaves, who from the said Thomas Scot came to him, as he and Mr. Thomas Ballenden were sitting in St. Giles's church, and asked him forgiveness of the said Thomas. None of these terrible forewarnings could either change or alter the heart of the unfortunate and misled prince, but still he did proceed in his accustomed ways; for, in the midst of these evils, he caused to put hands on that notable man Mr. George Buchanan, to whom, for his singular erudition and honest behaviour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his natural children; but, by the merciful providence of God, he escaped (albeit with great difficulty) the rage of those that sought his life; and remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566, to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of those that delight in letters and virtue. That singular work of David's psalms, in Latin metre and poesy, besides many others, can witness the rare graces of

God given to that man, which that prince, by instigation of the gray-friars and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to his servam by escaping (the keepers being asleep, he went out at the window) this cruelty and persecution. Notwithstanding the monsters and hypocrites, the gray-friars, day by day, came farther in contempt: for not only did the learned espy and detect their abominable hypocrisy; but also men, in whom no such graces or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to print the same forth to the people. As this rhyme, which here we have inserted for the same purpose, made by Alexander earl of Glencairn, to this day, 1566, alive, can witness, entitled, 'AN EPISTLE directed from the holy hermit of Larite, to his brethren the gray-friars.'

' THOMAS hermit in Larite,
 ' Saint Francis brother heartily greet,
 ' Beseeching you with firm intent,
 ' To be watchful and diligent;
 ' For thir Lutherans, risen of new,
 ' Our order daily doth pursue.
 ' These sneaks do set their whole intent
 ' To read this English New Testament:
 ' And faith, we have them clean deceived;
 ' Therefore in haste they must be stopped.
 ' Our stately hypocrisy they prize,
 ' And do blaspheme us on this wise,
 ' Saying, That we are heretics,
 ' And false loud lying mattin-tykes,
 ' Cumberers and quellers of Christ's kirk.
 ' Such lazy seemers that will not wark,
 ' But idly our living wins,
 ' Devouring wolves into sheeps skins,
 ' Hurkland with huids into our neck,
 ' With Judas mind to jouk and beek,
 ' Seeking God's people to devour,
 ' The overthrowers of God's glor,
 ' Professors of hypocrisy,
 ' Doctors in idolatry,
 ' Fishers with the fiend's net,
 ' The upclosers of heaven's gate,
 ' Canand corrupters of the creed,
 ' Henlock-fowers among good seed,
 ' To throw in brambles that do men twist,
 ' The high way kennand them from Christ,
 ' Monsters with the beast's mark,
 ' Dogs that never stint to bark,
 ' Churchmen that are to Christ unkent,
 ' A feel that Satan's self has sent,

' Lurking in holes like traitor-tods,
 ' Maintainers of idols and false gods,
 ' Fantastic fools, and frenzy flatterers,
 ' To turn from the truth the very teachers.
 ' For to declare their whole sentence,
 ' Would much cumber your conscience.
 ' To say your faith it is so stark,
 ' Your cord and lousie coat and fark,
 ' Ye lippen may you bring to salvation,
 ' And quite excludes Christ his passion.
 ' I dread this doctrine an it last,
 ' Shall either gar us work or fast;
 ' Therefore with speed we must provide,
 ' And not our profit over-slide.
 ' I schaip myself within short while,
 ' To curse our lady in Argyle,
 ' And there some crafty ways to wark,
 ' Till that we builded have one kirk.
 ' Since miracles made by your advice,
 ' The Kitterels thought they had but lice.
 ' The two parts to us they will bring;
 ' But orderly to dress this thing,
 ' A ghaist I purpose for to cause gang,
 ' By counfel of friar Walter Lang,
 ' Which shall make certain demonstrations
 ' To help us in our procurations,
 ' Your holy order to decore,
 ' That practice he prov'd once before,
 ' Betwixt Kirkealdy and Kinghorn:
 ' But lymmers made thereat such scorn,
 ' And to his fame made such digression,
 ' Since-syn he heard not the king's confession;
 ' Though at that time he came with speed,
 ' I pray you take good will as deed,
 ' And some among yourselves receive,
 ' As one worth many of the lave.
 ' What I obtain you through his art,
 ' Reason would ye had your part.
 ' Your order handles no money,
 ' But for other casualty,
 ' As beef, meal, butter, and cheefe,
 ' Or what else you have that you please,
 ' Send your brethren, *et habete*,
 ' As now not else, but *valete*.
 ' Be Thomas your brother at command,
 ' A culrune keith'd through many a land.'

After God had given unto that misinformed prince sufficient documents, that his warring against his blessed gospel should not prosperously succeed, he raised up against him wars, as he did of old against divers princes that would not hear his voice,

in the which he lost himself, as we shall hereafter hear.

The occasion of the war was this, 'Henry VIII. king of England, had a great desire to have spoken with our king; and in that point laboured so long, till that he got a full promise made to his ambassador lord William Howard. The place of meeting was appointed at York, which the king of England kept with such solemnity and preparations, as never, for such a purpose, was seen in England before. Great noise of that journey, and some preparation for the same, was made in Scotland: but in the end, by persuasion of the cardinal David Beaton, and by others of his faction, that journey was staid, and the king's promise falsified.' Whereupon were sharp letters of reproach sent to the king, and also unto his council. King Henry frustrated, returned to London, and after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers towards Scotland. There was sent to the borders, Sir Robert Bowes, the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George Douglas. Upon what other trifling questions (as for the debatable land, and such) the war brake up, we omit to write; the principal occasion was, the falsifying of the promises before made. Our king perceiving that war would rise, asked the prelates and churchmen, what support they would make to the sustaining of the same? for rather would he yet satisfy the desire of his uncle, than he would hazard war, where he saw not his forces able to resist. They promised mountains of gold (as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus, if he would worship him); for rather would they have gone to hell, than he should have met with king Henry; for then, thought they, 'Farewell our kingdom of abbots, monks, &c. And farewell, thought the cardinal, his credit and glory in France.' In the end, they promised fifty thousand crowns by year, to be well paid so long as the war lasted; and further, that their servants, and others that appertained to them, and were exempted from common service, should nevertheless serve in time of necessity. These vain promises lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king, and so begins the war. The realm was quartered, and men were laid in Jedburgh, and Kelso: all men (fools we mean) bragged of victory, and in very deed the beginning gave us a fair shew: for at the first warden road, which was made on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1542, was the warden Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes captain of Norham, Sir William Mambery knight, a bastard son of the earl

of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels, with a great number of borderers, soldiers and gentlemen, taken: the road was termed Halderrig. The earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother, did narrowly escape. Our Papists and prelates, proud of this victory, encouraged the king, so that there was nothing heard but, 'All is ours: they be but heretics; if we be a thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight: France shall enter into one part, and we the other, and so shall England be conquest within a year.' If any man was seen to smile at such vanity, he was no more but a traitor and an heretic; and yet by these means men had greater liberty than they had before, as concerning their conscience, for then ceased the persecution. The war continued till the middle of September, and then was sent down the old duke of Norfolk, with such an army as a hundred years before had not come into Scotland; they were in gathering their forces, and setting forward of their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, till the middle of October, and after: and then they marched from Berwick, and tended to the west, ever holding Tweed upon their own side, and never camped from that river the space of a mile. During the whole time they continued in Scotland, which was ten or twelve days, forces were sent up and down to Smallam, Stichel, and such places near about, but many snappers they got: some corn they burnt, besides that which the great host consumed; but small booty they carried away. The king assembled his forces at Fala (for he was advertised, that they had promised to come to Edinburgh); and took the musters all at an hour, two days before Hallow-even: there were found with him eighteen thousand able men. Upon the borders, that awaited upon the English army, were ten thousand good men, with the earl of Huntly, lords Erskine, Seton, and Hume; these were judged men enough to hazard battle, albeit the other were esteemed forty thousand. While the king lay at Fala, abiding upon the guns, and upon advertisement from the army, the lords began to remember how the king had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the pensioners of the prelates. It was then concluded, that they would make some new remembrance of Lauder-bridge, to see, if that would for a season somewhat help the estate of their country: but because the lords could not agree among themselves about the persons that deserved punishment (for every man favoured his friend), the whole escaped, and the purpose was-

swore I to the king, and by him to the courtiers, who, till they came to Edinburgh, stood in no little fear; but that was suddenly forgot, as we shall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the English army, for want of victuals (as was reported), retired over Tweed in the night, and so began to flake and funder; whereof the king advertised, desired the lords and barons to assist him to follow them into England; whose answer was with one consent, 'That to defend his person and realm, they would hazard life, and whatsoever they had; but to invade England, neither had they so just title as they desired, neither yet could they be able to do any thing to the hurt of England, considering that they had long before been absent from their houses, their provision was spent, their horses wearied, and that, which was greatest of all, the time of the year did utterly reclaim.' This their answer seemed to satisfy the king; for he in words praised their prudent foresight and wise counsel: but the essay made to his courtiers, and that bold repulse of his desires given to him in his own face, so wounded his high stomach (for long had he run as himself listed), that he decreed a notable revenge, which, no doubt, he had not failed to have executed, if God by his own hand had not cut the days of his life. He returns to Edinburgh; the nobility, barons, gentlemen, and commons, to their habitations. And this was the 2d and 3d days of November.

Without longer delay, at the palace of Holyroodhouse was a new council assembled, a council we mean of his abusers, wherein were accusations laid against most part of the nobility, 'Some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends to the Douglas;' and so could there be none faithful to the king, in their opinion. The cardinal and prelates cast faggots in the fire with all their force; and, finding the king wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered unto him a seroll, containing the names of such as they, in their inquisition, had convicted for heretics: for this was the order of justice, which these holy fathers kept in condemning of innocent men; whosoever would accuse any of heresy, he was heard, no respect nor consideration had what mind the accuser bare to the person accused; whosoever were produced for witnesses were admitted, how suspicious and infamous soever they were: if two or three had proved any point, that by their law was holden heresy, that was an heretic; there rested no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt sentence. What man

could be innocent where such judges were party, the world may this day consider? true it is, by false judgment, and false witness, innocents have been oppressed from the beginning: but this freedom to shed innocent blood, got never the devil but in the kingdom of Antichrist, 'That the innocent should die, and neither know accuser, nor yet the witness that testifyeth against him.' But, how shall the Antichrist be known, if he shall not be conarrarious to God the Father, and his Son Christ Jesus, in law, life, and doctrine? but this we omit. The same seroll had the cardinal and prelates once presented to the king before, at that time when he returned from the navigation about the Isles, in the year 1534; but then it was refused by the prudent and stout counsel of the laird of Grange, who opened clearly to the king the practices of the prelates, and the danger that thereof might ensue; which considered by the king (for being out of his passion he was tractable), gave this answer, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, to the cardinal and prelates, after that they had uttered their malice, and shewed what profit might arise to the crown, if he would follow their counsel; 'Pack you jugglers, get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else, I vow to God, I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment doth, neither yet as the king of England doth by hanging and heading: but I shall reprove you by sharp punishments, if ever I hear such motion of you again.' The prelates, dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to attempt any further by rigour against the nobility. But now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclair, Ross laird of Craigie, and others, who were to them faithful in all things, they conclude to hazard once again their former suit; which was no sooner proposed, but as soon it was accepted, with no small regret, by the king's own mouth, that he had so long despised their counsel: 'For,' said he, 'now I plainly see your words to be true: the nobility neither desire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ride a mile for my pleasure to follow mine enemies: will ye therefore find me the means how that I may have a road made into England, without their knowledge and consent, that it may be known to be mine own road, and I shall bind me to your counsel forever?' There were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promises of diligence, closeness, and fidelity, among them. Finally, conclusion was

taken, that the west borders of England, which were most empty of men and garrisons, should be invaded. The king's own banner should be theirs, Oliver the great minion should be general-lieutenant, but no man should be privy (except the council that was then present) of the enterprise, till the very day and execution thereof. The bishops gladly took the charge of that device; letters were sent to such as they would charge, to meet the king at the day and place appointed: the cardinal, with the earl of Arran, was directed to go to Haddington, to make a shew against the east border, when the others were in readiness to invade the west: and thus neither lacked counsel, practice, closeness, nor diligence, to set forward that enterprise; and so, among these consulters, there was no doubt of any good success. And so was the scroll thankfully received by the king himself, and put into his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more than an hundred landed men, besides others of meaner degree; among whom was the earl of Arran, notwithstanding his siding with the current of the court, and his nearness in blood to the king. It was reported that this road was devised by the lord Maxwell, but the certainty thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the enterprise, the king was found at Lochmaben. To him come companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another (for no general proclamations past, but privy letters; neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpose, till after midnight, when that the trumpet blew, and commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the king (who was constantly supposed to have been in the host). Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England, as both faithfully and closely they did: upon the point of day they approached to the enemy's ground, and so passed the water without any great resistance made unto them. The forward goeth forth, fear rises, her ship might have been seen on every side. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men; their beacons on every side send flames of fire unto the heaven; to them it was more than a wonder, that such a multitude could have been assembled and conveyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their wardens. For support they looked not, and so at the first they utterly despaired, and yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another, and so, as the fray proceeded, their troops

increased, but to no number (for Carlisle fearing to have been assaulted, suffered no man to issue out of their gates); and so the greatest number that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture, past not three or four hundred men; and yet they made hot skirmishing, as in their own ground, in such feats as they are most expert, about ten hours. When fires were kindled, and almost slackened on every side, Oliver thought time to shew his glory; and so incontinent was displayed the king's banner; and he, upholden by two spears lifted up upon mens shoulders, there, with sound of trumpet, was proclaimed general-lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the king's own person, under all highest pains. There was present the lord Maxwell warden, to whom the government of things, in absence of the king, properly appertaineth: he heard and saw all, but thought more than he spake: there were also present the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, with the lord Fleming, and many other lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Mearns. In this mountain did the skirmishing grow hotter than it was before, shouters were heard on every side; some Scotsmen were stricken down; some not knowing the ground were mired, and lost their horses; some English horse of purpose were let loose to provoke greedy and imprudent men to press at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While such disorder rises more and more in the army, every man cried aloud, My lord lieutenant, what will ye do? Charge was given that all men should light, and go to array in order, for they would fight: others cried, Against whom will you fight? yonder men will fight none otherwise than ye see them do, if ye will stand here till the morrow. Now purpose was taken, That the footmen (they had there with them certain bands of soldiers) should safely retire towards Scotland, and the horsemen should take their horse again, and so follow in order. Great was the noise and confusion that was heard, while that every man calleth his own sluggards; the day was near spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The lord Maxwell perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his feet with his friends, who, being admonished to take his horse, and provide for himself, answered, 'Nay, I will rather abide here ' the chance that it shall please God to send me, than ' to go home, and there be hanged;' and so he remained upon his foot, and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the greater shame. The enemies perceiving the disorder, increased in courage: be-

for they shouted, but then they stroke; they shot arrows and dagg'd arrows where the company was distressed; some encounters were made, but nothing availed; the soldiers cast from them their pikes and culverins, and other sensible weapons; the horsemen left their spears, and so, without judgement, all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop: but the fear was such, as lappy was he that might get a taker. Such as passed the water, and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the slimy moit: the eny thereof was pleasing enough; but as they proceeded, all that took that way, either lost their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, hath seldom been seen; for it is said, That where the men were not sufficient to take the bands of prisoners, some ran to houses, and rendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver was without stroke taken fleeing full manfully; and so was his glory (thinking and foolish proudness we should call it) suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken the two earls aforesaid, the lords Fleming, Somervel, and Olyphant, and many other barons and gentlemen, besides the great multitude of servants. Worldly men say, That all this came but by misorder and fortune, as they term it; but whosoever hath the least spark of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of his hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad king of Aram, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than now we have, that God with his own arm fought against Scotland in this former discomfiture? There did two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in the great battle, put to flight the said Benhadad, with thirty kings in his company: but here there is, in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without the knowledge of any back or battle to follow, put to flight ten thousand men, without resistance made. There did every man rencounter his narrow, till that the two hundred and thirty slew such as matched them: but here, without slaughter, the multitude fled. There had those of Samaria the prophet of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them; but England, in that pursuit, had nothing, but as God secretly wrought by his providence in the men that knew nothing of his working, nei-

ther yet of the cause thereof, more than the wall, that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army, knew what it did. And therefore yet again we say, that such as, in that sudden dejection, beholds not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedom of his own little flock unjustly persecuted, doth willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God; but the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowledge of the discomfiture coming to the king's ears (who waited upon news at Lochmaben), he was stricken with a sudden fear and astonishment, so that scarcely could he speak, or had purpose with any man: the night constrained him to remain where he was, and so went to bed, but rose without rest, or quiet sleep; his continual complaint was, 'O fled Oliver! Is Oliver taken? O fled Oliver!' And these words in his melancholy, and as it were carried in a trance, repeated he from time to time to the very hour of his death. Upon the morn, which was St. Katharine's day, returned he to Edinburgh, and so did the cardinal from Haddington: but the one being ashamed of the other, the report of their communication came not to public audience. The king made inventory of his treasure, of all his jewels, and other substance; and thereafter, ashamed to look any man in the face, secretly departed to Fife; and coming to Halyards, was humanely received of the lady of Grange, an ancient and godly matron (the laird at his coming was absent). In his company was only with him William Kirkaldy, now laird of Grange, and some other that waited upon his chamber. The lady at supper perceiving him pensive, began to comfort him, and willeth him to take the work of God in good part. 'My portion,' said he, 'of this world is short, for I will not be with you fifteen days.' His servants repairing unto him, asked, Where he would have provision made for Christmas, which then approached; he answered, with a disdainful countenance, 'I cannot tell, chuse you the place; but this I can tell you, ere Christmas-day you will be masterless, and the realm without a king.' Because of his displeasure, no man durst make contradiction unto him. So, after that he had visited the castle of Carny, pertaining to the earl of Crawfurd, where the said earl's daughter, one of his mistresses, was, he returned to Falkland, and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no signs of death, yet he constantly affirmed, 'Before such a day, I shall be dead.' In this mean time was the queen upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, who was delivered the 8th of De-

ember, in the year of God 1542, of Mary, who then was born, and now doth reign, for a scourge to this realm, as the progress of her whole life has to this day declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, he turned from such as spake with him, and said, 'The devil go with it, it will end as it began; it came from a woman, and it will end with a woman;' from Mary, daughter to Robert Bruce, married to Walter Stuart. He feared that his daughter should be married to one of another name and family; but you see, by God's providence, the crown remains in one and the same family and name to this day, notwithstanding the many plots of the pretenders to the crown both at home and abroad. After that he spake not many words that were sensible, but ever harped on his old song, 'Fly, fled Oliver! Is Oliver taken? All is lost!' In this mean time, in his great extremity, comes the cardinal (a fit comforter for a desperate man), he cries in his ear, 'Take order, Sir, with your realm; Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? you have known my service; what will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen? and shall not I be the principal of them?'

Whatsoever the king answered, documents were taken, that so it should be, as my lord cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man's hand was made to subscribe on blank, that they might write above what pleased them best; the cardinal having hired one Henry Balfour, a priest, to make a false testament; which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finished, the cardinal posted to the queen, lately before delivered, as is said. At the first sight of the cardinal, she said, 'Welcome, my lord, is not the king dead?' What moved her so to conjecture, divers men were of divers judgments. Many whisper, that of old 'his part was in the pot,' and that the suspicion thereof caused him to be forbidden the queen's company. Howsoever it was before, it is plain, that after the king's death, and during the cardinal's life, whosoever guided the court, he got his secret business sped, of that gracious lady, either by day or by night. Howsoever the tidings liked her, she mended with as great expedition of that daughter, as ever she did before of any son she bore. The time of her purification was sooner than the Levitical law appoints; but she was no Jew, and therefore in that she offended not. The noise of the death of king James divulgate, who departed this life the 13th of December, in the year of God 1542 aforesaid, the hearts of men

began to be disclosed. All men lamented that the realm was left without a ruler to it; yet some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's truth was taken away. He was called of some, a good poor man's king; of others, he was termed a murderer of the nobility, and one that had decreed their whole destruction. Some praised him for the repressing of theft and oppressions; others dispraised him for being much given to women. The prelates and clergy feared a change in the king's mind, as he had expressed himself some few years before. And thus men spake even as their affections led them, and yet none spake altogether besides the truth: for part of these aforesaid were so manifest, that, as the virtues could not be denied, so could not the vices by any craft be cloaked. Yet, to speak the truth of him, his vices may justly be attributed to the times and his breeding, and not to any wickedness in his nature; for he gave many expressions of a good nature, namely in his sobriety and justice, &c. The question of government was through this realm universally moved. The cardinal proclaimed the king's last will, and therein were expressed four protectors or regents, of whom himself was the first and principal, and with him were joined the earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray: this was done on Monday, at the market-cross of Edinburgh. But the Monday following took the whole regents remission for their usurpation: for by the stout and wise counsel of the laird of Grange, did the earl of Arran, then so near to the crown, cause assemble the nobility of the realm, and required the equity of their judgments in that his just suit to the government of this realm, during the minority of her to whom he pretended to succeed, failing of her, and of her lawful succession. His friends convened, the nobility assembled, the day of decision is appointed; the cardinal and his faction opposes them, and are against the government of one man, and especially of any called Hamilton: for, 'Who knows not,' said the cardinal, 'that the Hamiltons are cruel murderers, oppressors of innocents, proud, avacious, double, and false, and finally, the pestilence in this commonwealth?' Whereto the earl answered, 'Defraud me not of my right, and call me what you please: whatsoever my friends have been, yet unto this day hath no man had cause to complain against me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doings, but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the realm can reasonably require of me: and therefore

‘ yet again, my lords, in God’s name, I crave that
 ‘ you do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my
 ‘ just title, before you have experience of my go-
 ‘ vernment.’ At these words, were all that fear-
 ed God, or loved honesty, so moved, that with
 one voice they cried, ‘ That petition is most just ;
 ‘ and, unless you will do ag just God’s justice and
 ‘ equity, it cannot be denied.’ And by, in despite
 of the cardinal and his seditious faction, was he
 declared governor, and with public proclamation
 so proclaimed to the people. The king’s palace,
 treasure, jewels, garments, horse, and plate, were
 delivered unto him by the officers that had the
 former charge, and he honoured, feared, and ob-
 eyed, more heartily than ever any king was be-
 fore, so long as he abode with God. The cause of
 the great favour that was borne unto him, was,
 that it was reported, that he favoured God’s word,
 and because it was well known that he was one
 appointed to have been persecuted, as the scroll
 found in the king’s pocket, after his death, did
 witness: these two things, together with an opi-
 nion that men had of his simplicity, bowed the
 hearts of many unto him in the beginning, who
 after, with dolour of hearts, were compelled to
 change their opinions; but hereof we will after
 speak. The variety of matters that occurred, we
 omit; such as the order taken for keeping of the
 young queen; of the provision for the mother;
 the calling home of the Douglas, and others, such
 as appertain to an universal history of the time.
 For, as before we have said, we mind only to fol-
 low the progress of the religion, and of the mat-
 ters that cannot be severed from the same.

The earl of Arran being established in the go-
 vernment, godly men repaired unto him, exhort-
 ed him to call to mind for what end God had ex-
 alted him to be governor; out of what danger he
 had delivered him, he being in the bloody scroll,
 as we saw before; and what expectation all men
 of honesty had of him; because they saw him a
 soft man, they conceived goodhearts of him. At
 their instant suit, more than of his own motion,
 was Thomas Guilliam, a black-friar, called to be
 preacher. The man was of sound judgment, of
 reasonable letters (as for that age), and of a
 prompt and good utterance. His doctrine was
 wholesome, without great vehemency against su-
 perstition. Preached also some time John Rough
 (who after, for the verity of Christ Jesus, suifred
 in England), albeit not so learned, yet more sim-
 ple, and more vehement against all impiety. The
 doctrine of these two provoked against them, and

against the governor also, the hatred of all such as
 more favoured darkness than light, and their own
 interest more than God’s, the gray-friars (and a-
 mongst the rest friar Scot, who before had given
 himself forth for the greatest professor of Christ
 Jesus within Scotland, and under that colour had
 disclosed, and so endangered many). These slaves of
 Satan rowped as they had been ravens; yea, ra-
 ther they yelled and roared as devils in hell: ‘ He-
 ‘ resy, heresy, Guilliam and Rough will carry the
 ‘ governor to the devil.’ The town of Edinburgh,
 for the most part, was drowned in superstition.
 Edward Hope, young William Adamson, Sibilla
 Lindsay, Patrick Lindsay, Francis Aikman; and
 in the Canongate, John Mackaw and Ninian
 Brown, with a few others, had the report of
 knowledge in these days. One Wilson, servant to
 the bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New
 Testament nor the Old, made a despitesful railing
 ballad against the preachers, and against the go-
 vernor, for the which he narrowly escaped hanging.
 The cardinal both moved heaven and hell to trou-
 ble the governor to stay the preaching, but yet was
 the battle stoutly fought for a season; for he was
 taken, and put first in Dalkeith, after in Seton;
 but at length, by bribes given to the said lord
 Seton, and to the old laird of Lethington, he was
 restored to St. Andrews, from whence he wrought
 all mischief, as we shall after hear. The parlia-
 ment approached, which was before Easter: there
 began question of the abolishing of certain tyran-
 nical acts made before, at the devotion of the pre-
 lates, for the maintaining of their kingdom of dark-
 ness, *viz.* ‘ That, under pain of heresy, no man
 ‘ should read any part of the Scriptures in the vul-
 ‘ gar tongue, neither yet any tractate or exposi-
 ‘ tion of any place of Scripture.’ such articles be-
 gan to come in question, we say, and men began
 to enquire, If it were not lawful for men that un-
 derstood no Latin, to use the word of their salva-
 tion in the tongue they understood, as it was for
 the Latin men to have it in Latin, Grecians or
 Hebrews to have it in their tongues? It was an-
 swered, That the church used it not; he means the
 prelates, who first had forbidden all tongues but
 three, *viz.* Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. But men
 demanded, When that inhibition was given, and
 what council had ordained it? considering that in
 the days of Chryostom, he complained that the
 people used not the psalms, and other holy books,
 in their own tongues. And if ye will say they
 were Greeks, and understood the Greek tongue;
 we answer, That Christ Jesus commanded his

word to be preached to all nations; now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand. Then, if it be lawful to preach, and hear it preached in all tongues; why should it not be lawful to read it, and hear it read in all tongues? to the end that the people may 'try the spirits,' according to the commandment of the apostle? Beaten with these and other reasons, they denied not but that it might be read in the vulgar tongue, provided the translation were true. It was demanded, what could be reprehended in it? and when much searching was made, nothing could be found; but that Love, say they, was put in the place of Charity: when the question was asked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other? and if they understood the nature of the Greek term *αγαπη*? they were dumb. Reasoned for the party of the seculars, the lord Ruthven, father to him who prudently gave counsel to take just punishment upon that knave David, for that he abused the unhappy king Henry Stuart, in more cases than one, a stout and a discreet man in the cause of God, and Mr. Henry Balnaves an old professor: for the part of the clergy, one Hay dean of Restalrig, and certain old bishops with him. The conclusion was, The commissioners of burghs, and a part of the nobility, required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, 'That it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation, which then they had of the Old and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates, and other churchmen, should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct.' The clergy heretofore long repugned; but in the end, convinced by reasons, and by multitude of voices in their contrary, they also condescended: and so, by act of parliament, it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their own vulgar tongue; and so were all acts made to the contrary abolished.

This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity; no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor the articles of their faith, in the vulgar tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many mens hands. We grant that some, alas! profaned that blessed word: for some that perchance had never read ten sentences

in it, had it most common in their hand; they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, This hath lien under my bed-feet these ten years. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this book! how secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight, to read upon it! And this was done, we say, of many, to make court, and curry favour thereby: for all men esteemed the governor to have been one of the most fervent Protestants that was in Europe. Albeit, we say, that many abused that liberty granted of God miraculously, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderfully increase, and God gave his Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance: then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses, of that Roman Antichrist. The fame of our governor was spread in divers countries, and many praised God for him; king Henry VIII. sent unto him his ambassador Mr. Rodulph Saidler, who lay in Edinburgh a great part of the summer; his commission and negociation was, to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland: the occasion whereof God had so offered, that to many men it appeared, that from heaven he had declared his good pleasure in that behalf. For to king Henry, of Jean Symer (after the death of queen Katharine, and of all others that might have made his marriage suspected), was given a son, Edward VI. of blessed memory, older some years than our mistress; and unto us was left a queen, as before we have heard. This wonderful providence of God caused men of greatest judgment to enter into disputation with themselves, Whether that with good conscience any man might repugn to the desires of the king of England, considering, that thereby all occasion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to this realm? The offers of king Henry were so large, and his demands so reasonable, that all that loved quietness were content therewith. There were sent from the parliament to king Henry in commission, Sir James Learment and Mr. Henry Balnaves, who long remaining in England, so travelled, that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward VI. and Mary queen of Scots were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of Englishmen. Upon the final conclusion of the which head, were added to the former commissioners, William earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, to whom was given ample commission and good instructions. In Scotland remained Mr. Rodulph Saidler. Adver-

ments paid to frequently berwitz, yea the lands of our lords liberally were amount, besides other commodities purchased, and of some received; for divers prisoners taken at B. way moirs, were sent home free, upon promise of their fidelity; which, as it was kept, the issue will witness. But in the end, to what were all once content (the cardinal, the queen, and the dietin of France, ever excepted), that solemnly, in the abbey of Holyrothow, was the contract of marriage made betwixt the persons aforesaid, together with all the clauses and conditions requisite for the faithful observation thereof, read in public audience, subscribed, sealed, approved, and allowed of the governor for his part, nobility and commons for their parts; and that nothing should lack that might further the matter, was Christ's body sacred, as Papists term it, broken betwixt the said governor and Mr. Sailer ambassador, and received of them both, as a sign and token of the unity of their minds, to keep that contract in all points inviolably, as they looked on Christ Jesus to be saved, and after to be required men worthy of credit before the world. The English raised against the governor, and the lords that had consented and whose fall to the contract; and bragged to depose the governor, and to confound all, as a her follower; but, upon the returning of the aforesaid ambassadors from England, proclamation was made for that time; for by the judgments of eight persons for either party chosen, to judge whether that any thing was done by the said ambassadors in the contracting of that marriage, which to do they had not sufficient power from the council and parliament, it was found, that all things were done according to their commission, and that so they should stand: and so were the seals of England and Scotland interchanged. Mr. James Fowls, then clerk of the register, received the great seal of England; and Mr. Sailer received the great seal of Scotland: the Leads of the contract were pass by. These things newly ratified, the merchants made preparation to sail, and to their traffic, which by the troubles of wars had some years been hindered. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ships richly laden, according to the custom in Scotland; from other towns and ports departed others, who all arrived upon the coasts of England, towards the fourth, viz. in Yarmouth; and without any great necessity, entered not only roads, but also within ports and places of commandment, and where ships might be arrested: and because of the late contracted amity and gentle entertainment that they found at the first, they made no great

dispatch; but being, as they supposed, in security, in overriest they spent the time, abiding upon the wind. In this mean time arrived from France to Scotland the abbot of Paisley (called now of late John Hamilton, Edward brother to the governor, whom yet many esteemed son to the old bishop of Dunkeld, called Crichton), and with him Mr. David Parter, who after was made bishop of Rois: the report of the learning of these two, and their honest life, and of their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such, that great hope there was, that their presence should be comfortable to the church of God; for it was constantly affirmed of some, that without delay the one or the other would go to the pulpit, and truly preach Jesus Christ. But few days disclosed their hypocrisy; for what terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not; but shortly after, it was seen that frier Guillian was prohibited to preach, and so departed into England, John Rough to Kyle, a receptacle of God's servants of old. The men of counsel, judgment, and godliness, that had travelled to promote the governor, and that gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him; or else, by threatening to be hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the laird of Grange aforesaid, Mr. Henry Balnaves, Mr. Thomas Ballenden, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount; men by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose counsel he so used himself at the beginning, that the obedience given to him, was nothing inferior to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many years had before him; yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of these virtues that were supposed to have been in him. Of the number of those that were threatened, were Mr. Michael Durham, Mr. David Borthwick, David Forreffe, and David Bethwel, who counselled him to have in company with him men fearing God, and not to nourish wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname; this counsel understood by the aforesaid abbot, and by the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the court, as ravens to the carrion, in plain words, it was said, 'My lord governor, nor his friends, will never be at quietness, till a dozen of these knaves that abuse his grace be hanged.' These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of some of them that had better deserved than to have been so used: the speaker was allowed for his plain and bold speak-

ing. And so the wicked counsel followed, honest and godly men left the court and him in the hands of such as by their wicked counsel led him so far from God, that he falsified his promise, dypt his hands in the blood of the saints of God, and brought this commonwealth to the very point of utter ruin; and these were the first fruits of the abbot of Paisley's counterfeit godliness and learning; but hereof we will hear more. All honest and godly men banished from the court, the abbot and his council begin to lay before the inconstant governor, the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of religion, the power of the king of France, the commodity that might come to him and his house by retaining the ancient league with France, and the great danger that he brought upon himself, if in one jot he suffereth the authority of the pope to be violated or called in doubt within this realm, considering, that thereupon only stood the security of his pretended right to the succession of the crown of this realm: for by God's word could not be made good the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Hume, sister to the lord Hume, his lawful wife; and consequently his marriage to —— Beaton, niece to James Beaton bishop of St. Andrews (Elizabeth Hume being alive), must be null, and he declared bastard. Caiaphas spake prophecy, and yet wist not what he spake; for at that time there was hardly any man that truly feared God, that minded any such thing, but with their whole force would have fortified him in the place that God had given unto him, and would never have called in question things done in time of darkness; but this head we pass by, till God declare his will therein. Another practice was used: as for the cardinal, he being set at liberty, as before we have heard, ceased not to traffic with such of the nobility as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any means, to raise a party against the said governor, and against such as stood fast at the contract of marriage and peace with England. And so assembled at Linlithgow, the said cardinal, the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, the bishops and their bands: and thereafter they passed to Stirling, and took with them both the queens, the mother and the daughter, and threatened the deposition of the said governor, as 'inobedient to their holy mother the church' (so term they that harlot of Babylon, Rome). The inconstant man, not thoroughly grounded upon God, left, by his own fault, destitute of all good counsel, and having the wicked ever blowing in his ear, 'What

' will you do? you will destroy yourself and your house both for ever:' the ugly way, we say, beaten with these temptations, rendered himself to the appetites of the wicked; for the queen's money stole away from the lords that were with him in the palace of Holyroodhouse, past to Stirling, subjected himself to the cardinal and to his council, received absolution, renounced the promise of the holy gospel of Christ Jesus, and voided his oath, which before he had made, for the observation of the contract and league made with England: at that time was our queen crowned, and a promise made to France. The certainty of coming to king Henry, our Scottish ships were staid, the sails taken from the ships, and the merchants and mariners were commanded to find custody. Now commission was sent to Mr. Rounquh Saidler, who then still remained in Scotland, to demand the cause of that sudden alteration, and to labour by all means possible, that the governor might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he would not do so foolishly and dishonourably, yea, so cruelly and unmercifully to the realm of Scotland, that he would not only lose the commodities offered, and that were presently to be received; but also, that he would put it to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniencies that might ensue the war, which was to follow upon the violation of his faith; but nothing could avail. The devil kept fast the grip that he got, yea, all the days of his government: for the cardinal got his eldest son in pledge, whom he kept in the castle of St. Andrews, until the day that God's hand punished his pride. King Henry perceiving that all hope of the governor's repentance was lost, called back his ambassadors, and that with fearful threatenings, as Edinburgh after felt; denounced war, made our ships prizes, and merchants and mariners lawful prisoners, which to the burghs of Scotland was no small hardship. But thereat did the cardinal and priests laugh, and jestingly he said, 'When we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompensed.' The summer and the harvest passed over without any notable thing; for the cardinal and abbot of Paisley parted the prey amongst them; the abused governor bare the name only. In the beginning of winter came the earl of Lennox to Scotland, sent from France in hatred of the governor, whom the king (by the cardinal's advice) promised to pronounce bastard, and so to make the said earl governor; first, because he himself was born by —— Beaton, his father's lawful wife, Elizabeth Hume being yet alive; next,

because his grandfather was born by Mary Stuart to James Hamilton, when her lawful husband Thomas Boyd was yet alive. So the earl of Lennox did not only pretend to be lawfully next to the crown, as the late king James V. did often declare, that if he died without heir-male, he would settle the crown upon him, but also lawful heir of the earldom of Arran, as being descended from Margaret Hamilton, born of Mary Stuart to James Hamilton, after the death of Thomas Boyd her former husband (now by this time the incontinent earl of Arran had given himself wholly to the cardinal). The cardinal further put the earl of Lennox in vain hope, that the queen dowager should marry him. He brought with him some money, and more he after received at the hands of Labrous: but at length perceiv'ing himself frustrated of all expectation that he had, either by France, or yet by the promise of the cardinal, he concluded to leave France, and to seek the favour of England; and so began to draw a faction against the governor; and, in hatred of the other's inconstancy, many favoured him in the beginning: for there assembled at Christmas, in the town of Air, the earls of Angus, Glencairn, Callis; the lord Maxwell, the lord of Drumlanrick, Campbell the sheriff of Air, with all the forces that they and the lords that remained constant at the opinion of England might make; and after Christmas they came to Leith. The governor and cardinal with their forces kept Edinburgh (for they were slackly pursued). Men excused the earl of Lennox in that behalf, and laid the blame upon some that had no will of the Stuart's government. Howsoever it was, such an appointment was made, that the said earl of Lennox was disappointed of his purpose, and narrowly escaped, and first gat him to Glasgow, and after to Dunbarton. Sir George Douglas was delivered to be kept as pledge: the earl his brother was in the Lent after taken at the siege of Glasgow: it was reported, that both the brethren, and others with them, had lost their heads, if, by the providence of God, the English army had not arrived in time. After that the cardinal had gotten the governor wholly addicted to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above a part of his enemies, he began to practise, how that such as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, should be set by the ears one against another (for in that thought, the cardinal man put his greatest security). The lord Ruthven he hated, by reason of his knowledge of God's word; the lord Gray he feared, because at that time he used the company of such as professed god-

liness, and bare small favour to the cardinal; now thus reasoned the worldly-wise man; if I can put enmity betwixt these two, I shall be rid of a great number of unfrinds; for the most part of the country will either assist the one or the other, and so will they be otherwise occupied than to watch for my displeasure. He finds the means without long process; for he labours with John Chartarous (a man of stout courage and many friends), to accept the provostry of St. Johnston, which he purchased to him by donation of the governor, with a charge to the said town to obey him as their lawful provost; wherewith not only the said Lord Ruthven, but also the town, being offended, gave a negative answer, alledging, that such intrusion of men to office was hurtful to their privilege and freedom, which granted unto them free election of their provost from year to year, at a certain time appointed, which they could not nor would not anticipate. Hereat the said John offended, said, that he would take that office by force, if they would not grant it unto him of benevolence; and so departed and communed the matter with the lord Gray, with Norman Lesly, and with others his friends, whom he easily persuaded to assist him in that pursuit; because he appeareth to have the governor's right, and had not only a charge to the town, as is said, but also he purchased letters to besiege it, and take it by strong hand, if any resistance was made unto him: such letters, we say, made many to favour his action. The other made for defence, and so took the master of Ruthven (the lord that after departed into England), the maintenance of the town, having in his company the laird of Moncrief, and other friends adjacent: the said John prepared for the pursuit, and upon St. Magdalen's day, in the morning, *anno* 1543, approached with his forces (the lord Gray took upon him the principal charge). It was appointed, that Norman Lesly, with his friends, should have come by ship with munition and ordnance, as they were in readiness; but because the tide served not so soon as they would, the other thinking himself of sufficient force for all that were in the town, entered in by the bridge, where they found no resistance, till that the former part was entered a pretty space within the fish-gate; and then the said master of Ruthven, with his company, stoutly rencountered them, and so rudely repulsed the foremost, that such as were behind gave back. The place of retreat was so strait, that men that durst not fight, could not flee at their pleasure (for the most part of my lord Gray's friends were upon the bridge), and so the

slaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the sword three score men. The cardinal had rather that the mishap had fallen on the other part; but howsoever it was, he thought that such trouble was his comfort and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party dissatisfied, and was unto them no small grief: for as many of them entered into that action for his pleasure, so thought they to have had fortification and assistance, whereof finding themselves frustrated, they began to look more narrowly to themselves, and did not so attend upon the cardinal's devotion as they had wont to do before; and so was a new jealousy engendered among them; for whosoever would not play the good servant unto him, was reputed his enemy. The cardinal drew the governor to Dundee; for he understood, that the earl of Rothes and Mr. Henry Balnaves were with the lord Gray in the castle of Huntly: the governor sent and commanded the said earl and lord, with the foresaid Mr. Henry, to come unto him to Dundee, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clock before noon, which hour they decreed to keep; and for that purpose assembled their folks at Balgavie, or thereby. The cardinal advertised of their number (they were no more than three hundred men), thought it not good that they should join with the town, for he feared his own estate; and so he persuaded the governor to pass forth of Dundee before nine o'clock, and to take the strait way to St. Johnston: which perceived by the foresaid lords, they began to fear that they were come to pursue them, and so put themselves in order and array, and marched forward of purpose to have bidden the uttermost. But the crafty fox, foreseeing that in fighting stood not his security, ran to his last refuge, that is, to manifest treason; and so consultation was taken, how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the first were sent the laird of Grange, and the provost of St. Andrews (knowing nothing of the treason), to ask, why they molested my lord governor in his journey? Whereto they answered, That they meant nothing less, for they came at his grace's commandment, to have kept the hour in Dundee appointed by him; which, because they saw prevented, and knowing the cardinal to be their friend, they could not but suspect their unprovided coming forth of the town; and therefore they put themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend, in case they were invaded. This answer reported, was sent to the bishop of St. Andrews, the abbot of Paisley, Mr. David Panter, the lairds of Bal-

cleugh and Coldingknows, to desire certain of the other company to talk with them, which they easily obtained (for they suspected no treason). After long communication, it was demanded, If that the earl and lord, and Mr. Henry aforesaid, would not be content to talk with the governor, provided the cardinal and his company were on the place? They answered, That the governor might command them in all things lawful; but they had no will to be in the cardinal's mercy. Fair promises now were made for their security; then was the cardinal and his band commanded to depart, as that he did, according to the purpose taken. The governor remained, and a certain number with him; to whom came, without company, the said earl, lord, and Mr. Henry. After many fair words given to them all, *viz.* That he would have them agreed with the cardinal, and that he would have Mr. Henry Balnaves the worker and instrument thereof, he drew them forward with him towards St. Johnston, whereto the cardinal was ridden. They began to suspect (albeit it was too late), and therefore they desired to have returned to their folks, for putting order unto them. But it was answered, They should send back from the town; but they must needs go forward with my lord governor; and so, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and as soon as they were in the town, they were apprehended, and on the morrow sent all three to Blackness, where they remained, as it pleased the cardinal's graceless grace, and that was till the band of followers, and of service, set some of them at liberty: and thus the cardinal with his craft persuaded on every side, so that the Scots proverb was true in him, 'So long runs the fox, as he has feet.' Whether it was at this journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons at St. Johnston, we cannot affirm; neither yet therein study we to be curious, but rather we labour to express the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint times, which yet we omit not when the certainty occurs. The verity of that cruel fact was this, At St. Paul's day, before the first burning of Edinburgh, came to St. Johnston the governor and cardinal, and there, upon evident accusation, were a great number of honest men and women called before the cardinal, and accused of heresy; and albeit they could be convicted of nothing, but only of suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon Friday, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruel and

most unjust sentence was without mercy put in execution: the husband was hanged; and the wife, having a sucking babe upon her breast, was drowned. ‘O Lord! the land is not yet purged from such heathen cruelty, neither hath thy just vengeance yet stricken all that were obdurate of their blood!’ But the day approacheth, when the punishment of that cruelty, and of others, will evidently appear. The names of the men that were hanged, were, Jam’s Hunter, William Lamb, William Anderson, James Ruvall bursars of St. Johnston. At the same time were beheaded, Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Dallas, with divers others, whose names come not to our knowledge. That sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spark of knowledge appeared, had about that time in prison divers, amongst whom was John Roger, a Blackfriar, godly and learned, one that had faithfully preached Christ Jesus, to the conscience of many in Angus and Meines, whom that bloody man caused to be murdered, in the ground of the Sea-tower in St. Andrew’s, and then caused to call him over the wall, spreading a false report, That the said John seeking to flee, had broken his own neck. This could not gain by all means to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ’s gospel: but mighty is he against whom thy fight; for when the wicked were in greatest security, then began God to shew his anger; for the 3d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1544, without knowledge of any man in Scotland (we mean, of such as should have had the care of the realm), was seen a great navy of ships arriving towards the Firth. The poets came to the governor and cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, shewing what multitude of ships were seen, and what course they took: this was on the Saturday before noon. Question was had, What should they mean? Some said, It is no doubt but they are Englishmen, and we fear that they will land. The cardinal skipped, and said, It is the island-boat; they are come to make a shew, and to put us in fear: I shall lodge all the men of war in mine eye, that shall land in Scotland. Still sitteth the cardinal at his dinner, eating as though there had been no danger appearing. Men assembled to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle-hill, some to the mountains, and other places eminent; but there was no question, With what forces shall we resist, if we be invaded? Soon after six of the clock at night, were arrived, and had cast anchor in the road of Leith, more than two hun-

dred sail. Shortly after, the admiral shot a flat boat, which from Granton-hills, till by East-Leith, founded the deep, and so returned to her ship: hereof were divers opinions: men of judgment foresaw what it meant; but no credit was given to any that would say, They minded to land; and so passed every man to his rest, as if the ships had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day, on Sunday the 4th of May, address they for landing; and they ordered the ships so, that a galley or two laid their snouts to the hills: the small ships, called pinnaces and light horsemen, approached as near as they could. The great ships discharged their soldiers into the smaller vessels, and they by boats set upon dry land before ten of the clock ten thousand men, as was judged, and more. The governor and cardinal seeing then the thing that they could not, or at least they would not believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse could carry them; so that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas were that night freed of ward (they were in Blackness): the said Sir George in merriness, said, ‘I thank King Henry and my gentle mothers of England.’ The English army, betwixt one and two of the clock, entered into Leith, found the tables covered, the dinners prepared, such abundance of wine and victuals, besides the other substance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in Scotland nor England. Upon Monday the 5th of May, came to them from Berwick and the borders, two thousand horsemen, who being somewhat reposed, the army upon Wednesday marched toward the town of Edinburgh, spoiled and burnt the same, and so did they the palace of Holyrood-house: the horsemen took the house of Craigmillar, and got great spoils therein; for it was judged the strongest house near the town, after the castle of Edinburgh, and all men fought to save their moveables therein: but the steward of the haire gave it over, without shot of hackbut; and for his reward was caused to march upon his feet to London: he is now captain of Dunkar, and provost of Edinburgh. The Englishmen seeing no resistance, hurried by force of men cannon upon the street, to the Butter-trone, and above, and hazarded a shot against the fore-entry of the castle: but that was to their own pains; for they lying without trench or gabion, were exposed to the force of the whole ordnance of the said castle, which shot, and that not all in vain; for the wheel

and axle-tree of one of the English cannon was broken, and some of their men slain; and so they left with small honour, that enterprize taken rather of rashness than of any advised counsel. When the most part of the day they had spoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to Leith, and upon the morrow returned to Edinburgh, and executed the rest of God's judgments for that time: and so, when they had consumed both the towns, they loaded the ships with the spoils thereof, and they by land returned to Berwick, using the country, for the most part, at their own pleasure. This was a part of the punishment which God took upon the realm for the infidelity of the governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath: but this was not the end; for the realm was divided into two factions, the one favoured France, the other the league lately contracted with England; the one did in no things credit thoroughly the other, so that the country was in extreme calamity: for to the Englishmen were delivered divers strengths, such as Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langham: the most part of the borderers were confederated with England: and albeit at Ancrum-muir, in February 1544, was Sir Ralph Ewers, with many other Englishmen, slain, and the year after were some of the said strengths recovered, yet was it not without great loss and detriment of the commonwealth: for, in the month of January 1545, Monsieur de Lorge, with bands of men of war, came from France, for a destruction to Scotland; for upon their brag was an army raised, forwards they go towards Wark, even in the midst of harvest. The cardinal's banner was that day displayed, and all his files were charged to be under it; many had before promised; but at the point it was left so bare, that with shame it was put up into the pock again, and they, after a shew, returned with more shame to the realm than hurt to their enemies. The black book of Hamilton maketh mention of great vasalage done at that time by the governor and the French; but such as with their eyes saw the whole progress, knew that to be a lie, 'and do repute it amongst the venial sins of that race, which is to speak the best of themselves they can.' That winter following go nurtured the Frenchmen, that they learned to eat, yea, to beg cakes, which at their entry they scorned, without jesting; they were so miserably used, that few returned into France again with their lives. The cardinal then had almost fortified the castle of St. Andrews, which he made so strong in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France. The earl

of Lennox, as is said, disappointed of all things in Scotland, passed into England, where he was received of king Henry into protection, who gave him to wife lady Margaret Douglas, of whom was born Henry, sometime husband to our queen and mistress. While the inconstant governor was sometimes dejected, and sometimes raised up again by the abbot of Paisley (who before was called 'Chaster than any maiden'), began to shew himself; for after he had taken by craft the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, he took also possession of his enemy's wife, the lady Stanchouse; the woman is, and hath been famous, and is called lady Gilton; her ladyship was holden always in poverty: but how many wives and virgins he hath had since, and that in common, the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his ballard-birds bear some witness: such is the example of holiness that the flock may receive of the Papisitical bishops. In the midst of all the calamities that came upon this realm, after the defection of the governor from Christ Jesus, came into Scotland that blessed martyr of God, Mr. George Wishart, in company of the commissioners before mentioned, in the year of our Lord 1544, a man of such graces, as before him was never heard within this realm, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding this great light of God that since his days hath shined unto us: he was not only singularly learned, as well in all godly knowledge, as in all honest human science; but also, he was so clearly illuminated with the spirit of prophecy, that he saw not only things pertaining to himself, but also such things, as some towns, and the whole realm afterward felt, which he forespake, not in secret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places shall be declared. The beginning of his doctrine was in Montrose; therefrom he departed to Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epistle to the Romans, till that by procurement of the cardinal Robert Myle, then one of the principal men of Dundee, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the queen's and governor's names, inhibition to the said Mr. George, that he should trouble their town no more, for they would not suffer it: and this was said to him being in the public place: which heard, he mused a pretty space, with his eyes bent unto the heavens: and thereafter, looking sorrowfully to the speaker, and unto the people, he said, 'God is witness that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble

is more dolorous unto me, than it is unto yourselves; but I am assured, that to refuse God's word, and to chafe sin upon his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but it shall bring you into it: for God shall find unto you messengers, who will not be afraid of burning; nor yet of banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you; now ye yourselves refuse me, and therefore must I leave my innocency to be declared by my God; "If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth;" but if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for he is merciful; but if ye turn not at the first, he will visit you with fire and sword.' These words pronounced, he came down from the preaching-place. In the church present was the lord Marshall, and several noblemen, who would have had the said Mr. George to have remained, or else to have gone with them into the country: but for no request would he either tarry in the town, or on that side of Tay any longer, but with possible expedition past to the west country, where he began to offer God's word, which was of many gladly received, till that Dunbar the bishop of Glasgow, by intigation of the cardinal, came with his gatherings to the town of Air, to make resistance to the said Mr. George, and did first take the church: the earl of Glencairn being thereof advertised, repaired with his friends to the town with diligence, and so did divers gentlemen of Kyle (amongst whom was the laird of Leinoreise, a man far different from him that now liveth, in the year of our Lord 1566, in manners and religion), of whom to this day yet many live, and have declared themselves always zealous and bold in the cause of God, as after will be heard. When all were assembled, conclusion was taken, that they would have the church; whereto the said Mr. George utterly repugned, saying, 'Let him alone, his sermon will not much hurt; let us go to the market-cross; and to they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded. The bishop preached to his jack-men, and to some of the best of the town: the sum of all his sermon was, 'They say we should preach; why not? Better lat, thrive, than never thrive; hold us still for your bishops, and we shall provide better for the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not to fulfil his promise. The said Mr. George remained with the

gentlemen in Kyle, till that he got sure knowledge of the state of Dundee: he preached commonly at the church of Galloway, and used much in the Bar: he was required to come to the church of Machlyne; and so he did; but the sheriff of Air caused to man the church, for preservation of a tabernacle that was there beautiful to the eye. The persons that held the church, were George Campbell of Mongarwood, who yet liveth *anno* 1566, Mungo Campbell of Brownside, George Reid in Dandilling, the laird of Tempilland.

Some zealous of the parish, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kingareleugh, concluded that they should be debaired their parish-church, concluded by force to enter; but the said Mr. George withdrew the said Hugh, and said unto him, 'Brother, Christ Jesus is as mighty upon the fields as in the church; and I find that he himself oftner preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than he did in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me, the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it.' And so, withdrawing the whole people, he came to a ditch in a muir-edge, upon the fourth-west side of Machlyne, upon the which he ascended: the whole multitude stood and sat about him (God gave the day pleasant and hot), he continued in preaching more than three hours; in that sermon God wrought so wonderfully with him, that one of the most wicked men that was in that country, named Laurence Ranken laird of Shield, was converted; the tears ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondered; his conversion was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come. While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyie, word rose, that the plague of pestilence rose in Dundee, which began four days after that the said Mr. George was inhibited preaching, and was so vehement, that it past almost credibility to hear how many departed every four-and-twenty hours: the certainty understood, the said Mr. George took his leave of Kyle, and that with the regret of many; but no request could make him to remain; his reason was, 'They are now in trouble, and need comfort: perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that word, which before, for the fear of men, they set at light price.' Coming unto Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave signification that he would preach; and because

the most part were either sick, or else were in company with them: that which was sick, he chose the head of the east part of the town for his preaching-place, and for the whole flood or fat within, the sick and susper'd without the post or gate. The text upon the which his first sermon was made, he took from the hundred and seventh psalm, the sentence thereof, 'He sent his word, and healed them;' and therewith joined these words, 'It is neither herb nor piesser, O Lord, but thy word healeth all.' In which sermon, he most comfortably did intreat of the dignity and utility of God's word, the punishment that comes for the contempt of the same, the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him; yea, the great happiness of them whom God taketh from this misery, even in his own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair; by the which sermon he so raised up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind, considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. He spared not to visit them that lay in the very extremity, he comforted them as he could; being such a multitude, he caused minister all things necessary to those that could use meat or drink, and in that point was the town wonderous beneficial; for the poor was no more neglected than was the rich. While he was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devil ceased not to stir up his own son the cardinal again, who corrupted by money a desperate priest, named Sir John Wighton, to slay the said Mr. George, who looked not to himself in all things so circumspcctly as worldly men would have used. And upon a day, the sermon ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, and therefore not heeding the said Mr. George, the priest that was corrupted stood waiting at the foot of the steps, his gown loose, and his dagger drawn in his hand under his gown. The said Mr. George, as that he was most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he said, 'My friend, what would ye do?' and therewith he clapped his hand upon the priest's hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him; the priest abashed, fell down at his feet, and openly confessed the verity as it was. The noise rising, and coming to the ears of the sick, they cried, 'Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force:' and so they burst in at the gate; but Mr. George took him in his arms, and said, 'Whosoever trou-

bles him, shall trouble me; for he hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to you and me; viz. he hath let us to understand what we may fear; in times to come we will watch better;' and so he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his. When the plague was so ceased, that almost there was none sick, he took his leave of them, and said, 'That God had almost put an end to that battle;' he found himself called to another place. The gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that he should meet them at Edinburgh; for they would require disputation of the bishops, and that he should be publicly heard, whereto he willingly agreed. But first he passed to Montrose to salute the church there, where he remained, occupied sometimes in preaching, but most part in secret meditation, in the which he was so earnest, that night and day he would continue in it. While he was so occupied with his God, the cardinal drew a secret draught for his slaughter; he caused to write unto him a letter, as it had been from his most familiar friend, the laird of Kinneir, desiring him with all possible diligence to come unto him, for he was stricken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time had the traitor provided sixty men, with jacks and spears, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of the town of Montrose for his dispatch: the letter coming to his hand, he made haste at first (for the boy had brought a horse), and so with some honest men he passed forth of the town, but suddenly he staid, and musing a space, returned back; whereto they wondering, he said, 'I will not go, I am forbidde of God; I am assured there is treason: let some of you, saith he, go to yonder place, and tell me what ye find.' Diligence made, they found the treason as it was; which being shewn with expedition to Mr. George, he answered, 'I know that I shall end my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be on this manner.'

The time approaching that he had appointed to meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave at Montrose, and fore against the judgment of the laird of Dun, entered on his journey, and so returned to Dundee; but remained not, but passed to the house of a faithful brother named James Watson, who dwelt in Invergowrie, distant from the said town two miles, and that night (as information was given to us by William Spadin, and John Watson, both men of good credit) before day he passed forth into a yard; the said William and John followed privily, and took heed what he did. When

he had gone up and down in an alley a reasonable space, with many sobs and deep groans, he fell upon his knees, and falling thereon, his tears increased; and when his knees he fell upon his face, and then the persons about him loud weeping, and, as it were, an infinite kind of prayers, in the which he continued near an hour, and after he rose to be quiet, and so arose and came in to his bed. Then that waited upon him came before, as if they had been ignorant, till that he came in, and then began they to demand where he had been, but that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and while that he stood, they said, Mr. George, be plain with us: for we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees, and upon your face. With dejected visage, he said, I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was scarce well occupied. When they instantly urged him to let them know some comfort, he said, I will tell you, that I am assured that my travel is near an end; and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot. And while that they weeped, and said, 'That was small comfort unto them,' he answered, 'God shall find you comfort after some.' This really shall be illuminated with the 'light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as ever any realm flourished the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack 'whatsoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) 'the very cape-stone;' meaning, that it should once be brought to the full perfection. 'Neither,' said he, 'shall this be long to: there shall not many 'suffer after me, till that the glory of God shall 'evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But alas! if the people shall be 'unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall 'the plagues be that shall follow.' And with these words, he marched forwards in his journey towards St. Johnston, and so to Eife, and then to Leith, where he arrived: and hearing no word of those that appointed to meet him, *viz.* the earl of Caithness, and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, he kept himself secret a day or two; but beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being demanded of the cause, of such as were not in his company before, he said, What differ I from a dead man, except that Eat and drink? to this time God hath used my labours to the instruction of others, and unto the discharging of darkness; and now I look as a man that were ashamed, and durst not shew himself before men. By these and the like

words, they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach; and therefore said, most comfortable it were unto us to hear you; but because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire you. But dare ye and others hear, said he, and then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him? Finally, it was concluded, that the next Sunday he should preach in Leith, as he did, and took that text, 'The parable of the sower that went forth 'to sow seed,' Math. xiii. And this was upon the fifteenth day before Christmas.

The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who then were earnest professors of Christ Jesus, thought not expedient that he should remain in Leith, because that the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; and therefore they took him with them, and kept him sometimes in Brunston, sometimes in Longniddry, and sometimes in Ormiston; for these three diligently waited upon him. The Sunday following, he preached in the church of Inveresk, beside Musselburgh, both before and after noon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongst whom was Sir George Douglas, who, after the sermon, said publicly, 'I know that my lord governor, 'and my lord cardinal, shall hear that I have been 'at this preaching (for they were then at Edinburgh); say unto them, that I will avow it, and 'will not only maintain the doctrine which I 'have heard, but also the person of the teacher, 'to the uttermost of my power.' Which words greatly rejoiced the people, and the gentlemen then present. One thing notable in that sermon we cannot pass by: among others, there came two gray-friars, and standing in the entry of the church-door, they made some whisperings to such as came in; which perceived, the preacher said to the people that stood near them, 'I heartily pray 'you to make room to those two men, it may be 'that they be come to learn.' And unto them he said, 'Come near (for they stood in the very entry of the door); for, I assure you, ye shall hear 'the word of verity, which shall either seal in you 'this same day your salvation or condemnation?' and so proceeded he in doctrine, supposing they would have been quiet; but when he perceived them still to trouble the people that stood near them (for vehement was he against the false worshipping of God), he turned unto them the second time, and with an ireful countenance, said, 'O 'serjants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of 'men! will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for

‘ your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate.’ This sentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midst of the sermon; and turning to the people, he said, ‘ You wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger.’ And so he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end.

The day’s travel being ended, he came to Longniddry; and the two next Sundays preached in Tranent, with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his sermons, after his departure from Angus, he foretold the shortness of the time which he had to travel, and of his death, the day whereof approached nearer than any would believe. In the latter end of those days which are called the holy-days of Christmas, past he, by consent of the gentlemen, to Haddington; where it was supposed the greatest confluence of people should be, both by reason of the town, and of the country adjacent. The first day before noon, the auditors were reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison of that which used to be in that church: but the afternoon, and the next day following, before noon, the auditory was so slender that many wondered. The cause was judged to have been, that the earl Bothwell, who in those bounds used to have great credit and obedience, by procurement of the cardinal, had given inhibition, as well unto the town, as unto the country, that they should not hear him, under the pain of his displeasure. The first night he lay within the town with David Forrest, now called the general, a man who long professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended: the second night he lay in Lethington, the laird whereof was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion. The day following, before the said Mr. George past to the sermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the west country; which received and read, he called for John Knox, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian, with whom he began to enter into purpose. That he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to be wearied of God. The cause of his complaint was; the gentlemen of the west had written unto him, that they could not keep the meeting at Edinburgh. The said John Knox wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon (for that was not his accustomed use before), said, ‘ Sir, the time of sermon approacheth,

‘ I will leave you for the present to your meditation;’ and so he took the bill containing the purpose aforesaid, and left him. The said Mr. George walked up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour; his weary countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind.

At last he passeth to the pulpit; but the auditory was small: he should have begun to have treated of the second table of the law, but thereof in that sermon spake he very little. He began on this manner, ‘ O Lord! how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation! I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been, at any vain clerk-play, two or three thousand people: and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the town or parish, cannot be numbered one hundred persons: fore and fearful shall the plagues be, that shall ensue upon this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued. Yea, thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else you shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will not know the time of God’s merciful visitation.’ In such vehemency and threatening continued that servant of God near an hour and an half; in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, ‘ I have forgotten myself, and the matter which I should have treated of; but let these my last words, concerning public preaching, remain in your minds, till that God send you new comfort.’ Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy; and so ended, as it were making his last testament, as the illue declared fully. The Spirit of truth and of true judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that same night was he apprehended before midnight, in the house of Ormiston, by the earl Bothwell, made, for money, butcher to the cardinal.

The manner of his taking was thus: departing from the town of Haddington, he took his good-night, as it were for ever, of all his acquaintance, especially from Hugh Douglas of Longniddry. John Knox pressing to have gone with the said Mr. George, he said, ‘ Nay, return to your children, and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice.’ And so the said John Knox, albeit un-

willingly, obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas of Longniddry; Mr. George having to accompany him the laird of Ormiston, John Scudibon of Calder younger, the laird of Brunston, and others, with their servants, passed upon foot (for it was a vehement frost) to Ormiston. After supper, he held comfortable purpose of God's chosen children, and merrily said, 'Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep?' and therewith he said, 'Shall we sing a psalm?' and so he appointed the fifty-first psalm, which was in Scottish metre, and began thus, 'Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy, &c.' Which being ended, he past to his chamber, and sooner than his common diet was, to pass to bed, with these words, 'And grant quiet rest.' Before midnight the place was beset about, that none could escape to make advertisement. The earl Bothwell came and called for the laird, and declared the purpose, and said, 'That it was but in vain to make him to hold his house, for the governor and the cardinal with all their power were coming (and indeed the cardinal was at Elphinston, not a mile distant from Ormiston); but if he would deliver the man to him, he would promise upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that it should pass the power of the cardinal to do him any harm or hurt. Allured with these words, and taking counsel with the said Mr. George, who, at the last word, said, 'Open the gates, the blessed will of my God be done,' they received in the earl Bothwell himself, with some gentlemen with him; to whom Mr. George said, 'I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receiveth me this night, in the presence of these noblemen; for now I am assured, that, for your honour's sake, ye will suffer nothing any ways to be done to me but by the order of law. I am not ignorant, that all their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered.' The said earl Bothwell answered, 'I shall not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be purposed against you, against order of law; but also I promise here, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither shall the governor nor the cardinal have their will of you, but I shall retain you in mine own hands, and in mine own house, till that either I shall make you free, or else restore you in the same place where I receive you.' The lairds aforesaid replied, 'My lord, if ye will do as you have spoken, and as we think your lordship will do, then do we here promise

'unto your lordship, that not only we ourselves shall save you all the days of our life, but also we shall procure the whole professors within Lothian to do the same. And upon either the preservation of this our brother, or upon his delivery again to our hands, we being reasonably advertised to receive him, that we, in the name and behalf of our friends, shall deliver to your lordship, or any sufficient man that shall deliver to us again this servant of God, our band of followers in manner requisite.' And thus promise made in the presence of God, and hands stricken upon both the parties for observation of the promise, the said Mr. George was delivered into the hands of the said earl Bothwell, who immediately departing with him, came to Elphinston, where the cardinal was: who knowing that Calder younger, and Brunston, were with John Cockburn laird of Ormiston, sent back with expedition to apprehend them also.

The noise of horsemen being heard, the servants gave advertisement, that more than departed, or was there before, were returned. And while that they dispute what should be the motive, the cardinal's garrison had seized both the outer and inner doles. They called for the laird, and for the laird of Calder, who presenting themselves, demanded what their commission was? To bring you two, and the laird of Brunston, to my lord governor. They were nothing content (as they had no cause), and yet they made fair countenance, and intreated the gentlemen to drink, and to bait their horses, till that they might put themselves in readiness to ride with them. In this mean time Brunston conveyed himself first secretly, and then by speed of foot to Ormiston wood, and from thence to Dundallon, and so escaped that danger: the other two were put into the castle of Edinburgh, where the one, *viz.* Calder younger, remained, until his band of followers to the cardinal was the means of his deliverance: and the other, *viz.* Ormiston, freed himself by leaping the wall of the castle, betwixt ten and eleven of the clock before noon, and so breaking ward, he escaped prison, which he unjustly suffered. The servant of God, Mr. George Wishart, was carried first to Edinburgh, thereafter brought back, for fashion's sake, to the house of Hailes again, which was the principal place that then the earl Bothwell had in Lothian. But as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him; for the cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the queen, with whom the

said earl was then in the glunders, promised him favour in all his lawful suits to women, if he would deliver the said Mr. George, to be kept in the castle of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his promise; but an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious queen, and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh, where the cardinal then had a convention of prelates, wherein somewhat was said of redressing the abuses of the church, and reforming the lives of the clergy; but it took no effect.

Mr. Wishart remained but few days in Edinburgh; for that bloody wolf the cardinal, ever thirsting after the blood of the servant of God, so travelled with the abused governor, that he was content that God's servant should be delivered to the power of that tyrant; and so small inversion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Caiaphas, and of his fellows, and adjudged Christ to be crucified. The cardinal seeing it was forbidden by the canon law to priests to sit as judges upon life and death, although the crime was heresy, sent to the governor, desiring him to name some lay-judge to pronounce sentence against Mr. Wishart. The governor had freely condescended to the cardinal's request without delay, if David Hamilton of Preston, a godly and wise man, had not remonstrated unto him, That he could expect no better end than Saul, since he persecuted the saints of God for that truth, which he professed once with such a shew of earnestness; the profession thereof being the only cause of his advancement to that high degree wherein he was. The governor, moved at this speech of David Hamilton's, answered the cardinal, that he would not meddle with the blood of that good man, and told him, that his blood should be on him, for he himself would be free of it. At this the cardinal was angry, and said, he would proceed, and that he had sent to the governor of mere civility, without any need. And so the servant of God delivered to the hand of that proud and mercilefs tyrant, triumph was made by the priests. The godly lamented, and accused the foolishness of the governor: for, by the retaining of the said Mr. George, he might have caused Protestants and Papists (rather proud Romanists), to have served; the one, to the end the life of their preacher might have been saved; the other, for fear that he should have set him at liberty again, to the confusion of the bishops. 'But where God is left (as he had plainly renounced him before), what can counsel or judgment avail?'

How the servant of God was dealt withal, and what he did from the day that he entered within the Sea-tower of St. Andrews, which was in the end of January, in the year of God 1546, unto the first of March, the same year when he suffered, we cannot certainly tell; except we understand he wrote somewhat in prison, but that was suppressed by the enemies. The cardinal delayed no time, but caused all bishops, yea, all the clergy that had any pre-eminence, to be called to St. Andrews, against the seven-and-twentieth day of February, that consultation might be had in that question; which in his mind was no less resolved, than Christ's death was in the mind of Caiaphas: but that the rest should bear the like burden with him, he would that they should before the world subscribe whatsoever he did. In that day was wrought a wonder, not unlike that which was at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends, by consenting of them both to Christ's condemnation; differs nothing, except that Pilate and Herod were brethren under their father the devil, in the estate called temporal: and these two, of whom we are about to speak, were brethren (sons of the same father, the devil), in the estate ecclesiastical. If we interlace merriness with earnest matters, pardon us, good reader; for the fact is so notable, that it deserveth long remembrance.

The cardinal was known to be proud, and Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow was known to be a glorious fool; and yet, because he was sometimes called the king's master, he was chancellor of Scotland. The cardinal cometh even the same year, in the end of harvest before, to Glasgow, upon what purpose we omit; but while they remain together, the one in the town, the other in the castle, question ariseth for bearing of their crosses. The cardinal alledged, That by reason of his cardinalship, and that he was *legatus natus*, and primate within Scotland, in the kingdom of Antichrist, that he should have the pre-eminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but that also it should only be borne wheresoever he was. Good Gukstone Glakestone, the aforesaid archbishop, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintaining of his glory: he was an archbishop in his own diocess, and in his own cathedral-seat and church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertaineth but to his own person, and not to his bishoprick, for it might be that his successor

should not be cardinal; but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that ever should be bishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both the prelates, yet the decision was, as ye shall hear, coming forth (or going in, all is one) at the quire door of Glasgow church, begins striking for state betwixt the cross-bearers, so that from ploughing they came to shoubling, and so from shoubling they go to buffets, and to dry-blow-needling; and then, for charity's sake, they cry, *Dispartit dedit pauperibus*: and essay which of the crosses was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which cross-bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence; and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground go both their crosses, and then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rockets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and side gowns might have been seen wantonly to wag from the one wall to the other: many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the birches, as bold men would have done. But sy on the jackmen, that did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone right; but the sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. How merrily soever this be written, it was bitter mirth to the cardinal and his court; it was more than irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged *lese majeste* to the son of perdition, the pope's own person: and yet the other, in his folly, as proud as a peacock, would let the cardinal know, that he was a bishop, when the other but Beaton, before he got the abbey of Aberbrothwick.

This enmity was judged mortal, and without all hope of reconciliation: but the blood of the innocent servant of God buried in oblivion all that bragging and boast. For the archbishop of Glasgow was the first unto whom the cardinal wrote, signifying unto him what was done, and earnestly craving of him, that he would assist with his presence and counsel, how that such an enemy to their estate might be suppressed. And thereto was not the other slow, but kept time appointed, sat next to the cardinal, waited and subscribed first in rank, and lay over the east block-house with the said cardinal, till the martyr of God was consumed with fire; for this we may note, That as these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that innocent, so did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordinance of the castle of

St. Andrews bent towards the place of execution, which was near to the castle, ready to have shot, if any would have made defence or rescue to God's servant. The manner of his accusation, proccets, and answers, followeth, as we have received from certain records, which we relate truly, as near as possibly we can.

Upon the last of February, was sent to the prison where the servant of God lay, the dean of the town, by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Mr. George, that he should on the morrow following appear before the judge, then and there to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom the said Mr. George answered, What needeth the cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound in irons? may not he compel me to answer, of his extort power? or, believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? to manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions, made by men. Upon the morrow, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapsack, spint, spear, and ax, more seemly for the war than for the preaching of the true word of God: and when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey-church, incontinently they sent for Mr. George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, and the number of an hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid, like a lamb led they him to the sacrifice. As he entered in at the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse; and when he came before the cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winram, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matth. xiii. whose sermon was divided into four parts. The first was, a short and brief declaration of the evangelist. The second, of the interpretation of the good seed; and because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known. He defined it on this manner, 'Heresy is a false opinion, defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.' The third part of his sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms: the

cause of heresy, said he, is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens souls, to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false teachers of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome, as saith Paul to Timothy, 'A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but harberous, one that loveth goodneis, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine: that he may be able, with wholesome learning, to impugn that which they say against him.' The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. Heresies, said he, are known on this manner; as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect by the touch-stone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touch-stone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At the last, he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life; to which proposition, the gospel he treated of appeareth to repugn, 'Let them both grow to the harvest.' The harvest is the end of the world; nevertheless he affirmed, that they should be put down by the civil magistrate, and law: and when he ended his sermon, incontinent they caused Mr. George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles; for right against him stood one of the fat flock, a monster, John Lauder a priest, laden full of cursings written in paper, of the which he took out a roll, both long, and also full of outrages, threatenings, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George so many cruel and abominable words, and hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded, lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick: notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fat sow had read throughout all his lying menaces, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spat at Mr. George's face, saying, 'What answers thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witnesses against thee?' Mr. George hearing this, sat down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered unto them all in this manner:

Mr. GEORGE WISHART'S ORATION.

'MANY and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought it ever great abomination; wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lords, I desire to be heard, for three causes. The first is, because through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest; it is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me teaching truly the pure and sincere word of God, without any dissimulation. The second reason is, because that your health springeth from the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word: it were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God. The third reason is, because your doctrine speaketh forth many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inspiration of God, but of the devil, on no less peril than my life. It is just therefore and reasonable for your discretions, to know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great perils of yourselves. Wherefore, both for the glory of God, your own health, and safe-guard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and in the mean time I shall recite my doctrine, without any colour.

'First and chiefly, since the time that I came to this realm, I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans: and I shall shew your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used, when I taught without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attentive.—Suddenly then, with a loud voice, cried the accuser, the fat sow, 'Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach; thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church: we forthink that thou hast been a preacher so long.' Then said the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, these words, 'If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and

to raise them against us.—Mr. George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder afore said, with hoggish voice, answered, ‘Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, arch-bishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mercepoise, commander of Aberbrothwick, *legatus noster, legatus a latere*?’ and so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass: is not he, said John Lauder, an equal judge apparently to thee? whom other desired thou to be thy judge? To whom this humble man answered, saying, ‘I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, the temporal estate, with some of your lordships, mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor’s prisoner.’ Whereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by, mocked him, saying, ‘Such man, such judge?’ speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor, and other of the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Mr. George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled my lord cardinal to read again the articles, and hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation. And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak: for when he intended to mitigate their lashings, and shew the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

ARTICLE I. Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, despisest the church, and in like case contemnest my lord governor’s authority. And this we know of surety, That when thou preachedst in Dundee, and was charged by my lord governor’s authority to desist, nevertheless thou would not obey, but persevered in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil’s hand, and gave thee then commandment, That thou shouldst preach no more; yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.

ANSWER. My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, That it is not lawful, for the threats and menaces of men, to desist from the preaching of the gospel; therefore it is written, ‘We shall rather obey God than men.’ I have also read the prophet Malachi, ‘I shall curse your

‘blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord.’ Believing firmly, that he would turn your cursings into blessings.

ART. II. Thou false heretic didst say, That a priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.

ANSW. My lords, I said not so. These were my sayings, The moving of the body outward, without inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God; for God is a secret searcher of mens hearts: therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him. Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

ART. III. Thou false heretic preacheest against the sacraments, saying, That there are not seven sacraments.

ANSW. My lords, it is not so by your pleasures, I taught never of the number of the sacraments, whether there were seven or eleven: so many as are instituted by Christ, and are shewn to us by the gospel, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.

ART. IV. Thou false heretic hast openly taught, That auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament, and thou saidst, That we should only confess us to God, and to no priest.

ANSW. My lords, I say, That auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the gospel, truly it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture; as when David saith, ‘I thought that I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the trespasses of my sins.’ Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of confession: and further, St. James saith, ‘Acknowledge your sins one to another, and so let you have peace among yourselves.’ Here the apostle meaneth nothing of auricular confession, but that we should acknowledge and confess ourselves to be sinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to esteem ourselves as the gray-friars do, thinking themselves already purged.—When that he had said these words, the horned bishops, and their complices, cried and grinned with

their teeth, saying, 'See ye not what colours he hath in his speech, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion.'

ART. V. Thou false heretic didst say openly, That it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, which is contrary to general councils, and the state of the holy church.

ANSW. My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandize with any Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger: so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism.—Then said Mr. Peter Chaplin, That he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, 'The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak.'

ART. VI. Thou false heretic, traitor, and thief, thou said, That the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baken upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God.

ANSW. Oh Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the Scripture, the which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death. The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God, but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him; but what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhine; I did enquire of him, What was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled; moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah. By many other testimonies of the Scripture I witnessed to him, and proved, that the Messias was come, the which they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messias cometh he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law which was given unto our fathers, as ye do; for why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you, yet you are not moved with pity to-

wards them: but amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, It is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery, of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only to honour; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, A piece of bread baked upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of a Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.—Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the ground; and what he meant in this matter further, they would not hear.

ART. VII. Thou false heretic didst say, That extreme unction was not a sacrament.

ANSW. My lords, forsooth I never taught of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a sacrament or not.

ART. VIII. Thou false heretic didst say, That holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou contemnest conjuring, and sayst, That holy church's cursing availeth not.

ANSW. My lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but in as much as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.

ART. IX. Thou false heretic and runagate, hast said, That every man is a priest; and likewise thou sayst, That the pope hath no more power than another man.

ANSW. My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places of St. John and St. Peter, of the which one saith, 'He hath made us kings and priests;' the other saith, 'He hath made us the kingly priesthood;' wherefore I have affirmed, Any man understanding and perfect in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, to have his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called, 'The power of God,' as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, Any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say he hath no power to bind or

to loose, feeling he wanteth the instrument by the which he bindeth and looseth, that is to say, 'The word of God.'—After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him: when that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye, said he, my lords? Though that these my sayings do seem scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value; because that they stand not only upon my life, but also upon the honour and glory of Christ.—In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madnes and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of the said Mr. George, did greatly mourn and lament.

ART. X. Thou false heretic saidst, That a man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, who say, That it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all desire and concupiscence cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be of.

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

ART. XI. Thou false heretic sayst, It is as lawfull to eat flesh upon Friday, as on Sunday.

ANSW. Pleaseth it your lordships, I have read in the Epistles of St. Paul, That 'who is clean, unto him all things are clean.' Of the contrary, 'To the filthy men all things are unclean.' A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God; so that a creature cannot sanctify any impure and unfaithful man; but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the power of the word of God.—After these sayings of Mr. George, then said the bishops, with their complices, What needed we any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?

ART. XII. Thou false heretic dost say, That we should not pray unto saints, but to God only; say, whether thou hast said this or no, say shortly.

ANSW. For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers, I said without doubt plainly, that saints

should not be honoured, nor called upon. My lord, said he, there are two things worthy of note, the one is certain, and the other uncertain: it is found plainly and certain in Scriptures, That we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God with all thine heart;' but as for praying to, and honouring of saints, there is great doubt amongst many, whether they hear or not the invocation made unto them; therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we must enter in; he that entereth not in by this Door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the Verity and Life; he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, he is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, and taught openly, and in no corners; and now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me; except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing.—These sayings he repeated divers times.

ART. XIII. Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, That there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory.

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

ART. XIV. Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such-like vows, they vowed themselves to the state

of damnation; moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole.

ANSW. Of this, my lords, I have read in the gospel, That there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mother's womb, some are made eunuchs by men, and some have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God: but as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the gospel have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity, ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniencies they have vowed themselves.—When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one wife.

ART. XV. Thou false heretic and runagate sayst, That thou wilt not obey our general or provincial councils.

ANSW. My lords, what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exercised in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them; if they be agreeable with the word of God, I will not disagree.—Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness, and said, Wherefore let we him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them. Among those cruel tygers, there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: for we may not abide them, quoth he, no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named.

ART. XVI. Thou heretic sayst, That it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made by mens hands, nor yet can God be in little space, as betwixt the priest's hands.

ANSW. My lords, Solomon saith, 'If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house which I have builded?' And Job consented to the same sentence, saying, Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than the hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea; so that

God cannot be comprehended in one place, who is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I said never that churches should be destroyed; but to the contrary, I affirmed ever, That churches should be maintained and upholden, that the people should be assembled in them to hear the word of God preached. Moreover, wheresoever is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together, God cannot be comprehended in any one place; and wheresoever are two or three gathered in his name, there is he present in the midst of them.—Then said he to his accuser, If thou thinkest any otherwise, then I say, Shew forth thy reasons before this auditory. Then he without all reason was dumb, and could not answer a word.

ART. XVII. Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and sayst, Thou shouldst not fast.

ANSW. My lords, I find that fasting is commanded in the Scripture, therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting; and not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health and conversation of the body; but God only knoweth who fasteth the true fast.

ART. XVIII. Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, That the souls of men shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until the last day.

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

When that the bishops, with their complices, had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, not having respect to his godly answers, and true reasons which he alledged, nor yet to their own consciences; thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable

to the sayings of Jesus Christ, in the gospel of St. John, the sixteenth chapter; 'They shall excommunicate you, yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.'

THE PRAYER of Mr. GEORGE WISHART.

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

Then by and by they caused the common people to remove, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. When all this was done and said, the cardinal causeth his tormentors to put again with the meek lamb unto the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two fiends (two gray-friars), friar Scot and his mate, saying, Sir, you must make your confession unto us. He answered, I will make no confession: go fetch me yonder man that preached unto us this day, and I will confer with him. Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence, and conferred with him a pretty while: at last he burst forth in tears; but so soon as he was able to speak, he asked him, If he would receive the communion? Mr. Wishart answered, He would most willingly, if he could have it according to Christ's institution under both kinds. The sub-prior went to the cardinal and his prelates; he told them, that Mr. Wishart was an innocent man; which he said, not to intercede for his life, but to make known the innocence of

the man unto all men, as it was known to God. At these words the cardinal was angry, and said to the sub-prior, long ago we knew what you were. Then the sub-prior demanded, Whether they would suffer Mr. Wishart to receive the communion or no? They answered, No. A while after Mr. Wishart had ended with the sub-prior, the captain of the castle, with some other friends, came to him, and asked him, if he would breakfast with them: he answered, Most willingly, for I know you to be most honest and godly men. So, all being ready, he desired them to sit down, and hear him a while with patience: then he discoursed to them about half an hour concerning the Lord's supper, his sufferings and death for us; he exhorted them to love one another, laying aside all rancour, envy, and vengeance, as perfect members of Christ, who intercedes continually for us to God the Father. After this, he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them, 'Remember that Christ had died for them, and feed on it spiritually.' So taking the cup, he bade them, 'Remember that Christ's blood was shed for them,' &c. And after, he gave thanks, and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them, That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life; and so retired to his chamber.

Immediately after came to him (sent from the cardinal) two executioners; one brought him a coat of linen dyed black, and put it upon him; the other brought some bags full of powder, which they tied to several parts of his body: thus having dressed him, they brought him to an outer room, near to the gate of the castle; then the fire was made ready, and the stake at the west port of the castle, near to the priory. Over against the place of execution, the castle-windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet-cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence did see their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal dreading that Mr. George should have been taken away by his friends, before had commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against the place of execution; and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and with sound of trumpet, led him forth with the soldiers from the castle, to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beg-

gars, asking of him alms for God's sake; to whom he answered, I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you alms: but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and souls. Then afterward met him two false friars (I should say friars), saying, Mr. George, pray to our lady, that she may be a mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, Cease, tempt me not, I intreat you. After this, he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again; and thrice he said these words, 'O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands.' When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, having obtained leave to speak a little; I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learn the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given unto me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my doctrine was no wives fables, after the confutations made by men; and if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men: but for the word's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour: this grim fire I fear not, and so I pray you for to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and have no power afterward to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day: but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night, ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, 'I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon

me; I forgive them with all my heart: I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.' And last of all, he said to the people on this manner; I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then the executioner that was his tormenter, sat down upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.' To whom he answered, Come hither to me: when he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, my heart, do thy office: and then by and by the trumpet sounding, he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled. The captain of the castle, for the love he bore to Mr. Wishart, drew so near to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harm; he wished Mr. Wishart to be of good courage, and to beg from God the forgiveness of his sins; to whom Mr. Wishart answered thus, 'This fire torments my body, but nowise abates my spirit.' Then Mr. Wishart looking towards the cardinal, said, 'He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leameth there in pride.' Then with this, the executioner drawing the cord, stopp'd his breath; presently after, the fire being great, he was consumed to powder. The prelates would not suffer any prayers to be made for him, according to their custom.

After the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal was cried up by his flatterers, and all the rabble of the corrupt clergy, as the only defender of the catholic church, and punisher of heretics, neglecting the authority of the sluggish governor: and it was said by them, 'That if the great prelates of latter days, both at home and abroad, had been so stout and zealous of the credit of the catholic church, they had not only suppressed all heretics, but also kept under the lay-men, who were so froward and stubborn.' On the other side, when that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter. After the death of this blessed martyr of God, began

the people, in plain speaking, to condemn and detest the cruelty that was used; yea, men of great birth, and estimation, and honour, at open tables avowed, that the blood of the said Mr. George should be revenged, or else it should cost life for life; and that, in a short time, they should be like hogs kept for slaughter, by this vicious priest, and wicked monster, which neither minded God, nor cared for man. Amongst those that spake against the cardinal's cruelty, John Lesly, brother to the earl of Rothes, was chief, with his cousin Norman Lesly, who had been a great follower of the cardinal, and very active for him but a little before, fell so foul with him, that they came to high reproaches one with another. The occasion of their talking out, was a private business, wherein Norman Lesly said he was wronged by the cardinal. On the other side, the cardinal said, he was not with respect used by Norman Lesly his inferior. The said John Lesly, in all companies, spared not to say, That that same dagger (showing forth his dagger), and that same hand, should be put in the cardinal's breast: these reports came to the cardinal's ears; but he thought himself stout enough for all Scotland: for in Babylon, that is, in his new Block-house, he was sure, as he thought; and upon the fields he was able to match all his enemies: and, to speak the truth, the most part of the nobility of Scotland had either given unto him their bands of followers, or else were in confederacy, and promised amity with him; and so he gave his bastard eldest daughter in marriage to the earl of Crawford's eldest son and heir, and caused the wedding to be celebrated with such state, as if she had been a prince's lawful daughter. He only feared them in whose hands God did deliver him, and for them he laid his nets so secretly (as that he made a full count), that their feet could not escape, as we shall after hear. And something of his former practices we may recount: after Easter he came to Edinburgh, to hold the scingny (as the Papiists termed then their unhappy assembly of Baal's shaven sort). It was reported, that something was purposed against him at that day by the earl of Angus, and his friends, whom he mortally feared, and whose destruction he sought; but it failed, and so returned he to his strength; yea, to his god and only comfort, as well in heaven as in earth, and there he remained without all fear of death, promising to himself no less pleasure than did the rich man, of whom mention is made by our Master in the gospel; for he did not only say, Eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store

for many days; but he said, 'Tush, a fig for the fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics, and their assistance in Scotland: is not my lord governor mine? witness his eldest son in pledge at my table. Have I not the queen at my own devotion (he meant of the mother of Mary, who now 1566 reigns)? Is not France my friend, and I am friend to France? What danger should I fear?' And thus in vanity the carnal cardinal delighted himself a little before his death; but yet he had devised to have cut off such as he thought might trouble him: for he had appointed the whole gentlemen of Fife to have met him at Falkland on the Monday; but he was slain upon the Saturday before. His treasonable purpose was not understood, and it was this, That Norman Lesly sheriff of Fife, and apparent heir to his father the earl of Rothes, the foresaid John Lesly father-brother to Norman, the lairds of Grange elder and younger, Sir James Learmont of Darrie and provost of St. Andrews, and the faithful laird of Raith, should either have been slain, or else taken, and after to have been used at his pleasure. This enterprise was disclosed after his slaughter, partly by letters and memorials found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by such as were of the council.

Many purposes were devised, how that wicked man might have been taken away; but all faileth, till Friday the twenty-eighth of May, *anno* 1546, when the foresaid Norman came at night to St. Andrews; William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger was in the town before, waiting upon the purpose; last came John Lesly, as aforesaid, who was most suspected: what conclusion they took that night, it was not known, but by the issue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the twenty-ninth of May, were they in sundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far distant from the castle: first, the gates being open, and the draw-bridge let down, for receiving of lime and stones, and other things necessary for building; for Babylon was almost finished. First, we say, essayed William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger, and with him six persons, and getting entry, held purpose with the porter, if my lord was awake? Who answered, No; and so it was indeed, for he had been busy at his counts with Mrs. Marion Ogilvy that night, who was espied to depart from him by the privy postern that morning; and therefore quietness, after the rules of physic, and a morning-sleep, was requisite for my lord. While the said William and the porter talketh, and his servants made them to look on the work and work-

men, approached Norman Lesly with his company; and, because they were in great number, they easily got entry: they address to the midst of the court, and immediately came John Lesly, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him: the porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge; but the said John being entered thereon, staid it, and leapt in: and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the keys taken from him, and he cast into the ditch, and so the place was seized. The shout arising, the workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The first thing that ever was done, William Kirkcaldy took the guard of the privy postern, fearing lest the fox should have escaped: then go the rest to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty persons to the gate: the number that enterprised and did this, was but sixteen persons. The cardinal awaked with the shouts, asked from his window, What meant that noise? It was answered, That Norman Lesly had taken his castle; which understood, he ran to the postern; but perceiving the passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two-handed sword, and caused his chamberlain to cast chests and other impediments to the door: in this mean time came John Lesly unto it, and bids open. The cardinal asking, Who calls? he answered, My name is Lesly. He demanded, Is that Norman? The other saith, Nay, my name is John. I will have Norman, saith the cardinal, for he is my friend. Content yourself with such as are here, for other you shall have none. There were with the said John, James Melvil, a man familiarly acquainted with Mr. George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael a stout gentleman. In this mean time, while they force at the door, the cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asketh, 'Will ye save my life?' The said John answered, 'It may be that we will.' 'Nay,' saith the cardinal, 'I swear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open it unto you.' Then answered the said John, 'It that was said, is unsaid;' and so cried, 'Fire, fire?' (for the door was very strong) and so was brought a chimney full of burning coals; which perceived, the cardinal or his chamberlain (it is uncertain) opened the door, and the cardinal sat down in a chair, and cried, 'I am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me.' The said John Lesly, according to his former vows, struck him first once or

twice, and so did the said Peter. But James Melvil, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and said, 'This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity.' And presenting unto him the point of the sword, said, 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, That neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel:' and so he struck him twice or thrice through with a flog-sword, and so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but 'I am a priest, I am a priest, fy, fy, all is gone.'

While they were thus busied with the cardinal, the fray rose in the town, the provost assembles the commonalty, and comes to the house-side, crying, 'What have ye done with my lord cardinal? Where is my lord cardinal? Have ye slain my lord cardinal? Let us see my lord cardinal.' They that were within answered gently, 'Best it were for you to return to your own houses, for the man ye call the cardinal hath received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more:' but then more enragedly they cry, 'We shall never depart till that we see him.' And so was he brought to the cast Black-house head, and shewed dead over the wall to the faithless multitude, which would not believe before they saw; and so they departed without *requiem aeternam*, & *requiescat in pace*, sung for his soul. Now, because the weather was hot, for it was in May, as ye have heard, and his funerals could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best, to keep him from stinking, to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the Sea-tower, a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before, to await what exequies his brethren the bishops would prepare for him. These things we write merrily, but we would that the reader should observe God's just judgments, and how that he can deprehend the worldly-wise in their own wisdom, make their table to be a snare to trap these

own feet, and their own purposed strength to be their own destruction: these are the works of our God, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty, what strength soever they make in the contrary. But such is the blindness of man, as David saith, that the posterity doth ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little differs the cruelty of that ballad, that yet is called bishop of St. Andrews, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.

The death of this aforefaid tyrant, as it was pleasing to some, *viz.* to those who had received the reformation of religion, for they were mightily afraid of him; and also to sundry Romanists, whom he kept under as slaves: so, on the other side, it was dolorous to the priests, dolorous to the governor, dolorous to the queen dowager; for in him perished faithfulness to France, and the comfort to all gentlewomen, and especially to wanton widows: his death must be revenged. To the court again repairs the earl of Arran, and his brother Sir George; labour is made for the abbacy of Aberbrothwick, and a grant was once made of the same, in memory whereof George Douglas, bastard son to the said earl, is yet called *pepulant*. But it was more proper, think the Hamiltons, for the governor's kitchen, than for reward to the Douglasses; and yet in hope thereof, the said earl, and Sir George his brother, were the first that voted, that the castle of St. Andrews should be besieged: divers gentlemen of life went into the castle, and abode there with the Leslies during the first siege, and John Rough was preacher to them. The bishop, to declare the zeal which he had to revenge the death of him who was his predecessor, and for his riches he would not have had him living again, still blew the coals; and till he caused summon, then he denounced a recanted, at last rebels, not only the first enterprisers, but all such also as after did accompany them. And last of all, a siege was concluded, which began in the end of August (for the twenty-third day thereof departed the soldiers from Edinburgh), and continued near to the end of January: at which time, because they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, and thereof also they despaired; for they within had broken through the cast wall, and made a plain passage by an iron gate to the sea, which greatly relieved the besieged, and abated the besiegers; for then they saw that they could not stop them of victuals, unlets that they

should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be; for the English ships had once been there, and had brought William Kirkcaldy from London, and with much diligence (because the said gate was not then prepared), and some loss of men, had rendered him to the castle again, and had taken with them to the court of England, John Lesly, and Mr. Henry Bahaves, for perfecting of all contracts betwixt them and king Henry, who promised to take them into his protection, upon condition only, that they should keep the governor's son, my lord of Arran, and stand friends to the contract of marriage, whereof before we have made mention: these things clearly understood, we say, by the governor and his council, the priests, and the shaven sort; they concluded to make an appointment, to the end that, under truce, they might either get the castle betrayed, or else some principal men of the company taken at unawares: in which design was the abbot of Dunfermline principal; and for that purpose had the laird of Monquhany, who was most familiar with those of the castle, laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded so in his traffic, that from entering in day-light, at his pleasure, he got licence to come in in the night, whensoever it pleased him. But God had not appointed so many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they should be punished, and that justly, as hereafter we shall hear.

The heads of the coloured appointment were;

I. That they should keep the castle of St. Andrews still, while that the governor and the authority of Scotland should get unto them a sufficient absolution from the pope, Antichrist of Rome, for the slaughter of the cardinal aforefaid.

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

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

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

And such like articles liberal enough, for they never minded to keep a word of them, as the issue did declare. John Rough left the castle, fee-

ing he could do little good upon those that were within, so addicted were they to their evil ways: he went into England to preach God's word there.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for some hope they had, that thereby God's word should somewhat bud, as indeed so it did: for John Rough, who soon after the cardinal's slaughter entered within the castle, and had continued in it during the whole siege, having left the castle, because he could do little good upon those that were with him, so addicted were they to their evil ways, began to preach in the city of St. Andrews: and albeit he was not the most learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people.

At Easter, after *anno* 1547, came to the castle of St. Andrews John Knox, who, wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by the bishop of St. Andrews, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the schools of Germany (of England then he had no pleasure, by reason that, although the pope's name was suppressed, yet his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour): but because he had the care of some gentlemens children, whom certain years he had nourished in godliness, their fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrews, that himself might have the benefit of the castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine: and so, we say, came he the time aforesaid to the said place; and having in his company, Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest son then to the laird of Ormiston, began to exercise them after his accustomed manner: besides the grammar, and other books of human learning, he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish-church of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the gospel of John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Longniddry, where before his residence was; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the castle at a certain hour. They of the place, but especially Mr. Henry Balnaves and John Rough preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travel with him, that he would take the function of preacher upon him; but he refused, alledging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation: whereupon they privily among themselves advising, having with them in council Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a

charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of the preacher. And so upon a certain day, a sermon had of the election of ministers, what power the congregation (how small soever that it was, passing the number of two or three), had above any man, namely in the time of need, as that was, in whom they supposed, and espied the gifts of God to be; and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed.

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

The necessity that caused him to enter in the public place, besides the vocation aforesaid, was dean John Annan, a rotten Papist, had long troubled John Rough in his preaching. The said John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten the said dean John from all his defences, that he was compelled to flee to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the church; which authority, said he, damned all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore he needed no further disputation. John Knox answered, 'Before we hold ourselves, or that ye can prove us sufficiently convinced, we must define the

church by the right notes given to us in God's
 Scripture of the true church: we must discern the
 immediate spouse of Jesus Christ, from the mo-
 ther of confusion, spiritual Babylon; lest that
 imprudently we embrace a harlot, instead of the
 chaste spouse; yea, to speak in plain words, lest
 that we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that
 we submit ourselves to Jesus Christ. For as for
 your Roman church, as it is now corrupted, and
 the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of
 your victory; I no more doubt but that it is
 the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof,
 called the Pope, to be that man of sin, of whom
 the apostle speaketh, than that I doubt that Je-
 sus Christ suffered by the procurement of the vi-
 sible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself
 by word or writing, to prove the Roman church
 this day farther degenerated from the purity which
 was in the days of the apostles, than was the
 church of the Jews from the ordinance given by
 Moses, when they consented to the innocent
 death of Jesus Christ. These words were spoken
 in the open audience of the parish-church of St.
 Andrews, after the said dean John had spoken what
 it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The
 people hearing the offer, cried with one consent,
 We cannot all read your writings, but we can
 all hear your preaching: therefore we require
 you in the name of God, that ye let us hear the
 approbation of that which ye have affirmed; for,
 if it be true, we have been miserably deceived.

And for the next Sunday was appointed to the
 said John, to express his mind in the public
 preaching-place; which day approaching, the said
 John took the text written in Daniel, the seventh
 chapter, beginning thus: 'And another king shall
 rise after them, and he shall be unlike unto the
 first, and he shall subdue three kings, and shall
 speak words against the Most High, and shall
 consume the saints of the Most High, and shall
 think that he can change times and laws: and they
 shall be given into his hands, until a time, and
 times, and dividing of times, &c. In the be-
 ginning of his sermon, he shewed the great love
 of God towards his church, whom he pleased to
 forewarn of dangers to come, so many years before
 they came to pass. He briefly treated of the state
 of the Israelites, who then were in bondage in Ba-
 bylon, for the most part; and made a short dis-
 course of the four empires, the Babylonian, the
 Persian, that of the Greeks, and the fourth of the
 Romans, in the destruction whereof, rose up that
 last beast, which he affirmed to be the Roman

church; for to none other power that ever hath
 yet been, do all the notes that God hath shewed
 to the prophet appertain, except to it alone; and
 unto it they do so properly appertain, that such
 as are not more than blind, may clearly see them.
 But before he began to open the corruptions of
 Papistry, he defined the true church, shewed the
 true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it
 was the pillar of verity, and why it could not err;
viz. 'Because it heard the voice of the only pas-
 tor Jesus Christ, would not hear a stranger, nei-
 ther would be carried with every wind of doc-
 trine.' Every one of these heads sufficiently de-
 clared, he entered to the contrary; and upon the
 notes given in his text, he shewed that the Spirit
 of God in the New Testament gave to this king
 other new names; *viz.* 'The Man of Sin, the
 Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon.' He shew-
 ed, that this Man of Sin, or Antichrist, was not
 to be restrained to the person of any one man
 only, no more than by the fourth beast was to be
 understood the person of any one emperor: but
 by such names the Spirit of God would forewarn
 his chosen of a body and a multitude, having a
 wicked head, which should not only be sinful him-
 self, but also should be occasion of sin to all that
 should be subject unto him (as Christ Jesus is the
 cause of justice to all the members of his body),
 and is called the Antichrist, that is to say, One
 contrary to Christ, because that he is contrary to
 him in life, doctrine, laws, and subjects. And
 there began to decipher the lives of divers popes,
 and the lives of all the shavelings for the most
 part: their doctrine and laws, he plainly proved
 to repugn directly to the doctrine and laws of God
 the Father, and of Christ Jesus his Son: this he
 proved, by conferring the doctrine of justification
 expressed in the Scriptures, which teach, 'That
 man is justified by faith only, that the blood of
 Jesus Christ purgeth us from all sins;' and the
 doctrine of the Papists, which attribute justifica-
 tion to the works of the law, yea, to the works of
 mens inventions, as pilgrimage, pardons, and o-
 ther such baggage. That the Papistical laws re-
 pugned to the laws of the gospel, he proved, by
 the laws made of observation of days, abstaining
 from meats, and from marriage, which Christ
 Jesus made free: and the forbidding whereof, St.
 Paul calleth the doctrine of devils. In handling
 the notes of that beast given in the text, he willed
 men to consider, if these notes, 'There shall ano-
 ther rise, unlike to the other, having a mouth
 speaking great things and blasphemous,' could be

applied unto any other, but to the pope, and his kingdom; for if these, said he, be not great words and blasphemous, 'The successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, the head of the church, most holy, most blessed, that cannot err; that can make right of wrong, and wrong of right; that of nothing can make somewhat, and that had all verity in the shrine of his breast; yea, that had power of all, and none power of him;' may, not to say, 'That he doth wrong, although he draw ten thousand millions of souls with himself to hell.' If these, said he, and many others, easy to be shewn in his own canon-law, be not great and blasphemous words, and such as never mortal men spake before, let the world judge. And yet, said he, is there one most evident of all, *viz.* John, in his Revelation, says, 'That the merchandize of that Babylonian harlot, among other things, shall be the bodies and souls of men.' Now, let very Papists themselves judge, if ever any before them took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in purgatory, as they affirm to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their mass, and of their other trifles. In the end, he said, if any one here (and there were present Mr. John Mair, the university, the sub-prior, and many canons, with some friars of both the orders), that will say, that I have alledged Scriptures, doctor, or history, otherwise than it is written, let them come unto me with sufficient witnesses, and by conference I shall let them see, not only the original where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove, that the writers meant as I have spoken.

Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, was divers reports: some said, He not only hews the branches of Papistry, but he strikes at the root also, to destroy the whole. Others said, If the doctors, and *magistri nostri*, defend not now the pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, 'The devil may have my part of him, and of his laws both.' Others said, Mr. George Wilhart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be. In the end, others said, The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse: and, therefore, we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword; for it may be that else ye will be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then. This answer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion. The bastard-bishop, who yet

was not execrated (consecrated they call it), wrote to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, who (*sede vacante*), was vicar-general, and said, That he wondered that he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himself to the same: upon this rebuke, was a convention of gray-friars and black fiends appointed, with the said sub-prior dean John Winram in St. Leonard's Yard, whereunto was first called John Rough, and certain articles read to him; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cause of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded; and the articles were read, which were these,

- I. No mortal man can be the head of the church.
- II. The pope is an Antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body.
- III. Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.
- IV. The sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his apostles; nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished from them.
- V. The mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's supper.
- VI. There is no purgatory, in the which the souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life. But heaven resteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithful.
- VII. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.
- VIII. There is no bishop, except he preach even by himself, without any substitute.
- IX. The tithes by God's law do not appertain of necessity to the churchmen.

The strangeness, said the sub-prior, of these articles which are gathered forth of your doctrine, have moved us to call for you, to hear your own answers. John Knox said, I for my part praise my God, that I see so honourable, and apparently so modest and quiet an auditory: but because it is long since that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the truth, I may crave of you in the name of God, yea, and I appeal your conscience before that Supreme Judge, that if ye think any article there expressed contrary unto the truth of God, that ye oppose yourself plainly un-

not, and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived: but, on the other side, if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patrociny thereto, that by your authority the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt by reason of our youth. The sub-prior answered, I came not here as a judge, but only familiarly to talk; and therefore I will neither allow nor condemn; but if ye list, I will reason.

SUB-PRIOR. Why may not the church, said he, for good causes devise ceremonies, to decorate the sacraments, and other parts of God's service?

JOHN KNOX. Because the church ought to do nothing 'but in faith, and ought not to go before, 'but is bound to follow the voice of the true pastor.'

SUB-PRIOR. It is in faith that the ceremonies are commanded, and they have proper significations to help our faith, as the hards in baptism signify the roughness of the law, and the oil the softness of God's mercy; and likewise every one of the ceremonies hath a godly signification; and therefore they both proceed from faith, and are done in faith.

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

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

JOHN KNOX. I would ye should not jest in so grave a matter; neither would I that ye should begin to hide the truth with sophistry; and if ye

do, I will defend it the best that I can. And first to your drinking, I say, that if ye either eat or drink, without assurance of God's word, that in so doing ye displease God, and sin in your very eating and drinking. For, saith not the apostle, speaking even of meat and drink, 'That the creatures are sanctified unto men, even by word and prayer?' The word is this, 'All things are clean to the clean.' Now let me hear this much of your ceremonies, and I shall give you the argument: but I wonder that ye compare things profane and holy things so indifferently together. The question was not, nor is not of meat or drink, wherein the kingdom of God consisteth not; but the question is of God's true worshipping, without the which we can have no society with God: and here it is doubted, if we may take the same freedom in the using of Christ's sacraments, that we may do in eating and drinking: one meat I may eat, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may change one with another, even as oft as I please. Whether may we do the same in matters of religion? May we cast away what we please, and retain what we please? If I be well remembered, Moses, in the name of God, saith to the people of Israel, 'All that the Lord thy God commanded thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God, add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it;' by these rules think I that the church of Christ will measure God's religion, and not by that which seemeth good in their own eyes.

SUB-PRIOR. Forgive me, I spake it but in mows, and I was dry: and now father, said he to the friar, follow the argument, ye have heard what I have said, and what is answered to me again.

ARBUCKIL *gray-friar*. I shall prove plainly, that ceremonies are ordained by God.

JOHN KNOX. Such as God hath ordained we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the question is of those which God hath not ordained; such as in baptism, are spittle, salt, candle (except it be to keep the bairn from the cold), hards, oil, and the rest of the Papistical inventions.

ARBUCKIL. I will even prove those that ye condemn to be ordained of God.

JOHN KNOX. The proof thereof I would gladly hear.

ARBUCKIL. Saith not St. Paul, that another foundation than Jesus Christ may no man lay:

but upon this foundation, some build gold, silver, and precious stones; some hay, stubble, and wood. The gold, silver, and the precious stones, are the ceremonies of the church, which do abide the fire, and consume not away, &c.—This place of Scripture is most plain, saith the foolish fiend.

JOHN KNOX. I praise my God through Jesus Christ, for I find his promise sure, true, and stable. Christ Jesus bids us not fear, when we shall be called before men to give confession of his truth, for he promiseth, that it shall be given unto us in that hour what we shall speak. If I had sought the whole Scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your argument; the ceremonies of the church, say ye, are gold, silver, and precious stones, because they are able to abide the fire: but I would learn of you, what fire is it which your ceremonies do abide? and in the mean time, while ye be advised to answer, I will shew my mind, and make an argument against yours upon the same text. And first, I say, that I have heard this text adduced for a proof of purgatory; but for defence of ceremonies, I never heard, nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye understand the mind of the apostle or not, I make my argument, and say, That which can abide the fire, can abide the word of God; but your ceremonies cannot abide the word of God: *ergo*, They cannot abide the fire; and if they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, silver, nor precious stones; now, if ye find any ambiguity in this term *fire*, which I interpret to be the word, find ye me another fire, by the which things builded upon Jesus Christ should be tried, than God and his word, which both in the Scriptures are called fire, and I shall correct my argument.

ARBUCKLE. I stand not thereupon; but I deny your minor, *viz.* That our ceremonies may not abide the trial of God's word.

JOHN KNOX. I prove that abides not the trial of God's word, which God's word condemns; but God's word condemns your ceremonies, therefore they do not abide the trial thereof. But as a thief abides the trial of the inquest, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, even so may your ceremonies abide the trial of God's word, but not else. And now in few words, to make plain that wherein ye may seem to doubt, *viz.* That God's word condemns your ceremonies, it is evident: for the plain and strait commandment of God is, 'Not that thing which appeareth good in thine eyes shalt

' thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it.' Now, unless ye be able to prove, that God hath commanded your ceremonies, this his former commandment will condemn both you and them.

The friar somewhat abashed what first to answer, while he wanders about in the mist, he falls in a foul mire; for alledging, that we may not be so bound to the word, he affirmed, that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their epistles; but after they received him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies (few would have thought that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer, and yet it is even as true as he did wear a gray cowl). John Knox hearing the answer, started, and said, 'If that be true, I have long been in an error, and I think I shall die therein.' The sub-prior said to him, 'Father, what say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that; for then farewell the ground of our faith.' The friar astonished, made the best shift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. John Knox brought him oft again to the ground of the argument; but he would never answer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the church, whereto the said John answered oftener than once, 'That the spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the word of God.' Then said the friar, 'If so be, ye will leave us no church.' 'Indeed,' said the other, 'in David I read, that there is a church of the malignants; for he saith, *Odi ecclesiam malignantium*; that church ye may have without the word, and doing many things directly fighting against the word: of that church, if ye will be, I cannot hinder you; but as for me, I will be of none other church, except of that which hath Jesus Christ to be Pastor, which hears his voice, and will not hear a stranger.'

In this disputation many other things were merrily scoffed over: for the friar, after his fall could speak nothing to any purpose: for purgatory, he had no better proof than the authority of Virgil, in the sixth of his *Aeneids*; and the pains thereof to him was an *evil wife*. John Knox answered that, and many other things, as he himself witnesseth, in a treatise that he did write in the galleys, containing the sum of his doctrine, and the confession of his faith; and sent it to his familiars in Scotland, with this exhortation, 'That they should continue in the truth which they had professed, notwithstanding any worldly adversity

might ensue thereof. This much of that disputation have we inserted here, to the intent that men may see how Satan ever travellet to obscure the light; and how God, by his power working in his weak vessels, confounds the craft, and dis-closeth the darkness of Satan.

After this, the Papists and friars had no great heart of further disputation or reasoning, but invented another shift, which appeared to proceed from godliness, and it was this, every learned man in the abbey, and in the university, should preach in the parish-church his Sunday about. The sub-prior began, followed the official, called spiritual (sermons were penned), to offend no man, followed all the rest in their ranks. And so John Knox smelted out the craft, and in his sermons which he made upon the week-days, he prayed to God, that they should be as busy in preaching, when there should be more want of it than there was then. Always, said he, I praise God that Jesus Christ is preached, and nothing is said publicly against the doctrine that ye have heard; if in my absence they shall speak any thing, which in my presence they do not, I protest that ye suspend your judgment, till that it please God ye hear me again.

God so assisted his weak foldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's table, in the same purity that now it is ministered in the church of Scotland, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them. Amongst whom was he that now either rules, or else misrules Scotland, *viz.* Sir James Balfour (sometimes called Mr. James), the chief and principal Protestant that then was to be found within this realm: this we write, because that we have heard, that the said Mr. James alledgeith, that he was never of this our religion, but that he was brought up in Martin Luther's opinion of the sacrament, and therefore he cannot communicate with us: but his own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not been after his cups) that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine which the said John Knox taught; but albeit that those who never were of us (as none of Monquhany's house have shewed themselves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder: for it is proper and natural, that the children follow the father; and let the godly beware of that race and progeny, by eschewing it; for

if in them be either fear of God, or love of virtue, further then the present commodity persuades them, men of judgment are deceived.—But to return to our history.

The priests and bishops engaged at all these proceedings that were in St. Andrews, ran now upon the governor, now upon the queen, now upon the whole council, and there might have been heard complaints and cries, 'What are we doing? shall we suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine? fy upon you, and fy upon us.' The queen, and monsieur d'Osle (who then was a *secretis mulierum* in the court), comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they should see remedy ere it were long; and so it proved indeed; for upon the nine-and-twentieth day of June, appeared in the sight of the castle of St. Andrews, one-and-twenty French galleys with a great army, the like whereof was never seen in that haven before. This treasonable means had the governor, the bishop, the queen, and monsieur d'Osle under their appointment, drawn; but to excuse their treason, eight days before, they had presented an absolution unto them, as sent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, *Remittimus irremissibile*, that is, We remit the crime that cannot be remitted. Which considered by the worst of the company that was in the castle, answer was given, that the governor and council of the realm had promised unto them a sufficient and assured absolution, which that appeareth not to be, and therefore they could not deliver the house, neither thought they that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that promise was not kept unto them. The next day after that the galleys were arrived, they summoned the house, which being denied (because they knew then no magistrates in Scotland), they prepared for siege; and first they began to assault by sea, and shot two days, but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour, for they threw down the slates of houses; but neither slew man, nor did harm to any wall. But the castle handled them so, that *Santa Barbara* (the gunner's goddess) helped them nothing; for they lost many of their rowers, men chained in the galleys, and some soldiers both by sea and land. And further, a galley that approached nearer than the rest, was so beaten with the cannon and other ordnance, that she was stricken under water, and almost drowned; and so she had been, had not the rest given her succour in time, and drawn her to the west sands, without the shot of the castle, and afterward to Dundee, where

they remained, till that the governor, who was then at the siege of Langhope, came unto them with the rest of the French faction.

The siege by sea and land was laid about the castle of St. Andrews the three-and-twentieth day of July; the trenches were cast, ordnance were planted upon the abbey-church, and upon St. Salvator's College (and yet was the steeple thereof burnt), and came upon the street that leads to the castle, which so annoyed the castle, that neither could they keep their Block-house, the Sea-tower head, nor the west wall; for in all those places men were slain by great ordnance; yea, they mounted the ordnance so high upon the abbey-church, that they might discover the ground of the court of the castle in divers places: moreover, within the castle was the plague, and divers therein died, which more affrighted some that were therein, than did the external force without. But John Knox was of another judgment; for he ever said, that their corrupt life, having fallen into all kind of licentiousness, puffed up with pride of their success, and relying upon England for help in case of need, could not escape the punishment of God; and that was his continual advertisement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory (the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances), he lamented, and ever said, they saw not what he saw: when they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said, they should be but egg-shells: when they vaunted, England will rescue us, he said, Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemies hands, and shall be carried into a strange country.

Upon the nine-and-twentieth of July, at night, was the ordnance planted for the battery thirteen cannon, whereof four were cannon-royal, called Double Cannon, besides other pieces. The battery began at four of the clock in the morning, and before ten in the forenoon, the whole south quarter, betwixt the Fore-tower and the east Block-house, was made assailable. The lower gallery was stopped, divers slain in it; and the east Block-house was shot off from the place. Betwixt ten and eleven of the clock, there fell a shower of rain that continued near an hour, the like whereof had seldom been seen; it was so vehement, that no man might abide without a house. The cannon were left alone. Some within the castle were of judgment, that men should have issued, and put all in the hands of God; but because that William Kirkcaldy was coming with the prior

of Capua, who had the commission of that journey from the king of France, nothing was attempted. And so was appointment made, and the castle rendered upon Saturday the last of July. The heads of the appointment were, That the lives of all within the castle should be saved, as well English as Scots; that they should be safely transported to France; and in case that upon conditions, which by the king of France should be offered unto them, they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there, they should, upon the expences of the king of France, be safely conveyed to what country they would require, other than Scotland. With the governor they would have nothing ado, neither with any Scotman; for they had all traiterously betrayed them (which, said the laird of Grange elder, a man simple, and of most stout courage, I am assured God will revenge it, ere it be long). The galleys well furnished with the spoil of the castle aforesaid, after certain days returned to France, and escaping a great danger (for upon the back of the sands they all choked), they arrived at Pelceme in November, and thereafter passed up the water of Sequan, and lay before Rhoan, where the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were dispersed, and put in sundry prisons; the rest were left in the galleys, and there miserably used, amongst whom the foresaid Mr. James Balfour was, with his two brethren, David and Gilbert, men without God; which we write, because that we hear that the said Mr. James, principal misguider now in Scotland, denies that he had any thing to do with the castle of St. Andrews, or yet that ever he was in the galleys. Amongst others, John Knox was in the galleys all the winter. Then was the joy of the Papiists, both of Scotland and of France, even in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph,

*Priests content you now, priests content you now,
For Norman and his company have fill'd the galleys
fore.*

The pope wrote letters to the king of France, and so did he to the governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature, the cardinal of Scotland, desiring them to continue in their begun severity, that such things thereafter should not be attempted; so were all those that were apprehended in the castle condemned to perpetual prison: and the ungodly judged, that after this Christ

James should never triumph in Scotland. One thing we cannot pass by, from Scotland was sent a famous clerk (laugh not, reader), Mr. John Hamilton of Milburn, with credit to the king of France, and unto the cardinal of Lorraine, and yet he had neither French nor Latin, and some say his Scots tongue was not very good. The sum of his negotiation was, that those of the castle should be sharply handled; in the which suit he was heard with favour, and was dispatched from the court of France with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerk forgot by the way: for passing up to the mountain of Dumbarton, before his letters were delivered, he brake his neck, and so God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our history. These things against promise, 'for princes have no fidelity, further than for their own advantage,' done at Rhoan, the galleys departed to Nantz in Britany, where, upon the water of Lore, they lay the whole winter. In Scotland that summer was nothing but mirth, for all went with the priests even at their own pleasure. The castle of St. Andrews was razed to the ground, the Black-house thereof cast down, and the walls round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfil their law, which commands places where cardinals are slain to be used, or else for fear that England should have taken it, as after they did Broughty-rock, we remit to the judgment of such as were of council.

This same year, in the beginning of September, entered Scotland an army of ten thousand men from England by land; and some ships with ordnance came by sea. The governor and the bishop hereof advertised, gathered together the forces of Scotland, and assembled at Edinburgh. The protector of England, with the earl of Warwick and their army, remained at Preston, and about Preston-pans; for they had certain offers to propose unto the nobility of Scotland, concerning the promise before made by them, unto the which king Henry before his death gently required them to stand fast: and if they would so do, of him, nor of his realm, they should have no trouble, but the help and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawful. And hereupon there was a letter directed to the governor and council; which coming to the hands of the bishop of St. Andrews, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it should be divulgate; and therefore, by his craft, it was suppressed. Upon Friday the seventh of September, the English army marched towards Leith, and the Scots army

marched from Edinburgh to Inveresk. The whole Scots army was not assembled, and yet the skirmishing began; for nothing was concluded, but victory without stroke. The protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Gray, and all the English captains, were playing at the dice. No men were flouter than the priests and canons, with their shaven crowns, and black jacks. The earl of Warwick, and the lord Gray, who had the chief charge of the horsemen, perceiving the host to be molested with the Scots preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience (for they were divided from the great army), sent forth certain troops of horsemen and some of their borderers, either to fetch them, or else to put them out of their sight, so that they might not annoy the host. The skirmish grew hot, and at length the Scotsmen gave back, and fled without gain-turn: the chase continued far, both towards the east, and towards the west, in the which many were slain, and he that is now lord Hume was taken, which was the occasion that the castle of Hume was after surrendered to the Englishmen: the loss of these men neither moved the governor, nor yet the bishop his bastard brother, bragging, that they would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they had hands enow (no word of God), 'The English heretics had no faces, they would nor abide.' Upon the Saturday, the armies of both sides past to array.

The English army takes the middle part of Fawside-hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and having their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as water would serve. The Scots army stood first in a reasonable strength, and good order, having betwixt them and the English army the water of Eik (otherwise called Musselburgh water). But at length a charge was given, in the governor's behalf, with sound of trumpet, that all men should march forward, and go over the water. Some say, that this was procured by the abbot of Dunfermline and Mr. Hugh Rig, for preservation of Carbarry. Men of judgment liked not the journey; for they thought it no wisdom to leave their strength; but commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge, was given, which urged them so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The earl of Angus, being in the van-guard, had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, of Angus, Mearns, and the west country, with many others, that of love resorted unto him; and especially those that were

professors of the gospel, for they supposed that England would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first through the water, and arrayed his host direct before the enemies; followed the earl of Huntly, with his north-country-men; last came the governor, having in his company the earl of Argyle, with his own friends, and the body of the realm. The Englishmen perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotsmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made to prevent the peril. The lord Gray was commanded to give the charge with his men at arms, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely: for the earl of Angus's host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears (which were longer than those of the Englishmen) so rudely, that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scots army, except that the spears of the former two ranks were broken: which discomfiture received, the rest of the horsemen fled; yea, some passed beyond Fawside-hill: the lord Gray himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he said, it was alike to run against the wall. The galleys and the ships, and so did the ordnance planted upon Myde-hill, shoot terribly: but the ordnance of the galleys, shooting amongst the Scots army, affrayed them wonderously. And while that every man laboured to draw from the north, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to fail; and with that were the English footmen marching forward, albeit that some of their horsemen were upon the flight. The earl of Angus's army stood still, looking that either Huntly or the governor should have rencountered the next battle: but they had decreed, that the favourers of England and the heretics, as the priests called them, and the Englishmen, should part it betwixt them for that day. The fear riseth, and at an instant, they which before were victors, and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as is said, cast from them their spears, and fled: so that God's power was so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, at one instant of time, both the armies were fleeing. The shout came from the hill, from those that hoped no victory upon the English part; the shout rises, we say, 'They flee, they flee;' but at the first it could not be believed, till at the last it was clearly seen, that all had given back, and still began the cruel slaughter, which was the greater, by reason of the late displeasure of the men of arms.

The chase and slaughter lasted till near Edinburgh upon the one part, and towards Dalkeith upon the other.

The number of the slain upon the Scots side, were judged near ten thousand men. The earl of Huntly was taken, and carried to London; but he relieved himself, being surety for many ransoms, honestly or dishonestly we know not, but as the report was, he used policy with England. In that same battle was slain the master of Erskine, dearly beloved of the queen, for whom she made great lamentation, and kept his death many days in mind. When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, abiding upon tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling with monsieur d'Osely, who was as fearful as 'a fox when his hole is smoked;' and thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured governor, with such as assisted him to defend an unjust quarrel; albeit that many innocents fell amongst the midst of the wicked. The English army came to Leith, and there taking order with their prisoners and spoil, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to England. That winter following were great herships made upon all the borders of Scotland; Broughty-mountain was taken by the Englishmen, and besieged by the governor, but still kept: and at it was slain Gavin, the best of the Hamiltons, and the ordnance left; whereupon the Englishmen encouraged, began to fortify upon the hill above Broughty-house, which was called the Port of Broughty, and was very noisome to Dundee, which it burnt and laid waste, and so did it the most part of Angus, which was not assured to, and under friendship with them.

The Lent following was Haddington fortified by the Englishmen; the most part of Lothian, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waste: thus did God plague in every quarter, but men were blind, and would not, nor could not consider the cause. The lairds Ormiston and Brunston were banished, and after fore assaulted, and so were all those of the castle of St. Andrews. The sure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared a navy and army. The navy was such, as never was seen to come from France for the support of Scotland; for, besides the galleys, being twenty-two in number, they had threecore great ships, besides victuallers. How soon soever they took the plain seas, the red lion of Scotland was displayed, and they holden as rebels unto France (such policy is no false-

good in process, for good peace stood betwixt France and England, and the king of France approved nothing that they did. The chief men, to whom the conducting of the army was appointed, were monsieur Dandelor, in mieu de Termes, and Peter Bruzi. In their journey they made some hardship upon the coast of England, but it was not great. They arrived in Scotland in May, anno 1540. The galleys did visit the fort of Broughty, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the siege of Haddington, but it was another thing that they meant, as the king did declare.

The whole body of the realm assembled, the form of a parliament was set to be holden there, viz. in the abbey of Haddington. The principal head was, The marriage of the princefs (by them before contracted to king Edward) to the king of France, and of her present delivery, by reason of the danger she stood in, by the invasion of the old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with bribes, some deceived with flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the French soldiers were the officers of arms in that parliament. The laird of Balclouch, a bloody man, with many God's wounds, swore, 'They that would not consent, should do worse.' The governor got the title of Duke of Chattel-herald, with the order of the Cockle, and a pension of twelve thousand pounds, with a full discharge of all intermissions with king James V. his treasure and substance whatsoever, with possession of the castle of Dunbarton, till that issue should be seen of the queen's body. 'With these and other conditions stood he content to sell his Sovereign out of his own hands,' which in the end will be his destruction. God thereby punishing his former wickedness (if speedy repentance prevent not God's judgments, which we heartily wish). Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were likewise made knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they sold also their part. Shortly none was found to resist that unjust demand; and so was the sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor that should remain with her all her life-time, for a plague to this realm, and for her own ruin: and therefore, albeit that now a fire cometh out of her, that consumes many, let no man wonder, he is God's hand, in his displeasure punishing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide God's appointed time, and turn unto him by hearty repentance; then God will sure-

ly stop the fire that now comes from her, by sudden changing her heart to deal favourably with his people; or else by taking her away, or by stopping her to go on in her course, by such means as he shall think meet in his wisdom: for he, having all in his hand, disposeth of all, and doth with all according to his own will; unto which we must not only yield, but also be heartily pleased with it, since it is absolutely good; and both by sacred and profane history we are taught to do so; for in them we find, that princes have been raised up by his hand to punish his people; but when they turned unto him with hearty repentance, he either turned the heart of the prince to deal kindly with his people, or else did take him away; or at least did stop his violent course against his people. Of this the examples are so frequent, that we spare to name them here. But to return to our history.

This conclusion, That our queen (without further delay) should be belivered to France. The siege continued, great shooting, but no assaulting, and yet they had fair occasion offered unto them: for the Englishmen approaching unto the town, for the comforting of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an army of six thousand men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the borderers were taken or slain, and so might the town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for; but yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wolford general, who did so encourage the whole captains and soldiers, that they determined to die upon their walls: but from the time that the Frenchmen had gotten the bone, for the which the *dog barked*, the pursuit of the town was slow. The siege was raised, and the queen was conveyed by the west seas to France, with four galleys, and some ships, and so the cardinal of Lorrain got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth. We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the sitting down of the ship called the Cardinal, (the fairest ship in France), betwixt St. Colm's Inch and Cramond, without any occasion except negligence; for the day was fair, and weather calm: but God would shew, that the country of Scotland can bear no cardinals. In this time also there was a combat betwixt the galleys and the English ships. They shot frankly a while. An English ship took fire, or else the galleys had come short home; and, as it was, they fled without mercy, till that they were above St. Colm's Inch. The

captains left the galleys, and took a fort made in the Inch for their defence; but the English ships made no pursuit (except that they burnt the Cardinal where she lay), and so the galleys and the galley-men did both escape.

Order was taken, that the next September some galleys should remain in Scotland, and that the rest should return to France, as they did all, except one that was taken by an English ship (by an English ship only, we say), as they were passing betwixt Dover and Calais.

That winter remained monsieur de Termes in Scotland, with the bands of Frenchmen. They fortified Inveresk, to stay the English that they should not invade Edinburgh and Leith. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the French had almost taken Haddington; the occasion whereof was this:

The Frenchmen thinking themselves more than masters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, thought they could do wrong to no Scotman: for a certain Frenchman delivered a culverin to George Tod Scotman, to be steeked, who bringing it through the street, another Frenchman claimed it, and would have taken it from the said George; but he resisted, alledging, that the Frenchman did wrong; thus began parties to assemble, as well to the Scotman as to the French, so that two of the Frenchmen were stricken down, and the rest chased from the cross to Niddy's Wynd head. The provost being on the street, apprehended two of the French, and was carrying them to the tolbooth; but from monsieur d'Élie's lodging, or clofs, issued forth Frenchmen, to the number of threescore persons, with drawn swords, and resisted the said provost. Then the town assembling, repulsed them, till that they came to the Nether-bow; and there monsieur de la Chappelle, with the whole bands of Frenchmen armed, rencountered the said provost, and violently repulsed him (for the town was without weapons, for the most part), and so made invasion upon all that they met. And first, in the entry of the Bow, were slain David Kirk and David Barber, being at the provost's back, and afterwards was slain the said provost himself, being laird of Stane-house and captain of the castle, James Hamilton his son, William Chapman, Mr. William Stuart, William Purves, and a woman named Elizabeth Stuart); and thereafter tarried within the town by force, from five of the clock till after seven at night, and then retir-

ed to the Canongate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole town, yea, the governor and nobility, commoved at the unworthiness of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactors, or else they would take justice of the whole. The queen craftily enough, monsieur d'Élie, and monsieur d'Oiel, laboured for pacification, and promised, that unless the Frenchmen by themselves alone should do such an act as might recompense the wrong that they had done, that then they should not refuse but that justice should be executed to the rigour: 'These fair words pleased our fools;' and so were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington, to the which they approached a little after midnight so secretly, that they were never espied, till that the foremost were within the outer court, and the whole company in the church-yard, not two pair of butts length distant from the town. The English foldiers were all asleep, except the watch, the which was slender; and yet the shout arises, 'Bows and bills, bows and bills;' which is a signification of extreme defence, to avoid the present danger in all towns of war. They affrighted, arise; weapons that first come to hand serve for the need. One amongst many came to the east gate, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows that were at the gate making defence, 'Beware before;' and so fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God so conducted, that after them was no further pursuit made; for the bullets redounded from the wall of the Friar-church, to the wall of St. Katharine's chapel, which stood directly over it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the church-wall again, so oft, that there fell more than an hundred of the French at those two shots only. They shot oft; but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh without harm done, except the destruction of some drinking beer, which lay in the said chapel and church: and this was satisfaction more than enough, for the slaughter of the foresaid captain and provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with them. This was the beginning of the French fruits.

This winter, in the time of Christmas, was the cattle of Hume recovered from the English, by the negligence of the captain, named Dudley. This winter also did the laird of Raith most innocently suffer, and after was forfeited, because that he wrote a letter to his son John Melvil, who then was in England, which was alledged to have been found in the house of Ormiston: but many suspected this

pranks and craft of Ninian Cockburn, now called Captain Ninian, to whom the said letter was delivered. But howsoever it was, the cruel beats, the bishop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Dunfermline, ceased not, till that the head of that nobleman was stricken from him; especially, because that he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God's word, and was a great friend to them that were in the castle of St. Andrews; of whose deliverance, and of God's wonderful working with them during the time of their bondage, we will now speak, lest that, in suppressing of so venerable a work of God, we should justly be accused of ingratitude.

First then, the principals being put in several houses, as before we have said, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the ma's. But chiefly, travel was taken upon Norman Lally, the laird of Grange, the laird of Pittmillie, who were in the castle of Cherburg, that they would come to ma's with the captain; who answered, 'That the captain had commandment to keep their bodies, but he had no power to command their consciences.' The captain replied, 'That he had power to command, and to compel them to go where he went.' They answered, 'That to go to any lawful place with him, they would not refuse; but to do any thing that was against their conscience, they would not, neither for him, nor yet for the king.' The captain said, 'Will ye not go to the ma's?' They answered, 'No; and if ye compel us, yet we will displeas you further; for we shall so use ourselves there, that all those that are present shall know we despise it.' These same answers (and somewhat sharper) William Kirkealdy, Peter Carmichael, and such as were with them in Mount St. Michael, gave to their captain; for they said, 'They would not only hear ma's every day, but that they would help to say it, providing that they might slick the priests, or else they would not.' Mr. Henry Balnaces, who was in the castle of Rhoan, was most sharply assaulted of all; for, because he was judged learned (as he was, and is indeed), therefore learned men were appointed to travel with him, with whom he had many conflicts; but God so ever assisted him, that they departed confounded; and he by the power of God's Spirit remained constant in the truth, and professing of the same, without any wavering, or declining to idolatry. In the prison he wrote a comfortable treatise of justification, and of the works and conversation of a man justified; which

is extant to this day. Those that were in the galleys were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the ma's (for at certain times the ma's was said in the galleys, or else hard by upon the shore, in presence of the above); but they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol; yea, when upon the Saturday at night they sung their *Salve Regina*, all the Scotsmen put on their caps, their hoods, or such things; as they had to cover their heads; and when that others were compelled to kiss a painted board, which they called *Nygre Dame*, they were not pressed after once; for this was the chance.

Soon after their arrival at Nantz, their great *Salve* was sung; and a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed, and amongst others, was presented to one of the Scotsmen then chained. He gently said, 'Trouble me not, such a jewel is accursed, and therefore I will not touch it.' The patron and the arguifer, with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, 'Thou shalt handle it;' and so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about him, he cast it into the river, and said, 'Let our lady now save herself, she is light enough, let her learn to swim.' After that was no Scotsman urged with that idolatry. These are things which appear to be of no great importance; and yet, if we do rightly consider, they express the same obedience that God requireth of his people Israel, when they should be carried to Babylon: for he gave charge unto them, when they should see the Babylonians worship their gods of gold, silver, metal, and wood, they should say, 'The gods that have not made heaven and earth, shall perish from the heaven, and out of the earth.' That confession gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which would God they had continued in their freedom, for then had not Mr. James Balfour been official, neither yet borne a cope for the pleasure of the bishop. But to proceed, he said Mr. James Balfour being in the galley with John Knox, and being wonderous familiar with him, would oftentimes ask his judgment, 'If he thought that ever they should be delivered?' Whose answer was ever, from the day that they entered into the galleys, 'That God would deliver them from that bondage, to his glory, even in this life.' And lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the second time that the galleys returned to Scotland, the said John Knox being so extremely sick, that few

hoped his life, the said Mr. James willed him to look to the land, and asked if he knew it? Who answered, 'Yes, I know it well, for I see the 'sleeple of that place, where God in public opened my mouth to his glory: and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever that I now appear, that 'I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue 'shall glorify his holy name in the same place.' This reported the said Mr. James, in the presence of many famous witnesses, many years before that ever the foresaid John set his foot in Scotland this last time to preach.

William Kirkealdy, then of Grange younger, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Leslies, who were altogether in Mount St. Michael, wrote to John Knox, asking counsel, if they might with safe conscience break their prison? Whose answer was, 'That if without the blood of any shed or 'spilt by them for their deliverance, they might 'set themselves at freedom, that they might safely 'do it: but to shed any man's blood for their freedom, thereto would he never consent.' Adding further, that he was assured that God would deliver them, and the rest of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by such means as they looked for; that was, by the force of friends, or by their other labours: by such means, he affirmed, they should not be delivered, but that God would so work in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to his glory only. He willeth therefore every one to take the occasion that God offered unto them, providing that they did nothing against God's express commandment for deliverance of themselves. He was the more earnest in giving his counsel, because the old laird of Grange, and others, repugned to their purpose; fearing, lest that the escaping of the others should be an occasion of their worse treatment. Whereunto the said John answered, 'That such fear proceeded not from God's Spirit, but only from a blind love of themselves; and therefore that no good purpose was to be staid, 'for 'things that were in the hand and power of God.' And added, 'That in one instant God delivered the whole company into the hands of unfaithful men, but so would he not relieve them; but some would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others must abide for a season upon his good pleasure. This counsel in the end was embraced, upon the king's even, when Frenchmen commonly used to drink liberally. The foresaid four persons having the help and conducting of a boy of the house, bound all that were in the castle, put them in sun-

dry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the captain, and departed without harm done to the person of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the king, captain, or to the house.

Great search was made through the whole country for them; but it was God's good pleasure so to conduct them, that they escaped the hands of the faithless, albeit it was with long travel, and great pain and poverty sustained; for the French boy left them, and took with him the small money that they had; and so, having neither money nor knowledge of the country, and further, fearing that the boy should discover them, as that in very deed he did, they purposed to divide themselves, to change their garments, and to go in sundry parts. The two brethren, William and Robert Leslies (who are now become, the said Robert especially, enemies to Christ Jesus, and unto all virtue), came to Rhoan; William Kirkealdy and Peter Carmichael, in beggars garments, came to Conquet; and for the space of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled, as poor mariners, from port to port, till at length they got a French ship, landed in the west of Scotland, and from thence came to England, where they met before them the said John Knox, who that same winter was delivered, and Alexander Clark in his company.

The said John was first appointed preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, last he was called to London, and to the south part of England, where he remained till the death of king Edward VI. When he left England, he then passed to Geneva, and there remained at his privy study, till that he was called by the English congregation that then was assembled at Francfort, to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable servant of God John Calvin: at Francfort he remained, till that some of the learned, whose names we suppress, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the said John; and because they despaired to prevail before the magistrate there, for the establishing of their corruptions, they accused him of treason committed against the emperor, and against their sovereign queen Mary; that, in his Admonition to England, he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The magistrate perceiving their malice, and fearing that the said John should fall into the hands of his accusers, by one mean or other, gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their city; for they could

not save him, if he were required by the emperor, or by the queen of England in the emperor's name. And to the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Diepe, and thereafter to Scotland, as we shall after hear.

The time, and that winter that the galleys remained in Scotland, were delivered Mr. James Balfour, his two brethren David and Gilbert, John Archibald, John Sibbald, John Gray, William Gahry, and Stephen Bell. The gentlemen that remained in prison were, by the procurement of the queen dowager to the cardinal of Lorraine, and to the king of France, set at liberty in the month of July, *anno* 1550; who shortly thereafter were called to Scotland, their peace proclaimed, and they themselves restored to their lands, in despite of their enemies: and that was done in hatred of duke Hamilton, because that then France began to thirst to have the government of Scotland in their own hands; howsoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty and freedom. There rested a number of common servants yet in the galleys, who were all delivered upon the contract of peace that was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Bullen, and so was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing (so not before the world), except James Melvil, who departed from the misery of this life in the castle of Brest in Britany. This we write, to let the posterity to come understand, how potently God wrought in preserving and delivering of those that had but a small knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all; that if either we now in our days, having greater light, or our posterity that shall follow us, shall see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise than laws of men will permit: if we, say we, or they, shall see such, left of men, yea, as it were despised and punished of God, yet let us not condemn the persons that punish vice (and that for just cause); nor yet despair, but that the same God that dejects, for causes unknown to us, will raise up again the persons dejected, to his glory, and their comfort.

And to let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, the great abuser of this commonwealth, that paitroon, and vile knave Davie, was justly punished the ninth of March, in the year of our Lord 1565, for abusing the commonwealth, and for his other villanies, which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas earl of Morton, Patrick lord Lindsay, and

the lord Ruthven, with other assisters in their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of all their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile. But this is our hope, in the mercies of our God, that this same blind generation, whether it will or not, shall be compelled to see, that he will have respect to them that are unjustly pursued; that he will pardon their former offences; that he will restore them to the liberty of their country and commonwealth again; and that he will punish (in despite of man) the head and the tail, that now troubles the just, and maintaineth impiety. The head is known: the tail hath two branches; the temporal lords that maintain such abominations as we see, and flattering counsellors of state, blasphemous Balfour, now called clerk of register, Sinclair dean of Reslavig and bishop of Brechin, blind of one eye in the body, but of both of his soul, upon whom God shortly after took vengeance, Lesly abbot of Lindrofs, and bishop of Ross, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, a right Epicurean, whose end will be, ere it be long, according to their works.—But now to return to our history.

Haddington being kept, and much her ship done about in the country (for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the French), God begins to fight for Scotland; for in the town he sent a plague so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreshed with new men, but all was in vain: hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a flying camp lay about them, and intercepted all victuals (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick), so constrained them, that the council of England was compelled, in the spring time, to call their forces from that place; and so spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied to such as first should take possession, and those were the Frenchmen, with a small number of the ancient inhabitants; and so did God perform the words and threatenings of Mr. George Withart, who said, ‘That for their contempt of God’s messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers, and famine;’ all which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as then did inhabit it.

Hereafter was peace contracted betwixt France, England, and Scotland; yea, a several peace was

contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders, together with all the Easterlings, so that Scotland had peace with the world: but yet would their bishops make war against God; for, as soon as ever they got any quietness, they apprehended Adam Wallace, *alias* Fian, a simple man, without great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness, and of an upright life; he, with his wife Beatrice Livingston, frequented the company of the lady Ormiston, for instruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. This bastard, called Bishop of St. Andrews, took the said Adam forth of the place of Winton (men supposed, that they thought to have apprehended the laird), and carried him to Edinburgh, where, after certain days, he was presented to judgment in the church of the black thieves, *alias* friars, before duke Hamilton, the earl of Huntly, and divers others besides. The bishops and their rabble began to accuse him (Mr. John Lauder was his accuser), 'That he took upon him to preach.' He answered, 'That he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to preach: but he would not deny, that sometimes at table, and sometimes in some other privy places, he would read, and had read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortations as God pleased to give him to such as pleased to hear him. Knave, quoth one, What have you to do to meddle with the Scripture? I think, said he, it is the duty of every Christian, to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation, where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Testaments. What then, said another, shall we leave to the bishops and churchmen for to do, if every man shall be a babler upon the Bible? It becometh you, said he, to speak more reverently of God, and of his blessed word. If the judge were uncorrupted, he would punish you for your blasphemy. But to your question, I answer, That albeit ye and I, and other five thousand within this realm, should read the Bible, and speak of it what God should give us to speak, yet lest we more to the bishops to do than either they will do, or can do: for we leave to them publicly to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and hath commanded the same to all true pastors; and when we leave this unto them, methinks, we leave to them a heavy burden; and that we do unto them no wrong, although we search our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but 'dumb dogs, and unfavoury salt,' that hath altogether lost the season.

The bishops hereat offended, said, What prating is this? let his accusation be read. And then was begun, 'False traitor, heretic, thou baptizedst thine own child; thou saidst, There is no purgatory; thou saidst, That to pray to saints, and for the dead, is idolatry, and a vain superstition,' &c. What sayst thou to these things? He answered, If I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and an indifferent judge. The earl of Huntly disdainfully said, Foolish man, wilt thou desire any other judge than my lord duke's grace, great governor of Scotland; and my lords the bishops, and the clergy here present? Whereto he answered, The bishops can be no judges to me, for they are open enemies to the doctrine that I profess. And as for my lord duke, I cannot tell, whether he hath the knowledge that should be in him, that should judge and discern betwixt lies and the truth, the inventions of men and the true worshipping of God. I desire God's word (and with that he produced the Bible) to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this book I shall be convicted to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, any thing that repugneth to God's will, I refuse not to die; but if I cannot be convicted (as I am assured by God's word I shall not), then I, in God's name, desire your assistance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny. The earl of Huntly said, What a babbling fool is this? thou shalt get none other judges than these that sit here. Wherunto the said Adam answered, The good will of God be done; but be ye assured, my lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be mete to you again: I know that I shall die, but be ye assured, that my blood shall be required at your hands. Alexander earl of Glencairn said to the bishop of Orkney, and others that sat near him, take heed, all you my lords of the clergy, for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death. And so without fear prepared the said Adam to answer. And first, to the baptizing of his own child, he said, 'It was and is as lawful to me, for lack of a true minister, to baptize my own child, as that it was to Abraham to circumcise his son Ishmael, and his family. And as for purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead, I have oft read, said he, both the Old and New Testaments, but I neither could find mention, nor assurance of them; and therefore I believe that they are but mere inventions of men, devised for covetousness sake.' Well, quoth the bishop, ye

hear this, my lords. What justification of the mass? said the earl of Huntly. He answered, I say, my lord, as our Lord Jesus Christ saith, 'That which is 'in greater estimation before men, is abomination 'before God.' Then all cried out, 'Tha' thy, be- 'refe!' And so was the simple servant of God ad- judged to the fire, which he patiently sustained that same day in the afternoon, upon the Castle- hill.

And so began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plagued; for yet their iniquity was not come to so full ripeness, as that God would that they should be sacrificed to this whole realm (as this day they are), to be faggots prepared for everlasting fire; and to be men whom neither plagues may correct, nor the light of God's word convert from their darkness and impiety.

The peace, as is said, is contracted. The queen dowager pass by sea to France, with galleys prepared for that purpose; and took with her divers of the nobility of Scotland, *viz.* the earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marthal, Cassils; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the late king's natural sons, and divers barons and gentlemen of ecclesiastical estate, the bishop of Galloway, and many others, with promise that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they received we cannot tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The dowager had to practise somewhat with her brethren, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the weight whereof the governor after felt; for shortly after her return, was the governor deposed from the government (justly by God, but most unjustly by man), and she made regent, in the year of our Lord 1554, and a crown put upon her head, as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to 'put a 'saddle upon the back of an unruly cow.' And so began she to practise, practice upon practice, how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortal glory; for that was her common talk, 'So that I may procure the 'wealth and honour of my friends, and a good 'fame unto myself, I regard not what God do af- 'ter with me.' And in very deed, in deep dissimulation, to bring her own purpose to effect, she passed the common sort of women, as we will after hear; but yet God, to whose gospel she declared herself enemy, in the end frustrated her of all her devices.

Thus did light and darkness strive within the realm of Scotland: the darkness ever before the world sup-

pressing the light, from the death of that notable servant of God Mr. Patrick Hamilton, until the death of Edward VI. the most godly and most virtuous king that had been known to have reigned in England, or elsewhere, these many years by-past, who departed the miseries of this life the sixth of July, *anno* 1553. The death of this prince was lamented by all the godly within Europe; for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godliness, passed the measure that accustomedly is used to be given to other princes in their greatest perfection, and yet exceeded he not sixteen years of age. What gravity, above age! what wisdom, wherein he passed all understanding or expectation of man! and what dexterity in answering, in all things proposed, were in that excellent prince! the ambassadors of all countries (yea, some that were mortal enemies to him, and to his realm, amongst whom the queen dowager of Scotland was not the least) could, and did testify: for the said queen dowager returning from France through England, communed with him at length, and gave record when she came to this realm, that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young king Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe. His liberality towards the godly and learned that were in other realms persecuted, was such, as Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Polonians, Grecians, and Hebrews born, can yet give sufficient document. For how honourably were Martin Luther, Peter Martyr, John Alaisco, Emanuel Gualterus, and many others, upon his public stipends entertained, their patents can witness, and they themselves during their lives would never have denied.

After the death of this most virtuous prince, of whom the godless people of England (for the most part) were not worthy, Satan intended nothing less than the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole isle of Britain: for after him, was raised up in God's hot displeasure, that idolatrous and mischievous Mary, of the Spaniards blood, a cruel persecutrix of God's people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficiently witness.

And in Scotland that same time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiser, Mary of Lorraine, then named regent of Scotland, who bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, did only abide the opportunity to cut the throat of all those, in whom she suspected any knowledge of God to be within

the realm of Scotland: and so thought Satan, that his kingdom of darkness was in quietness and rest, as well in the one realm as in the other. But that provident eye of our eternal God, who continually watches for the preservation of his church, did for order all things, that Satan shortly after found himself far disappointed of his conclusion taken: for in that cruel persecution used by queen Mary of England, were godly men dispersed into divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction. And first came a simple man, William Harlaw, whose crudition, although it excel not, yet for his whole and diligent plainness in doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praise, and remains a fruitful member within the church of Scotland. After him came that notable man, John Willock, as one who had some commission to the queen regent, from the dukes of Embden: but his principal purpose was, to essay what God would work by him in his native country. These two did sometimes in several companies assemble the brethren, who, by their exhortations, began greatly to be encouraged, and did shew, that they had an earnest thirst after godliness. And last came John Knox, in the end of the harvest, *anno* 1555, who first being lodged in the house of that notable man of God James Syme, began to exhort secretly in that same house, whereunto repaired the laird of Dun, David Forrest, and some certain persons of the town; among whom was Elisabeth Adamson, then spouse to James Barron, burghers of Edinburgh, who, by reason that she had a troubled conscience, delighted much in the company of the said John; because that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies, than did the common sort of teachers that she had heard before (for she had heard none except friars); and did with such greediness drink thereof, that at her death she did express the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all those that repaired unto her: for albeit she suffered most grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praising of God, except that sometimes she lamented the troubles of those that were troubled by her. Being sometimes demanded by her sisters, What she thought of that pain which she then suffered in body, in respect of that wherewith sometimes she was troubled in spirit? She answered, 'A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I suffered in my spirit. I thank my

' God, through Jesus Christ, that hath delivered me from that fearful pain; and welcome be this, even so long as it pleaseth his Godly Majesty to exercise me therewith.' A little before her departure, she desired her sisters, and some others that were beside her, to sing a psalm; and among others, she appointed the hundred and third psalm, beginning, 'My soul praise thou the Lord always;' which ended, she said, 'At the teaching of this psalm, began my troubled soul first effectually to taste of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more sweet and precious, than if all the kingdoms of the earth were given to me to possess them a thousand years.' The priests urged her with their ceremonies and superstitions; to whom she answered, 'Depart from me, ye servants of Satan: for I have refused, and in your own presence do refuse, all your abominations. That which you call your sacrament, and Christ's body (as ye have deceived us to believe in times past), is nothing but an idol, and hath nothing to do with the right institution of Jesus Christ; and therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me.' They departed, alledging, that she raved, and wist not what she said. And she shortly after slept in the Lord Jesus, to no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession, before that the great light of God's word did universally shine throughout this realm.

At the first coming of the said John Knox, he perceiving divers, who had a zeal to godliness, make small scruple to go to the mass, or to communicate with the abused sacraments in the Papistical manner; began, as well in privy conference, as in preaching, to shew the impiety of the mass, and how dangerous a thing it was to communicate in any sort with idolatry; wherewith the conscience of some being affrighted, the matter began to be agitated from man to man: and so was the said John called to supper by the laird of Dun, for that same purpose, where were assembled David Forrest, Mr. Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lethington younger, a man of good learning, and of sharp wit and reasoning. The question was proposed, and it was answered by the said John, 'That in no wise it was lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol.' Nothing was omitted that might serve for the purpose, and yet was every head so fully answered, and especially one, wherein they thought their great defence stood, *viz.* That Paul, at the com-

commandment of James, and of the elders of Jerusalem, paid to the temple, and feigned himself to pay his vow with others. This, we say, and other things, were to fully answered, that William Maitland concluded, saying, 'I see very perfectly that our shifts will serve nothing before God, feeling that they stand us in so small stead before men.' The answer of John Knox to the fact of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was, That Paul's fact had nothing to do with their going to mass; for to pay vows was sometimes God's commandment, as was never idolatry; but their manner from the original, was, and remained odious idolatry; therefore the fact was most unlike. Secondly, said he, I greatly doubt whether either James's commandment, or Paul's obedience, proceeded from the Holy Ghost: we know their counsel tendeth to this, That Paul would shew himself one that observed diligently the very small points of the law, to the end he might purchase to himself the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him, by reason of the reports that were spread, That he taught defection from Moses. Now, while he obeyed their counsel, he fell into the most desperate danger that ever he sustained before: whereby it was evident, that God approved not that mean of reconciliation; but rather, that he plainly declarerth, That evil should not be done, that good might come of it. Evil it was for Paul to confirm these obstinate Jews in their superstition, by his example; worse it was to him to expose himself, and the doctrine which before he had taught, to slander and mockage. And therefore concluded the said John, That the fact of Paul, and the sequel that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight against them that would go to the mass, than to give unto them any assurance to follow his example; unless that they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them, that apprehended him for obeying worldly-wise counsel.

After these, and like reasonings, the mass began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion and avoiding of slander, as then they termed it. John Knox, at the request of the laird of Dun, followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exercised in preaching, whereunto resorted the principal men of that country. After his returning, his residence was most in Calder, whither repaired unto him the lord Erskine, the earl of Argyle, then lord of Lorn, and lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, and after earl of Murray, where they heard, and so approved his doctrine, that they wished it to have been pub-

lic. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh; and after Christmas, by the conduct of the laird of Bar and Robert Campbell of Kinzeanleugh, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Bar, in the house of the Carnel, in the Kinzeanleugh, in the town of Air, and in the houses of Ochiltree and Garthist; and in some of them he ministered the Lord's table. Before Easter, the earl of Glencairn sent for him to his place of Fingalston, where, after sermon, he also ministered the Lord's table; whereof, besides himself, were partakers, his lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. And so returned he to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, assembled, as well for the doctrine, as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the laird of Dun, and teaching then in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the table of the Lord Jesus, where were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns, who, God be praised, to this day do constantly remain in the same doctrine which then they professed; *viz.* That they refused all society with idolatry, and bent themselves to the uttermost of their powers to maintain the true preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity. The report hereof spread (for the friars from all quarters flocked to the bishops), the said John Knox was summoned to appear in the church of the black-friars in Edinburgh, the fifteenth day of May; which day the said John decreed to keep; and for that purpose John Erskine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, assembled at the town of Edinburgh. But that diet held not; for whether the bishops perceived informality in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremity, it is unknown to us: but the Saturday before the day appointed, they set aside their own summons; and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught in Edinburgh, in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was in the great lodging belonging to the bishop of Dunkeld, where he continued in teaching ten days, both before and after noon. The earl of Glencairn allured the earl of Marshal, who, with Henry Drummond, his counsellor for that time, heard an exhortation (but it was in the night); who were so well contented with it, that they both willed the said John to write unto the queen regent somewhat that might move her to hear the word

of God. He obeyed their desire, and wrote that which after was published, which we have caused to be printed at the end of this book, and is called 'The LETTER to the Queen Dowager,' which was delivered into her own hands, by the said Alexander earl of Glencairn: which letter when she had read, within a day or two, she delivered it to the proud prelate Beaton bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockage, 'Please you, my lord, to read a 'pasquil;' which words coming to the ears of the said John, was the occasion that to his Letter he made his additions, as yet may be seen. As concerning the threatenings pronounced against her own person, and the most principal of her friends, let these very flatterers see what hath failed of all that he had written. And therefore it were expedient that her daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which hath passed before, lest that in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserable than her crafty mother did.

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came to him from the English church that was assembled at Geneva (which was separated from that superstitious and contentious company that was at Frauncefort), commanding him in God's name, as he that was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort: upon the which the said John took his leave from us, almost in every congregation where before he had preached, and exhorted us to prayers, to reading of the Scriptures, and mutual conference, until such time as God should give unto us greater liberty. And hereupon he sent before him to Diepe, his mother-in-law Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife Marjory, with no small dolour of their hearts, and of many of us. He himself, by procurement and labours of Robert Campbell of Kinzeaneleugh, remained behind in Scotland, and passed to the earl of Argyle, who then was in the castle of Campbell, where he taught certain days. The laird of Glenurquhay being one of his auditors, willed the said earl of Argyle to retain him still; but he, resolved on his journey, would not at that time stay for any request, adding, 'That if God blessed those small beginnings, and if that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient.' But he said, 'That once he must needs visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave; and so, in the month of July, he left this realm, and past to France, and so to Geneva. Immediately after, the bishops summoned him, and for non-appearance, burnt him in effigy, at

the cross of Edinburgh, in the year of our Lord 1555: from the which unjust sentence the said John made his Appellation, and caused to print the same, and direct it to the nobility and commons of Scotland, as yet may be read. In the winter that the said John abode in Scotland, appeared a comet, the course whereof was from the south and south-west to the north and north-east. It was seen in the months of November, December, and January: it was called 'The Fiery Broom.' Soon after died Christiern king of Denmark; and war arose between Scotland and England, for the commissioners of both realms were disappointed, who almost the space of six months had been upon the conditions of peace, and were upon a near point of conclusion. The queen regent, with her council of the French faction, decreed war at Newbattle, without giving any advertisement to the commissioners for the part of Scotland: 'Such is the fidelity of princes, guided by priests, whensoever they seek their own affections to be served.'

In the end of that next harvest, was seen upon the borders of England and Scotland, a strange fire, which descended from the heaven, and burnt divers corns in both the realms, but most in England. There was presented to the queen regent, by Robert Ormiston, a calf having two heads; whereat she skipped, and said, 'It was but a common thing.' The war began in the end of harvest, as is said; and conclusion was taken that Wark should be besieged. The army and ordnance past forward to Maxwel-heugh. The queen regent remained in the castle of Hume, and thinking that all things were in assurance, monsieur d'Ofel, then lieutenant for France, gave charge, that the cannon should be transported over the water of Tweed, which was done with expedition (for the Frenchmen in such facts are expert); but the nobility of Scotland not content with such proceedings, after consultation amongst themselves, past to the parliament of monsieur d'Ofel, and in his own face declared, 'That in nowise would they invade England,' and therefore commanded the ordnance to be retired; and so it was, without further delay. This put an assay in monsieur d'Ofel's breeches, and kindled such a fire in the queen regent's stomach, as was not well slacked till her breath failed; and thus was that enterprise frustrated. But yet war continued, during the which the gospel of Jesus Christ began wonderously to flourish: for in Edinburgh began publicly to exhort William Harlaw; and John Douglas, who had been with the earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and sometimes

exhorted in Edinburgh. Paul Methven began publicly to preach in Dundee; and so did divers others in Angus and the Mearns. And last, at God's good pleasure, arrived John Willock the second time from Embden, whose return was so joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increased. And albeit he contracted a dangerous sickness, yet he ceased not from labours, but laugh and exhorted from his bed some of the nobility (of whom some are fallen back, amongst them the lord Seton is chief), with many barons and gentlemen his auditors, and by him were the godly instructed, and wonderously comforted. They kept their conventions, and held councils with such gravity and closeness, that the enemies trembled: the images were stolen away in all parts of the country.

And in Edinburgh was that great idol, called St. Giles, first drowned in the North Loch, after burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town; for the friars rowping like ravens upon the bishops, the bishops ran upon the queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that she thought it could not stand with her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the gospel, and the name of Protestants; and yet consented she to summon the preachers; whereat the Protestants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of summons, as that they did: which perceived by the prelates and priests, they procured a proclamation to be publicly made, That all men that were come to the town without commandment of the authority, should with all diligence repair to the borders, and there remain fifteen days; for the bishop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme, said to the queen,

*Madam, because they're come without order,
I rede ye send them a' to the border.*

Now, so had God provided, that the quarter of the west country (in the which were many faithful men) was that same day returned from the border; who understanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the priests, assembled themselves together, and made passage to themselves, till that they came to the very privy chamber, where the queen regent and the bishops were. The gentlemen began to complain upon their strange entertainment, considering that her majesty had found in them so faithful obedience in all things lawful.

While the queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, James Chalmers of Cathgirth, said,

‘Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of the jewels, and of that bastard (meaning the bishop of St. Andrews) that standeth by you; we avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants, for feeding of their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us; shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be.’ And therewith every man put on his steel bonnet. There was heard nothing of the queen's part, but, ‘My joys, my hearts, what ails you? I mean no evil to you, nor to your preachers: the bishops shall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving subjects; I know nothing of this proclamation; the day of your preachers shall be discharged, and I will hear the controversy that is betwixt the bishops and you; they shall do you no wrong.’ My lords,’ said she to the bishops, ‘I forbid you either to trouble them, or their preachers.’ And unto the gentlemen, who were wonderously commoved, she turned again and said, ‘O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your mind? And should ye not love your neighbours as yourselves?’ With these and the like words she kept the bishops from buffets at that time; and so the day of summons being discharged, began the brethren univervally farther to be encouraged.

But yet could the bishops in no sort be quiet; for St. Giles's day approaching, they gave charge to the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, either to get again the old St. Giles, or else upon their expences to make a new image. The council answered, ‘That to them the charge appeareth very unjust; for they understood, that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed: but where he had commanded images to be set up, they had not read, and desired the bishop to find a warrant for his commandment.’ Whereat the bishop offended, admonished, under pain of cursing; which they prevented by a formal appellation, appealing from him, as a partial and corrupt judge, unto the pope's holiness; and so, great things shortly following, that passed in oblivion. Yet would not the priests and friars cease to have that great solemnity, and manifest abomination, which they accustomedly had upon St. Giles's day; *viz.* They would have that idol borne, and therefore was all preparations duly made. A marmouset-idol was borrowed from the gray-friars (a silver piece of James Carmichael's was laid in pledge); it was fast fixed with iron nails, upon a barrow called

their Fector. Their asses, bloody priests, friars, canons, and rotten Papists, with tapers and trumpets, banners and bag-pipes: and who was there to lead the ring, but the queen regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of that feat? Went about goeth it, and cometh down the High-street, and down to the common cross. The queen regent dined that day in Alexander Carpenter's house, betwixt the Bows: and so, when the idol returned back again, she left it, and past in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wonderously inflamed; and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided in several companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporizers that day (amongst whom David Forrest, called the General, was one), who fearing the chance to be done, as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren; but that could not be: for immediately after that the queen was entered in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him; and getting the fector upon their shoulders, began to shoulder, thinking that thereby the idol would have fallen; but that was provided and prevented by the iron nails, as we have said. And so began one to cry, 'Down with the idol, down with it;' and then without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the priests patrons at the first; but when they saw the feebleness of their god, for one took him by the heels, and dashing his head to the street, left Dagon without a head or hands, and said, 'Fy upon thee, thou young St. Gile, thy father would have tarried for such.' This considered, we say, the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinky-cleugh. There might have been seen so sudden a fray, as seldom hath been seen amongst that sort of men within this realm: for down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps, cornets, with the crowns. The gray-friars gaped, the black-friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of Antichrist within this realm before.

By chance there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman; and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add some merriness to the matter; and so cried he over the stair, and said, 'Fy upon you, whore-sons, why have you broken order?' Down the street they passed in array, and with great mirth. 'Why flee the villains now without order? Turn, and strike every man a

'stroke for the honour of his god; fy, cowards, fy, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again.' But exhortations were then unprofitable; for after that Bell had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confused army.

The queen regent laid up this amongst her other inventions, till that she might have seen the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended: for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished. This tragedy of St. Gile's was so terrible to some Papists, that Dury, sometimes called for his slowness Abbot Stottikin, and then entitled, Bishop of Galloway, left his rhyming, wherewith he was accustomed, and departed this life even as he had lived. For the articles of his belief were, 'I refer, Decarte you. Ha, ha, the four kings and all made. The devil go with it; it is but a varlet. From France we thought to have gotten a ruby; and yet it was nothing but a cobuby;' with such faith, and such prayers, departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly said, 'That in despite of God, so long as they that then were prelates lived, should that word (called the gospel) never be preached within this realm.' After him followed that belly-god Mr. David Fanter, called Bishop of Ross, even with the like documents; except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the rest that thereupon depended, was the pastime of his life.

The most part of the lords that were in France at the queen's marriage, although that they got their leave from the court, yet they forgot to return to Scotland: for whether it was by an Italian posset, or French figs, or by the pottage of their apothecary (he was a Frenchman), there departed from this life, the earl of Cassis, the earl of Rothes, lord Fleming, and the bishop of Orkney, whose end was even according to his life; for after that he was driven back by a contrary wind, and forced to land again at Diepe, perceiving his sickness to increase, he caused to make his bed betwixt his two coilers (some said upon them); such was his god, the gold that therein was inclosed, that he could not depart therefrom, so long as memory would serve him. The lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, had (by all appearance) licked of the same broth that dispatched the rest; for thereof to his death, his stomach doth testify: but God preserved for a better purpose. This same lord James,

afterwards earl of Murray, and the said bishop, were commonly at debate in matters of religion; and therefore the said lord, hearing of the bishop's disease, came to visit him, and finding him not so well at a point, as he thought he should have been, and as the honour of the country required, said unto him, 'Ey, my lord, how lie you so? Will you not go to your chamber, and not lie here in this outer room?' His answer was, 'I am well where I am, my lord, so long as I can tarry, for I am near unto my friends' (meaning his coffers, and the gold therein). 'But, my lord,' said he, 'how long have you and I been in plea for purgatory? I think that I shall know, ere it be long, whether there be such a place or not.' While the other did exhort him to call to mind the promises of God, and the virtue of Christ's death, he answered, 'Nay, my lord, let me alone, for you and I never agreed in our life, and I think we shall not agree now at my death: I pray you therefore let me alone.' The said lord James departed to his lodging, and the other shortly after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

When the word of the departing of so many patrons of Papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the queen regent; after astonishment and musing, she said, 'What shall I say of such men? they left me as beasts, and as beasts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprize.'

While these things were doing in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite Mr. John Sinclair, then dean of Restalrig, and now lord president and bishop of Brechin, began to preach in his church of Restalrig; and at the beginning held himself so indifferent, that many had opinion of him, that he was not far from the kingdom of God: but his hypocrisy could not long be cloaked; for when he understood that such as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the friars and others of that sect began to whisper, that if he took not heed in time to himself and to his doctrine, he would be the destruction of the whole state of the church: this by him understood, he appointed a sermon, in the which he promised to give his judgment, upon all such heads as then were in controversy in the matters of religion. The report hereof made his audience great at the first; but that day he so handled himself, that after that no godly man did credit him; for he not only gainsaid the doctrine of justification and of prayer, which before he had taught, but also he set up and maintained Papistry to the

uttermost point; yea, holy water, pilgrimage, purgatory, and pardons, were of such virtue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be saved.

In this mean time the clergy made a brag, that they would dispute: but Mr. David Panter, who then lived and lay at Restalrig, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming, that if ever they disputed, but where themselves were both judge and party, and where that fire and sword should obey their decree, that then their cause was marred for ever: for their victory stood neither in God nor in his word, but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own counsels (together with sword and fire), whereto, said he, these new upstart fellows will give no place, but they will call you to your count-book, and that is to the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the devil will be approved to be God: and therefore, if ye love yourselves, enter never into disputation, neither yet call ye the matter into question; but defend your possession, or else all is lost. Caiaphas could not give any better counsel to his companions; but yet God disappointed both them and him, as after we shall hear.

At this same time some of the nobility directed their letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers, and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth. The tenor of their letter is this:

Grace, Mercy, and Peace for Salvation.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be unto God) are stedfast in the belief wherein ye left them, and have a godly thirst and desire day by day of your presence again; now, if the Spirit of God will so move you, and grant time unto you, we all heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye would return again into these parts, where you shall find all the faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but also ready to hazard their lives and goods for the setting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit. And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them in, yet, at the making hereof, we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used than was before: but rather, we have belief, that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars, enemies to Christ's gospel, in less estimation with the queen and the nobility of our realm. This, in few words, is the mind of the faithful being present, and others

absent. The rest of our minds this faithful bearer will shew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord.

*At Stirling, the tenth of
March, anno 1556.*

This is the true copy of the letter, being subscribed by the names underwritten.

Sic subscribitur,

GLENCAIRN.
ERSKINE.
LORN, *now* ARGYLE.
JAMES STUART.

The letters were delivered to the foresaid John in Geneva, by the hands of James Syme, who now resteth with Christ, and of James Barron, who yet liveth. In the month of May, immediately after these letters were received and advised upon, he took consultation, as well with his own church, as with that notable servant of God John Calvin, and with other godly ministers, who all with one consent said, That he could not refuse that vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God, and unmerciful to his country: and so he returned answer, with promise to visit them with reasonable expedition, and as soon as he might put order to that dear flock that was committed to his charge. And so, in the end of the next September, he departed from Geneva, and came to Diepe, where there met him contrary letters, as by his answer thereto we may understand.

The spirit of wisdom, constancy, and strength, be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of God our Lord Jesus Christ.

ACCORDING to my promise, my right honourable, I came to Diepe the four-and-twentieth day of October, of full mind, by the good will of God, with the first ships to have visited you; but because two letters, not very pleasing unto the flesh, were there presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a time. The one was directed to myself from a faithful brother, which made mention, that a new consultation was appointed for final conclusion of the matter before purposed; and willed me therefore to abide in these parts till the determination of the same. The other letter was directed from a gentleman to a friend, with charge to advertise me, that he had communed with all those that

seemed most frank and fervent in the matter; and that in none did he find such boldness and constancy as was requisite for such an enterprise; but that some did, as he writeth, repent that ever any such thing was moved: some were partly ashamed, and others were able to deny, that ever they did consent to any such purpose, if any trial or question should be taken thereof, &c. Which letters when I had considered, I was partly confounded, and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow; confounded I was, that I had so far traveled in the matter, moving the same to the most godly and most learned that this day we know to live in Europe, to the effect that I might have their judgments and grave counsels, for assurance as well of your consciences, as of mine, in all enterprises; and then, that nothing should succeed of so long consultation, cannot but rebound either to your shame or mine. For either it shall appear that I was marvellous vain, being so solicited, where no necessity required; or else that such as were my movers overto, lacked the ripeness of judgment in their first vocation. To some it may appear a small and light matter, that I have cast off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care, as my public office and charge, leaving my house and poor family destitute of all head, save God only; and committing that small (but to Christ dearly beloved) flock, over the which I was appointed one of the ministers, to the charge of another; this, I say, to worldly men may appear a small matter; but to me it was, and is such, that more worldly substance than I will express, could not have caused me willingly to behold the eyes of so many grave men weep at once for my cause, as that I did in taking my last good-night from them: to whom, if it please God that I return, and question be demanded, What was the impediment of my purposed journey? judge you what I shall answer. The cause of my dolour and sorrow (God is my witness) is for nothing pertaining either to my corporal contentment, or worldly displeasure; but it is for the grievous plagues and punishments of God, which assuredly shall apprehend, not only you, but every inhabitant of that miserable realm and isle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of his gospel, deliver you from bondage. I mean not only that perpetual fire and torment prepared for the devil, and for such as denying Christ Jesus, and his known verity, do follow the sins of wickedness to perdition (which most is to be feared), but also that thralldom and misery that shall apprehend your own bodies, your children, subjects, and posterity, whom ye have

betrayed (in conscience I can except none that bear the name of nobility), and presently fight to betray them, and your realm, to the slavery of strangers. The war begun (although I acknowledge it be the work of God) shall be your destruction, unless that better remedy be provided. God open your eyes, that ye may spy and consider your own miserable estate. My words shall appear to some sharp and indifferently spoken; but as charity ought to interpret all things to the best, so ought wise men to understand, 'That a true friend cannot be a flatterer;' especially when the questions of salvation, both of body and soul, are moved; and that not of one, nor of two, but, as it were, of a whole realm or nation. What are the febs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare: but this will I add to my former rigour and severity, *viz.* If any persuade you, for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he never so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortal enemy: foolish, for because he understood nothing of God's approved wisdom; and enemy unto you, because he laboured to separate you from God's favour, provoking his vengeance and grievous plagues against you: because he would that ye should prefer your worldly rest to God's praise and glory, and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren. I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprize (as in my former letters I did signify unto you). But, O joyful and comfortable are the troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will, revealed by his word! for how terrible soever they appear to the judgment of natural men, yet are they never able to devour, nor utterly to consume the sufferers: for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him. The subtle craft of Pharaoh, many years joined with his bloody cruelty, was not able to destroy the male children of Israel; neither were the waters of the Red Sea, much less the rage of Pharaoh, able to confound Moses, and the company which he conducted; and that, because the one had God's promise that they should multiply, and the other had his commandment to enter into such dangers. I would your wisdoms should consider, that our God remaineth one, and is immutable; and that the church of Christ Jesus hath the same promise of protection and defence that Israel had of multiplication. And further, That no less cause have ye to enter into your for-

mer enterprize, than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh; for your vassals, yea, your brethren, are oppressed, their bodies and souls holden in bondage, and God speaketh to your consciences, unless ye be dead with the blind world, that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance: for only for that cause are ye called princes of the people; and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment, not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men do falsely suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression to the uttermost of your power. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that letter which I directed to the whole nobility; and let every man apply the matter and case to himself; for your conscience shall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, doth appertain to more than the clergy, or chief rulers, called Kings. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus rule and guide your counsels to His eternal glory, and your eternal comfort, and to the consolation of your brethren. Amen.

*From Diepe, the 27th of
October 1557.*

These letters received and read, together with others directed to the whole nobility, and some to particuler gentlemen, as to the lairds of Dun and Petarrow, new consultation was had what was best to be done; and in the end it was concluded, that they would follow forward their purpose once intended, and would commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than they would suffer idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that realm so to be defrauded, as long as they had been, of the only food of their souls, the true preaching of Christ's gospel: and that every one should be the more assured of other, a common bond was made, and by some subscribed: the tenor thereof followeth:

We perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him: the which, our duty, being well considered, we do

promise before the Majesty of God, and his congregation, That we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, &c. forward, and establish the most blessed word of God, and his congregation; and shall labour, according to our power, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation, we do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscription at these presents. At Edinburgh, the third day of December, anno 1557. God called to witness.

Sic subscribitur,

A. Earl of Argyle.
 GLENCARN.
 MORTON.
 ARCHIBALD Lord of Lorn.
 JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, &c.

A little before that this bond was subscribed by the fore-written, and many other letters were directed again to John Knox from the said lords, together with their letters to Mr. Calvin, craving of him, that, by his authority, he would command the said John once again to visit them; these letters were delivered by the hands of Mr. John Gray, in the month of November, anno 1558, who at that same time past to Rome, for expedition of the bows of the bishop of Ross, to Mr. Henry Sinclair. Immediately after the subscription of this foresaid bond, the lords and barons professing Christ Jesus, convened frequently in council; in the which these heads were concluded: 'First, It is thought expedient, devised and ordained, That in all parishes of this realm the common-prayers be read weekly on Sunday, and other festival-days, publicly in the parish-churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testaments, conformable to the order of the Book of Common-prayers. And if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them read the same; and if they

' be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same. Secondly, It is thought necessary, that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had, and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till afterward that God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.'

These two heads concerning the religion, and some others concerning the policy, being concluded, the old earl of Argyle took the maintenance of John Douglas, caused him to preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsel. The same boldness took divers others, as well within towns, as in the country; which did not a little trouble the bishops and queen regent: as by this Letter and Credit committed to Sir David Hamilton, from the bishop of St. Andrews to the said earl of Argyle, may be clearly understood.

The Bishop's Letter to the old Earl of Argyle.

MY LORD,

After most hearty commendations, this is to advertise your lordship, that we have directed this bearer, our cousin, towards your lordship, in such business and affairs as concerneth your lordship's honour, profit, and great well-being, as the said bearer will declare to your lordship at more length. I pray your lordship effectually to advert thereto, and to have care to use your lordship's friends, that always hath wished the honour, profit, and prosperity of your lordship's house, as of our own. I pray you give credit to the bearer. Jesus have your lordship in everlasting keeping. Of Edinburgh, the five-and-twentieth day of March, anno 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Lordship's at all power,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Follows the Credit.

MEMORANDUM, To Sir David Hamilton, to my Lord Earl of Argyle, in my Behalf, and let him see and hear every Article.

Imprimus, To repeat the ancient blood of his house, how long it hath stood, how notable it hath been, and so many noblemen hath been earls, lords, and knights thereof; how long they have reigned

in their parts, true and obedient both to God and the prince, without any spot in their days in any manner of sort: and to remember how many notable men are come off his house.

Secondly, To shew him the great affliction I bear towards him, his blood, house, and friends; and of the ardent desire I have of the perpetual flourishing of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it; which is my part, for many and divers causes, as you shall see.

Thirdly, To shew my lord how heavy and displeasing a thing it is to me, now to hear, that he, who is, and hath been so noble a man, should be seduced and abused by the flattery of such an infamous person of the law, and men-worn apostate, who, under the pretence that he giveth himself forth as a preacher of the gospel and verity, under that colour, setting forth schisms and divisions in the holy church of God, with heretical propositions; thinking that, under his maintenance and defence, to infect this country with heresy; persecuting my said lord, and others, his children and friends, that all that he speaketh is Scripture, and conform thereunto, albeit that many of his propositions are many years past condemned by general councils, and the whole state of Christian people.

Fourthly, To shew to my lord how perilous this is to his lordship and his house, and decay thereof, in case that authority should be sharp, and should use rigour conform both to civil and canon, and also your own municipal law of this realm.

Fifthly, To shew his lordship how sorry I would be, either to hear, see, or know any displeasure that might come to him, his son, or any of his house, or friends, and especially in his own time and days; and also how great displeasure I have now to hear great and evil reports of him that should in his old age, in a manner, waver from his faith, and to be altered therein, when the time is that he should be most sure and firm therein.

Sixthly, To shew his lordship that there is dilution of that man called Douglas, or Grant, of sundry articles of heresy, which lieth to my charge and conscience to put remedy to; or else all the pestilent doctrine he sows, and also all that are corrupted by his doctrine, and all that he draweth from our faith and Christian religion, will lie to my charge before God; and I to be accused before God for overseeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for such things he is dilated of. And therefore that my lord consider, and weigh it well, how highly it lieth both

to my honour and conscience; for if I favour him, I shall be accused for all them that he infects and corrupts in heresy.

Seventhly, Therefore I pray my lord, in most hearty manner, to take this matter in the best part, for his own conscience, honour, and well of himself, house, friends, and servants; and also for my part, and for my conscience and honour. Then considering, that there are divers articles of heresy to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is presently in my lord's company, that my lord would, by some honest way, part with this man, and put him from him, and from his son's company; for I would be right sorry, that any being in any of their companies, should be called for such causes, or that any of them should be reported to hold any such man: and this I would advertise my lord, and have his lordship's answer and resolution, before any summons passed upon him.

Eighthly, *Item*, If my lord would have a man to instruct him truly in the faith, and preach to him, I would provide a learned man to him, and I shall answer for his true doctrine, and shall pawn my soul that he shall teach nothing but truly, according to our catholic faith. Of Edinburgh, this last of March 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Moreover, I hope your lordship will call to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavy murmur against me, both by the queen, the churchmen, spiritual and temporal estates, and well-given people, moaning, crying, and murmuring at me greatly, that I do not my office, to those such infamous persons, with such perverse doctrine, within my dioceses, and this realm, by reason of my legacy and primacy; which I have the rather sustained and long suffered, for the great love that I had to your lordship and posterity, and your friends, and your house; as believing surely your lordship's wisdom should not have maintained and meddled with such things that might do me dishonour or displeasure; considering that I have been ready to put good order thereto always, but have modestly abstained, for the love of your lordship and house aforesaid, that I bear truly; knowing and seeing the great harm, and dishonour, and lack apparently that might come there-through, in case your lordship remedy not the same hastily, whereby we might both be quit of all danger, which doubtless will come upon us both, if I use not my office, or

that he be called, while that he is now with your lordship, and under your lordship's protection.

Subscribed again,

SAINT ANDREWS.

By these former instructions thou mayest perceive, gentle reader, what was the care that this pastor, or rather impostor, with his complices, took to feed the flock committed to their charge, as they alledge, and to gain-stand false teachers. Here is oft mention of conscience, of heresy, and such other terms that might frighten the ignorant, and deceive the simple: but we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accused, and yet is he condemned as a forsworn apostate. This was my lord's conscience, which he learned of his fathers the Pharisees, old enemies to Christ Jesus, who condemned him before they heard him: but who ruled my lord's conscience, when he took his cousin's wife, the lady Gilten? Consider thou the rest of his persuasions, and thou shalt clearly see, That honour, estimation, love to house and friends, is the best ground that my lord bishop hath, why he should persecute Jesus Christ in his members. We thought good to insert the answers of the said earl, which follow:

MEMORANDUM. This present writ is to make answer particularly to every article, directed from my lord of St. Andrews to me, by Sir David Hamilton; which articles are in number nine, and here repeated and answered, as I trust, to his lordship's contentment.

THE *first* article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my house, how many earls, lords, and knights, hath been thereof; how many noblemen descended from the same house; how long it continued true to God and the prince, without spot, in their days, in any manner of sort.

Answer. True it is, my lord, that there is well long continuance of my house, by God's providence, and benevolence of our princes whom we have served, and shall serve truly, next to God. And the like obedience towards God, and our princes, remaineth with us yet, or rather better (praised be the Lord's name); neither know we any spot towards our princes, and her due obedience. And if there be offence towards God, he is merciful to remit our offences; for he willeth not the death of a sinner. Likeas, it standeth in

his omnipotent power to make up houses, to continue the same, to alter them, to make them small or great, or to extinguish them, according to his own inscrutable wisdom: for in exalting, depressing, and changing of houses, the laud and praise must be given to that one eternal God, in whose hands the same standeth.

The *second* article beareth the great affection and love your lordship beareth towards me and my house, and of the ardent desire ye have of the perpetual standing thereof in honour and fame, with all them that are coming of it.

Answer. Forsooth it is your duty to wish good unto my house, and unto them that are coming of the same; not only for the faithfulness, amity, and society, that hath been between our forefathers, but also for the late conjunction of blood that is between our said houses, if it be God's pleasure that it have success; which should give sufficient occasion to your lordship to wish good to my house, and perpetuity, with God's glory, without which nothing is perpetual, unto whom be praise and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

Thirdly, Your lordship declareth how displeasing it is to you that I should be seduced by an infamed person of the law, and by the flattery of a forsworn apostate, that under pretence of his giving forth, maketh us to understand, That he is a preacher of the gospel, and therewith rashly schisms and divisions in the whole church of God; and, by our maintenance and defence, would infect this country with heresy, alledging that to be Scripture, which these many years past hath been condemned as heresy by the general councils, and whole estate of Christian people.

Answer. The God that created heaven and earth, and all that is therein, preserve me from seducing; for I dread others: many under the colour of godliness are seduced, and think that they do God a pleasure, when they persecute one of them that profess his name. What that man of the law is, we know not, we hear none of his flattery; his perjured oath of apostacy is unknown to us; but if he hath made any unlawful oath, contrary to God's commandment, it were better to violate it than to observe it. He preaches nothing to us but the gospel; if he would do otherwise, we would not believe him, nor yet an angel of heaven; we hear him sow no schisms nor divisions, but such as may stand with God's word, which we shall cause him to confess in presence of your lordship and the clergy, when ye require us thereto. And as to it that hath been condemned by

general councils, we trust you know well, that all the general councils have been at diversity among themselves; and never two of them universally agreeing in all points, in so much as they are of us. But the Spirit of verity, that bears testimony of our Lord Jesus, hath not, neither can err; for heaven and earth shall perish ere one jot of it perish. Beyond this, my lord, neither teacheth he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with the word of God, set forth by the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and evangelists, left to our salvation in express words: and so, my lord, to condemn the doctrine not examin'd, is not required; for when your lordship pleaseth to hear the confession of that man's faith, the manner of his doctrine, which agreeth with the gospel of Jesus Christ, I will cause him to assist to judgment, and shall be present there at God's pleasure, that he may render reckoning of his belief, and our doctrine, to the superior powers, according to the prescription of that blood of the eternal testament, shed by the immaculate Lamb, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The *fourth* article puts me in remembrance, how dangerous it is, if the authority would put me to it, and my house, according to comely and common laws, and our own municipal laws of this realm, and how it appeareth to the decay of our house.

Answer. All laws are, or at least should be, subject to God's law, which law should be first plac'd and plant'd in every man's heart; it should have no impediment; men should not abrogate it, for the defence and setting up of their own advantage. If it would please authorities to put at our house, for confessing of God's word, or for maintenance of his law, God is mighty enough in his own cause; he should be rather obeyed than man. I will serve my prince with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's due, which I will reserve to him alone; that is, to worship him in truth and verity, and as near as I can to conform to his written word, to his own honour, and obedience of my prince's.

The *fifth* article puts me in remembrance, how sorry your lordship would be, to hear, to see, or know any displeasure that might come to me, my son, or any of my house, and especially in my time and days: and also to hear the great and evil report of me, that should now in my old age in a manner begin to vary in my faith, and to be alter-

ed therein, when it is time that I should be most sure and firm therein.

Answer. Your lordship's good-will is ever made manifest unto me in all your articles, that you should be sorry to hear, see, or know my displeasure; for the which I am bound to render your lordship thanks, and shall do the same assuredly: but as for wavering in my faith, God forbid that I should so do; for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Saviour. My lord, I vary not in my faith; but I praise God, that of his goodness, now in my latter days, hath of his infinite mercy open'd his bosom of grace unto me, to acknowledge him the eternal Wisdom, his Son Jesus Christ my one sufficient satisfaction, to refuse all idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, wherewith I have been blinded in times past; and now believe that God will be merciful unto me; for now he hath declared his blessed will clearly to me, before my departing out of this transitory life.

The *sixth* article declareth, That there are detentions of sundry points of heresy upon that man Douglas, or Grant, which lies to your charge and conscience to put remedy to; or else, that all the pestilent doctrine he sows, and all whom he corrupteth with his seed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your Christian faith; and if ye should suffer him, that ye will be accused for all them whom he infecteth with heresy; and therefore to regard your lordship's honour and conscience therein.

Answer. What is his surname I know not, but he calleth himself Douglas; for I know neither his father nor his mother: I have heard him teach no articles of heresy, but that which agreeth with God's word; for I would maintain no man in heresy or error. Your lordship regards your conscience in the punishment thereof; I pray God that ye do so, and examine well your conscience. He preacheth against idolatry; I remit to your lordship's conscience if it be heresy or not: he preacheth against adultery and fornication; I refer that to your lordship's conscience: he preacheth against hypocrisy; I refer that to your lordship's conscience: he preacheth against all manner of abuses, and corruption of Christ's sincere religion; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. My lord, I exhort you, in Christ's name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience, and consider if it be your duty also, not only to suffer this, but in like manner to do the same. This is all, my lord, that I vary in my old age, and in no other thing, but that I know

not these offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifestation of his word, abhor them.

The *seventh* article desireth me to weigh these matters in most hearty manner, and to take them in best part, for the well of both our consciences, my house, friends, and servants, and put such a man out of my company, for fear of the rumour and report that should follow thereupon, by reason he is delated of sundry heresies; and that your lordship would be sorry to hear any of our servants delated or reported for such a cause, or for holding of any such men: and that your lordship would understand mine answer hereunto, or any summons passed thereupon.

Answer. I thank your lordship greatly, that ye are so sollicitous for the well of me and my house, and are so humane, as to give me advertisement, before ye have summoned, of your own good will and benevolence. I have weighed these matters as highly as my judgment can serve me, both for your lordship's honour and mine: and when that I have reasoned all that I can do with myself in it, I think it always best to serve God, and obey his manifest word, and not be obstinate in the contrary; and to give their due obedience to our princes, rulers, and magistrates; and to hear the voice of God's prophets, declaring his good promise to them that repent, and threatening to obstinate wicked doers everlasting destruction. Your lordship knows well the man; he hath spoken with your lordship: I thought you content with him: I hear no occasion of offence in him: I cannot well want him, or some preacher: I cannot put away such a man, without I knew him an offender, as I know not; for I hear nothing of him, but such as your lordship's self hears of him, and such as he yet will profess in your presence, whensoever your lordship requires. Such a man, that is ready to present himself to judgment, should not be expelled without knowledge of the cause; for like as I answered before in another article, when your lordship please, that all the spiritual and temporal men of estate in Scotland be assembled, I shall cause him to render an account of his belief and doctrine in your presence, then if he deserves punishment and correction, let him so suffer; if he be found faithful, let him live in his faith.

The *eighth* article proposeth to me, That your lordship would take the labour to get me a man to instruct me in your catholic faith, and to be my preacher, for whose doctrine ye would lay your

soul, that he would teach nothing but truly conform to your faith.

Answer. God Almighty send us many of that sort, that will preach truly, and nothing but a catholic or universal Christian faith, and we Highland rude people have need of them: and if your lordship would get and provide me such a man, I should provide him a corporal living, as to myself, with great thanks unto your lordship; for truly, I and many more have great need of such men; and because I am able to sustain more than one of them, I request your lordship earnestly to provide me a man as ye wrote; 'For the harvest is great, but the labourers are few.'

The *ninth* and *tenth* article putteth me in remembrance, to consider what murmur your lordship suffers, and great report, at many mens hands, both spiritual and temporal, and at the queen's hand, and other well-given people, for not putting order to these affairs; and that your lordship hath abstained from execution hereof, for love of my house and posterity, to the effect that myself should remedy it, for fear of the dishonour that might come upon us both for the same, which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger.

Answer. My lord, I know well what murmur and indignation your lordship suffers at enemies hands of all estates, for not pursuing of poor simple Christians: and I know, that if your lordship should use their counsel, who would by blood-shedding, and burning of poor men, to make your lordship serve their wicked appetites, yet your lordship knows your own duty, and should not fear the danger of men, as of him whom ye profess. And verily, my lord, there is nothing that may be to your lordship's relief in this behalf, but I will use your lordship's counsel therein, and further the same, God's honour being first provided, and the truth of his eternal word having liberty; and to abstain for my love from pursuit, as your lordship hath signified, I am indebted to your lordship, as I have written divers times before: but there is One above, for whose fear ye must abstain from blood-shedding, or else, my lord, knock on your conscience. Last of all, your lordship will please to consider, how desirous some are to have sedition amongst friends; how mighty the devil is to sow discord; how that many would desire no better game but to hunt us at other. I pray your lordship beguile them; we will agree upon all purposes with God's pleasure, standing to his glory. There are divers houses in Scotland

near us, that profess the same God secretly; they desire but that ye begin the bargain at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end thereof, and who shall bide the next part. My lord, consider this, make no preparative of us; let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little of the well and strength of both our houses, stir up your backship, as they would, to do against God, your own conscience, and the well of your posterity for ever: and therefore, now in the end, I pray your lordship, weigh these things wisely; and if ye do otherwise, God is God, was, and shall be God, when all is wrought that man can work.

This answer received, the bishop and his colleagues found themselves somewhat disappointed; for the bishops looked for nothing less than for such answers from the earl of Argyll; and therefore they made them for their extreme defence, that is, to corrupt, and by bribes to stir up the queen regent against us, as in the Second Book ye shall more plainly hear. Shortly after that, God called to his mercy the said earl of Argyll from the miseries of this life, whereof the bishops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way, but God disappointed them: for as the said earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry; so he left it to his son in his testament, that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry to the uttermost of his power. In which point small fault can be found with him unto this day, May 10, *anno* 1568. God be merciful unto other offences. Amen.

The Blind, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other Poor, so visited by the hand of God as cannot work.

To all the flock of friars within this realm, we wish restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times coming, for salvation.

YE yourselves are not ignorant (and though ye would be, it is now, thanks be to God, well known to the whole world, by his most infallible word), that the benignity or alms of all Christian people pertaineth to us alone, which ye, being whole of body, strong, sturdy, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty (and yet nevertheless possessing most easily all abundance), what through cloaked and hidden humility (though your proudness is known), and what through feigned holiness

(which now is declared to be superstition and idolatry), have these many years, expressly against God's word, and the practice of his holy apostles, to our great torment, alas! most falsly stolen from us. And as ye have, by your false doctrine, and wresting of God's word, learned of your father Satan, induced the whole people, high and low, into a sure hope and belief, that to clothe, feed, and nourish you, is the only most acceptable alms allowed before God; and to give a penny, or a piece of bread once in a week is enough for us: even so ye have persuaded them to build you great hospitals, and maintain you therein by their force, which only pertains now to us by all law, as builded and given to the poor, of whose number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the law of God, nor yet by no other law proceeding of nature, reason, or civil policy: wherefore seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means, that none taketh care of our misery, and that it is better for to provide there our impotent members, which God hath given us, to oppose to you in plain controversy, than to see you hereafter (as ye have done afore) steal from us our houses, and ourselves in the mean time to perish and die for want of the same; we have thought good therefore, ere we enter with you in the conflict, to warn you, in the name of the great God, by this public writing, affixed at your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, so that we, the only lawful proprietors thereof, may enter thereinto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the church, which ye have hereunto wrongfully holden from us; certifying you, if ye fail, we will at the said term, in whole number (with the help of God, and assistance of his saints in 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.

*From all Cities, Towns, and Villages
of Scotland, January 1. 1558.*

The bishops continued in their provincial council, even unto the day that John Knox arrived in Scotland; and that they might give some shew to the people that they minded reformation, they dispersed abroad a rumour thereof, and set forth

somewhat in print, which of the people was called, The Two-penny Faith. Amongst their acts there was much ado for caps, shaven crowns, tip-pets, long gowns, and such other trifles.

I. *Item*, That none should enjoy office, or benefice ecclesiastical, except a priest.

II. *Item*, That no churchman should nourish his own children in his own company, but that every one should hold the children of others.

III. That none should put his own son in his own benefice.

IV. That if any were found in open adultery, for the first fault he should lose the third of his benefice; for the second crime, the half; and for the third, the whole benefice.

But herefrom appealed the bishop of Murray, and other prelates, saying, That they would abide at the canon law; and so they might well enough do, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensators, makers, and disannallers of the law: but let the same law have the true interpretation, and just execution, and the devil shall as soon be proved a true and obedient servant unto God, as any of that sort shall be proved a bishop, or yet to have any just authority within the church of Christ Jesus. But we will return to our history.

The persecution was decreed as well by the queen regent as by the prelates. But there rested a point, which the queen regent and France had not at that time obtained; *viz.* That the crown-matrimonial should be granted to Francis, husband to our sovereign, and so should France and Scotland be but one kingdom, the subjects of both the realms to have equal liberty, Scotsmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland. The glister of the profit that was judged hereof to have ensued to Scotsmen, at the first sight blinded many mens eyes, but a small wind caused that mist suddenly to vanish away: for the greatest offices and benefices within the realm were appointed for the Frenchmen; monsieur Ruby kept the great seal, Vielmort was comptroller, Melrose and Kelso should have been commendams to the poor cardinal of Lorraine. The freedoms of Scots merchants were re-

strained in Rhovan, and they compelled to pay toll and taxations, others than their ancient liberties did bear.

To bring this head to pass, *viz.* to the matrimonial-crown, the queen regent left no point of the compass unassailed. With the bishops and priests, she practised on this manner; 'Ye may clearly see, that I cannot do what I would within this realm; for these heretics and confederates of England are so banded together, that they stop all good order: but will ye be favourable unto me in this suit of the matrimonial-crown, to be granted to my daughter's husband, then shall ye see how I shall handle these heretics and traitors ere it be long?' and in very deed, in these her promises, she meant no deceit in that behalf. Unto the Protestants she said, 'I am not unmindful how oft ye have solicited me for reformation in religion, and gladly would I consent thereunto; but ye see the power and craft of the bishop of St. Andrews, together with the power of duke Hamilton, and of churchmen, ever to be bent against me in all my proceedings; so that I may do nothing, unless the full authority of this realm be delivered to the king of France, which cannot be, but by donation of the crown-matrimonial; which thing if ye will bring to pass, then devise ye what ye please in matters of religion, and they shall be granted.' With this commission and credit was lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, directed to the earl of Argyle, with more other promises than we list to rehearse: by such dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, inflamed she them to be more fervent in her petition, than herself appeared to be. And so at the parliament holden at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in the year of God 1558, it was clearly voted, no man reclaiming (except the duke for his interest), and yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a solemn mass appointed for that purpose in the Pontifical. This head obtained, whereat France and she principally shot, what faith she kept to the Protestants, in this our SECOND BOOK shall be declared; in the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearse some things, which in this our first are summarily touched.



BOOK SECOND.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N,
W I T H I N T H E R E A L M O F
S C O T L A N D.

Beginning in the Year of our Lord God 1558.

OUR purpose was to have made the beginning of our History, from the things that were done from the year of God 1558, till the Reformation of Religion, which of God's mercy we once possessed, and yet in doctrine, and in the right use of administration of sacraments, do possess.

BUT because divers of the godly, as before is said, earnestly required, that such persons as God raised up in the midst of darkness, to oppose themselves to the same, should not be omitted; we obeyed their request, and have made a short rehearsal of all such matters as concern religion, from the death of that notable servant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, unto the aforesaid year, when that it pleased God to look upon us more mercifully than we deserve, and to give unto us greater boldness, and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) success in all our enterprises than we looked for, as the true narration of this Second Book shall witness. The Preface whereof followeth.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

LEST that Satan by our silence shall take occasion to blaspheme, and to slander us the Protestants of the realm of Scotland, as that our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion, than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion, we have thought expedient, so truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us (as we say, and great part of the nobility and barons of the realm), to take the sword of just defence against those that most unjustly seek our destruction: and, in this our confession, we shall faithfully declare, what moved us to put our hands to the reformation of religion, how we have proceeded in the same, what we have asked, and what presently we require of the sacred authority: to the end that our cause being known, as well our *enemies*, as our *brethren*, in all realms, may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France, and by their faction; and also, that our brethren, natural Scotmen, of whatsoever religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves, if they can with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but ‘Christ Jesus’ glorious gospel to be preached, his holy sacraments to be truly ministered, ‘superstition, tyranny, and idolatry, to be suppressed in this realm; and finally, this our ‘native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers.’

While that the queen regent practised with the prelates, how that Christ Jesus’ blessed gospel might utterly be suppressed within Scotland, God so blessed the labours of his weak servants, that no small part of the barons of this realm began to abhor the tyranny of the bishops: God did so open their eyes, by the light of his word, that they could clearly discern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God: yea, men almost universally began to doubt, whether they could (God not offended) give their bodily presence to the mass, or yet offer their children to the Papistical baptism. These doubts when the most godly and the most learned in Europe had answered, both by word and writing, affirming, ‘That ‘neither of both we might do, without peril of our souls,’ we began to be more troubled; for then also began men of estimation, and those that did bear rule amongst us, to examine themselves concerning their duties, as well towards reformation of religion, as towards the just defence of their brethren most cruelly persecuted. And so began divers questions to be moved, *viz.* ‘If that with safe conscience such as were judges, lords, and rulers of the people, might ‘serve the higher powers in maintaining of idolatry, in persecuting their brethren, and ‘in suppressing Christ’s truth?’ or, ‘Whether they, to whom God in some case hath committed the sword of justice, might suffer the blood of their brethren to be shed in their ‘presence, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them?’ By the plain Scriptures it was found, ‘That a lively faith required a plain confession when Christ’s truth is ‘oppugned, that not only are they guilty that do evil, but also they that consent to evil.’ And plain it is, That they consent to evil, who, seeing iniquity openly committed, by their silence seem to justify and avow whatsoever is done.

These things being resolved, and sufficiently proved by evident Scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his salvation: for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy (called the churchmen) was, and is so manifest, that whosoever doth deny it, declareth himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, with fasting, and supplication unto God, began to seek some remedy in so present a danger. And first, it was concluded, 'That the brethren in every town, at certain times, should assemble together, to common prayers, to exercise, in reading of the Scriptures, till it should please God to give the gift of exhortation by sermon unto some, for the comfort and instruction of the rest.'

And this our weak beginning God did so bless, that within a few months the hearts of many were so strengthened, that we sought to have the face of a church amongst us, and open crimes to be punished without respect of persons; and for that purpose, by common election, were elders appointed, to whom the whole brethren promised obedience: for at that time we had no public ministers of the word, only did certain zealous men (amongst whom was the laird of Dun, David Forreit, Mr. Robert Lockhart, Mr. Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw, and others) exhort their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But shortly after did God stir up his servant Paul Methven (his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him), who in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife; and so did God work with him, that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto his blessed ordinances; insomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in the which the word was openly preached, and Christ's sacraments truly ministered.

In this mean time did God send to us our dear brother John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after his short abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh, and there, notwithstanding his long and dangerous sickness, did so encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon some public reformation; for the corruption in religion was such, that with safe conscience we could no longer sustain it; yet, because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred authority, with one consent, after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, That by our public and common supplication, we should attempt the favour, support, and assistance of the queen, then regent, to a godly reformation; and for that purpose, with all diligence, after we had drawn our Oration and Petition as followeth, we appointed from amongst us a man, whose age and years deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any magistrate on the earth, and whose faithful service to the authority at all times hath been such, that in him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commission and power in all our names then present, before the queen regent thus to speak:

T H E
FIRST ORATION AND PETITION

O F T H E
PROTESTANTS OF SCOTLAND,

T O T H E
QUEEN REGENT.

ALBEIT we have of long time contained ourselves in that modesty, most noble princeſs, that neither the exile of body, loſs of goods, nor perishing of this mortal life, was able to make us to ask at your majesty reformation and redress of those wrongs, and of that fore grief patiently borne by us in bodies and minds of long time; yet are we now by very conscience, and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave at your majesty's feet, remedy against the most unjust tyranny, used against your majesty's most obedient subjects, by those that are called the State-ecclesiastical. Your majesty cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and right worshipping of God; and how the clergy (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves such empire above the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without further respect to God's pleasure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in his most holy word; or else there abideth nothing for us but fagots, fire, and sword, by the which many of our brethren most cruelly and most unjustly have been stricken of late years within this realm, which now we find to trouble and wound our consciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruel murderers (seeing we are a part of that power which God hath established in this realm), or else to have given open testimony of our faith with them, which now we offer ourselves to do, lest that, by our continual silence, we shall seem to justify the cruel-tyranny of those men; which doth not only displease us, but your majesty's wisdom most prudently doth foresee, that, for the

quieting of this intestine dissension, a public reformation, as well in the religion, as in the temporal government, were most necessary; and to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility, to employ their study, diligence, and care. We therefore, in conscience, dare not any longer dissemble in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God, and our salvation: neither now dare we withdraw our presence or counsel, or petitions, lest that the adversaries hereafter should object to us, That place was granted for reformation, and yet no man sued for the same; and so shall our silence be prejudicial unto us in time to come: and therefore we, knowing no order placed in this realm, but your majesty, and your grave counsel, set to amend, as well the disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the temporal government, most humbly prostrate ourselves before your feet, asking justice and your gracious help against them that falsely traduce and accuse us, as that we were heretics and schismatics, under that colour seeking our destruction, for that we seek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Christ's religion to be restored to the original purity. Further, we crave of your majesty, with open and patent ears to hear those our subsequent requests, and, to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, bountifully to grant the same, unless by God's plain word any be able to prove, that justly they ought to be denied.

Here begin the particular Demands.

First, Humbly we ask, That, as we have by the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Testa-

ments, in our vulgar tongue, as spiritual food to our souls; so from henceforth it may be lawful, that we may meet publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue, to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced, by fervent and oft prayers, to commend to God the holy universal church, the queen our sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the ability of their succession, your majesty regent, the nobility, and whole state of this realm.

Secondly, If it shall happen in our said meetings any hard place of Scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can arise any profit to the hearers; that it shall be lawful to any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory, and to the profit of the auditory: and, if any think that this liberty should be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy, we are content that it be provided, that the said interpretation shall underly the judgment of the godly and most learned within the realm at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy sacrament of baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue, that the god-fathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when they were received into his household by the laver of spiritual regeneration.

Fourthly, We desire, That the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, or of his blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

And, *lastly*, we most humbly require, That the wicked, slanderous, and detestable lives of prelates, and of the state-ecclesiastical, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many days they have had) to condemn their ministry, and the preaching, whereof they should be messengers: and if they suspect, that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travel and labour for this reformation, we are content, that not only the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly and approved laws of Justinian the emperor, decide the controversy betwixt us and them: and if it shall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we

ask more than these three fore-named have required, and continually do require, of able and true ministers in Christ's church, we refuse not correction, as your majesty, with right judgment, shall think meet; but if all the fore-named shall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your majesty, that notwithstanding the long custom which they have had to live as they list, that they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that the grave and godly face of the primitive church reduced, ignorance may be expelled, true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the church of this realm. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your majesty, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne-judicial, ye, and all others that here in earth bear authority, shall give account of your temporal government. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your majesty's heart to justice and equity.

These our demands being proposed, the state-ecclesiastical began to storm, and to devise all manner of lies to deface the equity of our cause. They bragged, as that they would have public disputation; which also we most earnestly required, two things being provided; *first*, That the plain and written Scriptures of God should decide all controversies: *secondly*, That our brethren, of whom some were then exiled, and by them unjustly condemned, might have free access to the said disputation, and safe conduct to return to their dwelling-places, notwithstanding any process which before had been laid against them in matters concerning religion. But these being by them utterly denied (for no judge would they admit, but themselves, their councils, and canon-law), they and their faction began to draw certain articles of reconciliation, promising unto us, if we would admit the mass to stand in its former reverence and estimation; grant purgatory after this life; confess prayer to saints, and for the dead; and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed rents, possessions, and honour; that then they would grant us to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, so that it were done secretly, and not in the open assembly. But the grossness of these articles was such, that with one voice we refused them, and constantly craved justice of the queen regent, and a reasonable answer of our former petitions. The queen then re-

gent, a woman crafty, dissimulate, and false, thinking to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permission to use ourselves godly, according to our desires, provided that we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh, nor Leith; and did promise her assistance to our preachers, until some uniform order might be established by a parliament. To them (we mean the clergy) she quickly gave signification of her mind, promising, that how soon any opportunity should serve, she should put order to these matters, that after they should not be troubled: for some say, they gave her a large purse of forty thousand pounds, Turn. or Scots, gathered by the laird of Earlshall. We nothing suspecting her doubleness or falsehood, departed fully contented with her answer, and did use ourselves so quietly, that for her pleasure we put silence to John Douglas, who publicly would have preached in the town of Leith; for in all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far as God should not be offended against us, for obeying her in things as we thought unlawful.

Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called Bishop of St. Andrews, apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus Walter Miln, a man of decrepit age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in St. Andrews, the twenty-eighth day of April, in the year of God 1558; which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all the godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency among the whole people, yea, even in the town of St. Andrews, began the people plainly to condemn such unjust cruelty; and, in testimony that they would his death should abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt. The bishops and priests therat offended, caused once or twice to remove the same, with denunciation of cursing, if any man should there lay any stones; but in vain was that wind blown; for still was the heap made, till that the priests and Papists did steal away by night the stones to build their walls, and to their own private uses.

We, suspecting nothing that the queen regent was consenting to the fore-named murder, most humbly did complain of such unjust cruelty, requiring, that justice in such cases should be ministered with greater indifferency. She, as a woman born to dissemble and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the bishop excusing herself as innocent in that cause; for that the sentence was given without her knowledge, because the man

sometimes had been a priest, therefore the bishop's official did proceed upon him without any commission of the civil authority, *ex officio*, as they term it. We, yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, required some order to be taken against such enormities, which she promised as oft before. But because shortly after there was a parliament to be holden, for certain affairs pertaining rather to the queen's particular profit, than to the commodity of the commonwealth, we thought good to excuse our matter to the whole parliament, and by them to seek some redress: we therefore, with one consent, did offer to the queen and parliament a Letter, in this tenor:

The form of the Letter given in Parliament.

UNTO your majesty, and unto your right honourable lords, barons, and burgessees, of this present parliament; humbly means and sheweth your majesty's faithful and obedient subjects, That where we are daily molested, slandered, and injured, by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the ministers of the church, who most untruly cease not to infame us as heretics, and under that name they most cruelly have persecuted divers of our brethren; and farther intend to execute their malice against us, unless by some godly order their fury and rage be bridled and staid; and yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unless that to read the holy Scriptures in our assemblies, to invoke the name of God in public prayers, with all sobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture, that be read to the further edification of the brethren assembled, and truly, according to Christ Jesus' holy institution, to minister the sacraments, be crimes worthy of punishment; other crimes, we say, in us they are not able to convict. And to the premises we are compelled, for that the said place-holders discharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people subject to us; and therefore, unless we should declare ourselves altogether unmindful of our own salvation, we are compelled in very conscience, to seek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thralldom of Satan: for now it hath pleased God to open our eyes, and manifestly we see, that, without extreme danger of our souls, we may in nowise communicate with the damnable idiatry, and intolerable abuses, of the Papistical church; and therefore most humbly require we of your majesty, and of your right honourable lords, barons, and burgessees, assembled in

this present parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becometh just judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable petitions:

First, Seeing that the controversy in religion, which hath long continued betwixt the Protestants of Albany, Helvetia, and other provinces, and the Papistical church, is not yet decided by a lawful and general council; and seeing that our consciences are likewise touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controversy; we most humbly desire, That all such acts of parliament as in the time of darkness gave power to the churchmen, to execute their tyranny against us, by reason that we to them were delated as heretics, may be suspended and abrogated, till a general council, lawfully assembled, hath decided all controversies in religion.

And lest that this mutation should seem to set all men at liberty to live as they list, we *secundarily* require, That it be enacted by this present parliament, that the prelates, and their officers, be removed from place of judgment, only granting unto them nevertheless the place of accusators in the presence of a temporal judge, before whom the churchmen accusators shall be bound to call any by them accused of heresy, to whom also they shall be bound to deliver an authentic copy of all depositions, accusations, and process laid against any person accused; the judge likewise delivering the same to the party accused, alligning unto him a competent term to answer to the same, after he hath taken sufficient caution, *de judicio sibi*.

Thirdly, We require, That all lawful defences be granted to the person accused; as, if he be able to prove that the witnesses be persons unable by law to testify against him, that then their accusations and depositions be null, according to justice.

Item, That place be granted to the party accused, to explain and interpret his own mind and meaning, which confession we require to be inserted in public acts, and be preferred to the deposition of any witness, 'seeing that none ought to suffer for religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion.'

Lastly, We require, That our brethren be not condemned for heretics, unless, by the manifest word of God, they be convicted to have erred from that faith, which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation; and if so they be, we refuse not but that they be punished according to justice, unless by wholesome admonition they can be reduced to a better mind.

These things require we to be considered of by you, who are in the place of the eternal God (who is God of order and truth), even in such sort as ye will answer in presence of his throne-judicial: requiring further, that favourably you would have respect to the tenderness of our consciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this commonwealth, if the tyranny of the prelates, and of their adherents, be not bridled by God and just laws. God move your hearts deeply to consider your own duties, and our present troubles.

These our demands did we first present to the queen regent, because that we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge, most humbly requiring her favourably to assist us in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but always she kept our petition close in her pocket. When we required secretly of her majesty, that our petition should be proposed to the whole assembly; she answered, That she thought not that expedient; for then would the whole ecclesiastical estate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time was great: for the matrimonial-crown was asked, and in that parliament granted. But, said she, how soon order can be taken with these things, which now may be hindered by the churchmen, ye shall know my good mind, and in the mean time, whatsoever I can grant unto you, shall gladly be granted. We, yet nothing suspecting her falsehood, were content to give place for a time to her pleasure and pretended reason; and yet thought we expedient somewhat to protest, before the dissolution of the parliament: for our petition was manifestly known to the whole assembly; as also, how that for the queen's pleasure we had ceased to pursue the uttermost. Our Protestation was formed in manner following:

The form of the Protestation made in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, anno 1558.

IT is not unknown to this honourable parliament, what controversy is now lately risen, betwixt those that will be called the prelates and rulers of the church, and a great number of us the nobility and commonalty of the realm, for the true worshipping of God, for the duty of ministers, for the right administration of Christ Jesus' holy sacraments. How that we have complained, by our supplication to the queen regent, that our consciences are burdened with unprofitable ceremonies, and that we

are compelled to adhere to idolatry; that such as take upon them the office ecclesiastical, discharge no part thereof as becometh true ministers to do. And finally, that we, and our brethren, are most injuriously oppressed by their usurped authority; and also, we suppose it is a thing sufficiently known, that we were of mind at this present parliament to seek redress of such enormities; but considering, that the troubles of the time do not suffer such reformation, as we by God's plain word do require, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desire; and yet, lest that our silence should give occasion to our adversaries, to think that we repent of our former enterprises, we cannot cease to protest, for remedy against that most unjust tyranny which we heretofore have most patiently sustained.

And, *first*, we protest, That seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation according to God's word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred authority pleases to give us audience.

Secondly, We protest, That neither we, nor yet any other of the godly that list to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or any political pain, for not observing such acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites as man, without God's commandment or word, hath commanded.

We, *thirdly*, protest, That if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of this realm, for the diversity of religion; and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all to be reformed by an order; but rather, whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of order taken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.

And, *lastly*, we protest, That these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of the abuses in religion only, most humbly beseeching the sacred authority, to take us faithful and obedient subjects into protection against our adversaries; and to shew unto us such indifferency in our most just petition, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to those,

that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors, and blood-thirsty tyrants.

This our Protestation publicly read, we desired it to have been inserted in the common register; but that, by the labour of enemies, was denied unto us. Nevertheless the queen regent said, We will remember what is protested; and we shall put 'good order after this to all things that now are in 'controversy.' And thus, after she by craft had obtained her purpose, we departed, in good hope of her favour, praising God in our hearts, that she was so well inclined towards godliness. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity, caused us not only to spend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God John Calvin, we did praise and commend her, for her excellent knowledge in God's word, and good-will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, that, by his grave counsel, and godly exhortation, he would animate her majesty constantly to follow that, which godly she had begun. We did farther sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect in her any venom or hypocrisy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind: but how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft, did suddenly appear; for how soon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spew forth and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. Then began she to frown, and to look frowardly to all such as she knew did favour the gospel of Jesus Christ. She commanded her household to use all abominations at Easter; and she first herself, to give example to others, did communicate with the idol in open audience; she controlled her household, and would know where that every one received their sacrament: and it appeared, That after that day that malice took more violent and strong possession in her, than it did before; for from that day forward she appeared altogether altered, insomuch that her countenance and facts did declare the venom of her heart; for incontinent she caused our preachers to be summoned; for whom, when we made intercession, beseeching her majesty not to molest them in their ministry, unless any man were able to convict them of false doctrine, she could not bridle her tongue from open blasphemy, but proudly she said,

In despite of you and your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they shall shew us any as ever did St. Paul:’ which proud and blasphemous answer did greatly astonish us; and yet craved we not most humbly to seek her favour, and, by great diligence, at last we obtained of the famous baron that time were delighted for to hear was Sir Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Ralph Dunsberrill of Lowda knight, then of Air, to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises; to whom she answered, ‘It became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, further than it pleased them to keep the same.’ Both the noblemen faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow; wherewith she somewhat astonished, said, She would advise.

In this mean time did the town of Perth, called St. Johnston, embrace the truth, which did provoke her to a new fury, in which she willed the lord Ruthven, provost of that town, to suppress all such religion there: to the which when he answered, ‘That he could make their bodies to come to her majesty, and to prostrate themselves before her, till that she was fully satiate with their blood; but to cause them to do against their conscience, he could not promise: for in fury did answer, That he was too arrogant, to give her such an answer, affirming, that both he and they should repent it. She solicited Mr. James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Melvren, who, fearing God, gave secret advertisement to the man to avoid the town for a time. She sent forth such as she thought most able to persuade at Easter, to curse Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnston, and other such places as had received the gospel, to communicate with the idol of the mass; but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry; wherewith she more highly commoved, did summon again all the preachers to appear at Stirling, the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1559, which understood by us, we with all humble obedience sought the means how she might be appeased, and our preachers not molested; but when we could prevail nothing, it was concluded by the whole brethren, ‘That the gentlemen of every country should accompany their preachers to the day and place appointed, whereto all men were most willing; and for that purpose, the town of Dundee, the gentle-

men of Angus and Mearns, passed forward with their preachers to St. Johnston, without armour, as peaceable men, minding only to give confession with their preachers. And lest that such a multitude should have given fear to the queen regent, the laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, passed before to the queen, then being at Stirling, to declare to her, ‘That the cause of their convocation, was only to give confession with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She understanding the fervency of the people, began to use craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and the preachers also, with promise that she would take some better order. He, a man most gentle of nature, and most addicted to please her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to those that then were assembled at St. Johnston, to stay, and not to come forward, shewing what promise and hope he had of the queen’s favour. At the reading of his letters, some did smell the craft and deceit, and persuaded to pass forward, until that a discharge of the former summonses should be had, alledging that otherwise their process of rebellion should be executed against the preachers; and so should not only they, but also all such as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reason, ‘That the queen’s promise was not to be suspected, neither yet the laird of Dun’s request to be contemned; and so did the whole multitude with their preachers stay.

In this mean time that the preachers were summoned, viz. the second of May 1559, arrived John Knox from France; who lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to Dundee, where he earnestly required them that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his faith with them: which granted unto him, he departed unto St. Johnston with them, where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The queen perceiving that the preachers did not appear, began to utter her malice; and, notwithstanding any request made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the horn; inhibiting all men, under pain of high rebellion, to assist, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any sort. Which extremity perceived by the said laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himself; for otherwise, by all appearance, he had not escaped imprisonment: for the master of Maxwel, a man zealous and stout in God’s cause (as then appeared), under the cloak of another small crime, was

that same day committed to ward, because he did boldly affirm, That, to the uttermost of his power, he would assist the preachers and the congregation, notwithstanding any sentence which unjustly was, or should be pronounced against them. The laird of Dun coming to St. Johnston, exposed the case even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the queen's craft and falshood; which understood, the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magistrate, stay them from destroying the places of idolatry. The manner whereof was:

The preachers had declared before, how odious idolatry was in God's presence; what commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry, and what abomination, was in the mass. It chanced that the next day, which was the 11th of May, after that the preachers were exiled, after the sermon, which was very vehement against idolatry, a certain priest in contempt would go to the mass; and to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle, which stood upon the high altar: there stood beside certain godly men, and, amongst others, a young boy, who cried with a bold voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger, took up a stone, and casting at the priest, hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image: and immediately the whole multitude threw stones, and put hands on the said tabernacle, and on all other monuments of idolatry; which they dispatched before the tenth man of the town were advertised, for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude assembled, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude; who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the gray and black friars, and, notwithstanding that they had within them very strong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burst up. The first invasion was upon idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoil. And in very deed the Gray-friars was a place so well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to have reported what provision they had: their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no earl in Scotland had better: their napery was fine:

there were but eight persons in the convent, and yet had they eight puncheons of salt beef (consider the time of the year, the 11th of May), wine, beer, and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto: the like abundance was not in the Black-friars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty.

The spoil was permitted to the poor: for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness sake none should put their hand to such a reformation; that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat: their conscience so moved them, that they suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places; the prior of the Charter-house was permitted to take with him even as much gold and silver as he was able to carry. So were mens consciences beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were so busy, and so laborious, that within two days these three great places, monuments of idolatry, *viz.* the Black and Gray thieves, and Charter-house monks (a building of wondrous cost and greatness), was so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all those great edifices. Which reported to the queen, she was so enraged, that she did vow utterly to destroy St. Johnston, man, woman, and child, and to consume the same by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation. We suspecting nothing such cruelty, but thinking that such words might escape her in choler, without purpose determined, because she was a woman set on fire by the complaints of those hypocrites, who flocked unto her as ravens to a carrion; we, we say, suspecting nothing such beastly cruelty, returned to our own houses, leaving in St. Johnston John Knox to instruct the people, because they were young and rude in Christ; but she, set on fire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in France, and not a little by bribes, which she and monsieur d'Orléans received from the bishops and the priests here at home, did continue still in her rage.

And first she sent for all the nobility, to whom she complained, That we meant nothing but rebellion: she did grievously lament the destruction of the Charter-house, because it was a king's foundation, and there was the tomb of king James I. and by such other persuasions she made the most part of them grant to pursue us. And then incontinent sent she for her Frenchmen; for that

was, and ever hath been her joy, to see Scotsmen dip one with another's blood. No man was at that time more frank against us than was duke Hamilton, led by that cruel beast the bishop of St. Andrews, and by those that yet abuse him, the abbot of Kilwinning, and Matthew Hamilton of Milburn, two chief enemies to Christ Jesus; yea, and enemies to the duke and to his whole house, but in so far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. These and such other pestilent Papists ceased not to cast fagots in the fire, continually crying, 'Forward upon these heretics; we shall 'once rid this realm of them.' The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge, some of us repaired to the town again, about the 22d day of May, and there did abide, for the comfort of our brethren; where, after invocation of the name of God, we began to put the town and ourselves in such strength, as we thought might best serve for our just defence. And because we did not utterly despair of the queen's favour, we caused to form a Letter to her majesty, as followeth:

To the Queen's Majesty Regent, all humble obedience and duty promised.

As heretofore, with hazard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland, and your majesty now regent in this realm, in service to our bodies dangerous and painful; so now, with most dolorous minds, we are constrained by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your majesty, That, except this cruelty be staid by your wisdom, we shall be compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience sake, which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortal creatures, further than by God's word man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. We signify moreover unto your majesty, That if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, that we will not only notify our innocency and petition to the king of France, to our mistress, and to her husband, but also to the princes and council of every Christian realm, declaring unto them, That this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder intended against towns and multitudes, was, and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience; which in God's presence we faithfully promise to our sovereign mistress, to her husband, and unto your majesty regent, provided that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty which Christ

Jesus hath purchased to us by his blood, and that we may have his word truly preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us, without which, we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortal man; for better, we think, to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard our souls to perpetual damnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest verity; which thing not only do they, who commit open idolatry, but also all such as seeing their brethren pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless withdraw from them their dutiful support. We would not your majesty should be deceived by the false persuasions of those cruel beasts the churchmen, who affirm, That your majesty needeth not greatly to regard the loss of us that profess Christ Jesus in this realm. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their pestilent counsel, and so use against us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your posterity, shall at any time after this, find that obedience and faithful service within this realm, which at all times ye have found in us. We declare our judgments freely, as true and faithful subjects. God move your princely heart favourably to interpret our faithful meaning: further, advertising your majesty, that the self-same thing, together with all things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notify by our letters to the king of France: asking of you, in the name of the eternal God, and as your majesty tenders the peace and quietness of this realm, That ye invade us not with any violence, till we receive answer from our mistress, and her husband, and from their advised council there: and thus we commit your majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St. Johnston, the 22d of May 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your majesty's obedient subjects in all things not repugnant to God,

The faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland.

To the same purpose we wrote to monsieur d'Ofel in French, requiring of him, That by his wisdom he would mitigate the queen's rage, and the rage of the priests; otherwise, that flame, which then began to burn, would be kindle, that when some men would, it could not be slackened:

adding further, That he declared himself no faithful servant unto his master the king of France, if, for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute us, and so compel us to take the sword of just defence. In like manner we wrote to captain Serre la Bourse, and to all the other captains, and French soldiers in general, admonishing them, that their vocation was not to fight against us natural Scotsmen; neither yet that they had any such commandment of their master. We besought them therefore, not to provoke us to enmity against them, and to consider, that they had found us favourable in their most extreme necessities. We declared further unto them, That if they entered in hostility, and bloody war against us, that the same should remain longer than their own lives, *viz.* even in all posterity to come, so long as natural Scotsmen should have power to revenge such cruelty, and most horrible ingratitude.

These letters were caused to be spread abroad in great abundance, to the end, that some might come to the knowledge of men. The queen regent's letter was laid upon her cushion in the chapel-royal of Stirling, where she was accustomed to sit at mass; she looked upon it, and put it in the pocket of her gown. Monsieur d'Oscl and the captains received theirs, delivered even by their own soldiers (for some amongst them were favourers of the truth), who, after the reading of them, began to pull their own beards; for that was the modest behaviour of monsieur d'Oscl, when the truth was told unto him, so that it repugned to his fancy. These our letters were suppressed to the uttermost of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the queen and priests could not be staid, but forward they move against us, who then were but a very few and mean number of gentlemen in St. Johnston. We perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren, to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men so ready bent, that the work of God was evidently to be espied: the tenor whereof followeth. And because that we would omit no diligence, to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a Letter to those of the nobility, who then persecuted us, as after followeth:

To the Nobility of Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, desires the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

BECAUSE we are not ignorant, that ye the nobility of this realm, who now persecute us, em-

ploying your whole study and force to maintain the kingdom of Satan, of superstition and idolatry, are yet nevertheless divided in opinion; we, the congregation of Christ Jesus, by you unjustly persecuted, have thought good, in one letter, to write unto you severally. Ye are divided, we say, in opinion; for some of you think, that we, who have taken this enterprise to remove idolatry, and the monuments of the same, to erect the true preaching of Christ Jesus, in the bounds committed to our charges, are heretics, seditious men, and troublers of this commonwealth, and therefore no punishment is sufficient for us; and so blinded with this rage, and under pretence to serve the authority, ye proclaim war and destruction without all order of law against us. To you, we say, that neither your blind zeal, nor yet the colour of authority, shall excuse you in God's presence, who commandeth none to suffer death, till that he be openly convicted in judgment, to have offended against God, and against his law written, which no mortal creature is able to prove against us; for whatsoever we have done, the same we have done at God's commandment, who plainly commands idolatry, and all monuments of the same, to be destroyed and abolished. Our earnest and long request hath been, and is, that in open assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, whether that these abominations, named by the pestilent Papists Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ, or not? now, this humble request denied unto us, our lives are sought in most cruel manner; and the nobility (whose duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors) do notwithstanding follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us your brethren and natural countrymen; yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all such crimes as be laid to our charges; if ye think that we be criminal, because that we dissent from your opinion, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Christ Jesus after his ascension, his primitive church and holy martyrs, did disagree from the whole world in their days. And will ye deny, but that their action was just, and that all those that persecuted them were murderers before God? may not the like be true this day? what assurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they; ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not; ye have councils,

laws, and men of reputation, that have established all things, as ye suppose; but none of all these can make any religion acceptable unto God, which only dependeth upon his own will, revealed to man in his most sacred word. It is not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your own salvation, considering, that God giveth unto you so manifest tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God: for if the tree shall be judged by the fruit (as Christ Jesus affirmeth that it must needs be), then of necessity it is, that your prelates, and the whole rabble of their clergy be evil trees: for if adultery, pride, ambition, drunkenness, covetousness, incest, unthankfulness, oppression, murder, idolatry, and blasphemy, be evil fruits, there can none of that generation, which claim to themselves the title of churchmen, be judged to be good trees; for all these pestilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greatest abundance. And if they be evil trees, as ye yourselves must be compelled to confess they are), advise prudently with what consciences ye can maintain them, to occupy the room and place in the Lord's vineyard. Do ye not consider, that in so doing ye labour to maintain the servants of sin in their filthy corruption? and so consequently, ye labour that the devil may reign, and still abuse this realm by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Christ Jesus and his blessed gospel be suppressed and extinguished. The name and the cloak of the authority which ye pretend, will nothing excuse you in God's presence; but rather shall ye bear double condemnation; for that ye burden God, as that his good ordinances were the cause of your iniquity: all authority which God hath established, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under pain of damnation.

But do ye not understand, that there is a great difference betwixt the authority which is God's ordinance, and the persons of those which are placed in authority; the authority and God's ordinance can never do wrong; for it commandeth, that vice and wicked men be punished, and virtue with virtuous and just men be maintained. But the corrupt person placed in this authority, may offend, and most commonly doth contrary to this authority; and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reason that it is clothed with the name of authority? or shall they that obey the wicked commandment of those that are placed in authority, be excusable before God? Not so; not so; but the plagues and vengeance of God taken upon kings, their servants and subjects, do witness to us the

plain contrary. Pharaoh was a king, and had his authority of God, who commanded his subjects to murder and torment the Israelites, and at last most cruelly to persecute their lives: but was their obedience (blind rage it should be called) excusable before God? The universal plague doth plainly declare, that the wicked commander, and those that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And, if the example of Pharaoh shall be rejected, because he was an Ethnic, then let us consider the facts of Saul, he was a king anointed of God, appointed to reign over his people; he commanded to persecute David, because, as he alledged, David was a traitor, and usurper of the crown: and likewise commanded Abimelech the high-priest, and his fellows, to be slain; but did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, that he did not. And think ye that God will approve in you, that which he did condemn in others? be not deceived, with God there is no such partiality. If ye obey the unjust commandments of wicked rulers, ye shall suffer God's vengeance and just punishment with them; and therefore, as ye tender your own salvation, we most earnestly require of you moderation, and that ye slay yourselves, and the fury of others, from persecuting of us, till our cause be tried in open and lawful judgment.

And now, to you who are persuaded of the justice of our cause, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, and who also have exhorted us to this enterprise, and yet have left us in our extreme necessity, at least look out through your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not unto you, we say, that unless (all fear and worldly respects set aside) ye join yourselves with us, that, as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of sacraments: the glory of this victory which God shall give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you; but the fearful judgment which apprehended Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perchance content and despise the excommunication of the church, now by God's mighty power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force; but yet doubt we nothing, but that our church, and the true ministers of the same, have the same power which our master Christ Jesus granted to his apostles in these words, 'Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained;' and that because they preach, and we believe, the same doctrine which

is contained in his most blessed word; and therefore, except that ye will condemn Christ Jesus, ye neither can despise our threatening, neither yet refuse us, calling for your just defence. By your fainting, and by extracting of your support, the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they shall find no resistance: in which point, God willing, they shall be deceived; for if they were ten thousand, and we but one thousand, they shall not murder the least of our brethren, but we, God assisting us, shall first commit our lives into the hands of God for their defence; but this shall aggravate your condemnation, for ye declare yourselves both traitors to the truth once professed, and murderers of us and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutiful and promised support, whom your only presence, to man's judgment, might preserve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and strength of man; when the number is mean to resist them, then rage they as bloody wolves, but a part equal or able, to resist them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your own consciences, and weigh that sentence of our master Christ Jesus, saying, 'Whosoever denieth me, or is ashamed of me before men, I shall deny him before my Father.' Now is the day of his battle in this realm, if ye deny us, your brethren, suffering for his name's sake, ye do also deny him, as himself doth witness, in these words, 'Whatsoever ye did to any of these little ones, that ye did to me; and what ye did not to one of these little ones, that ye did not to me.' If these sentences be true, as concerning meat, drink, clothing, and such things as appertain to the body, shall they not be likewise true in these things that appertain to the preservation of the lives of thousands, whose blood is now sought, for profession of Christ Jesus? and thus shortly we leave you, who sometimes have professed Christ Jesus with us, to the examination of your own consciences.

And yet once again of you, who blinded by superstition, persecute us, we require moderation, till our cause may be tried; which, if ye will not grant unto us for God's cause, yet we desire you to have respect to the preservation of your common country, which we can no sooner betray into the hands of strangers, than that one of us can destroy and murder another. Consider our petitions, and call for the spirit of righteous judgment.

These our letters being divulgate, some began to reason, whether in conscience they might invade us, or not, considering that we offered due obe-

dience to the authority, requiring nothing but liberty of conscience, and our religion and fact to be tried by the word of God. Our letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of our brethren in Cunningham and Kyle, who assembled at the church of Craigie; where, after some contrarious reasons, Alexander earl of Glencairn, in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience, I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St. Johnston; yea, albeit never man should accompany me, yet I will go, and if it were but with a pike upon my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company, than live after them.' These words so encouraged the rest, that all decreed to go forward; as that they did so stoutly, that when the lion-herald in his coat of arms, commanded all men under pain of treason to return to their houses, by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we shall after hear. When it was clearly understood, that the prelates and their adherents, suppressing our petitions so far as in them lay, did kindle the fury of all men against us, it was thought expedient to write unto them some declaration of our minds; which we did in this form following:

To the Generation of Antichrist, the pestilent Prelates, and their Shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, faith,

To the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after that ye, in your blind fury, have caused the blood of many to be shed, this we notify and declare unto you, That if ye proceed in this your malicious cruelty, ye shall be dealt withal, wheresoever ye shall be apprehended, as murderers and open enemies to God and unto mankind, and therefore betimes cease from this blind rage; remove first from yourselves your bands of bloody men of war, and reform yourselves to a more quiet life, and hereafter mitigate ye the authority, which, without crime committed on our part, ye have inflamed against us; or else, be ye assured, That with the same measure that ye have measured against us, and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you; that is, As ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry, so shall we with all force and power, which God shall grant unto us, execute just ven-

gence and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Ammonites; that is, covenant of peace shall never be made till that ye desert from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this we signify unto you, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered, so long as God will assist us to gain-stand your idolatry. Take this for advertisement, and be not deceived.

Notwithstanding these our requests and advertisements, monsieur d'Ofel and his Frenchmen, with the priests and their bands, marched forward against St. Johnston, and approached within ten miles of the town: then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, with the town of Dundee, were they that first hazarded to resist the enemy: and for that purpose was chosen a place of ground, a mile and more distant from the town. In this mean time, the lord Ruthven, provost of the town of St. Johnston, and a man whom many judged godly and stout, in that action (as in very deed he was, even unto his last breath) left the town, and departed first to his own place, and after to the queen, whose defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many; and yet did God so comfort them, that within the space of twelve hours after, the hearts of all men were set up again: for those that were then assembled, had not so much hope of victory by their own strength, as by the power of him whose verity they professed, and began one to comfort another till the whole multitude was erected in a reasonable hope. The day after that the lord Ruthven departed, which was the four-and-twentieth of May, came the earl of Argyle, lord James prior of St. Andrews, and the lord Semple, directed from the queen regent, to enquire the cause of that convocation of lieges there. To whom, when it was answered, That it was only to resist the cruel tyranny devised against that poor town, and the inhabitants of the same; they asked, if we minded not to hold that town against the authority, and against the regent? To the which question answered the lairds of Dun and Petarro, with the congregation of Angus and Mearns, the master of Lindsay, the lairds of Lundie, Balvard, and other barons of Fife, That if the queen's majesty would suffer the religion there begun to

proceed, and not trouble their brethren and sisters that had professed Christ Jesus with them, that the town, they themselves, and whatsoever to them pertained, should be at the queen's commandment. Which answer understood, the earl of Argyle and the prior, who both were then Protestants, began to muse, and said plainly, That they were far otherwise informed by the queen, *viz.* 'That we meant no religion, but a plain rebellion.' To the which when we had answered simply, and as the truth was, *viz.* That we convened for no other purpose but only to assist our brethren, who then were most unjustly persecuted, and therefore we desired them faithfully to report our answer, and to be intercessors to the queen regent, that such cruelty should not be used against us, considering, that we had offered in our former letters, as well to the queen's majesty, as to the nobility, our matter to be tried in lawful judgment; they promised fidelity in that behalf, which also they kept. The day after, which was the five-and-twentieth of May, before that the said lords departed, in the morning John Knox desired to speak with the same lords, which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their lodging by the laird of Balvard: and thus began;

The ORATION of JOHN KNOX to the Lords.

THE present troubles, honourable lords, ought to move the hearts, not only of the true servants of God, but also of all such as bear any favour unto our country and natural countrymen, to descend within themselves, and deeply to consider, what shall be the end of this pretended tyranny. The rage of Satan seeketh the destruction of all those that within this realm profess Christ Jesus; and they that inflame the queen, and you the nobles against us, regard not who prevail, provided that they may abuse the world, and live at their pleasure, as heretofore they have done: yea, I fear that some seek nothing more than the effusion of Scots blood, to the end that their possessions may be more patient to others: but because that this is not the principal which I have to speak, omitting the same to be considered, by the wisdom of those, to whom the care of the commonwealth appertaineth.

1. I most humbly require of you, my lords, in my name, to say to the queen regent, That we, whom she in her blind rage doth persecute, are God's servants, faithful and obedient subjects to the authority of this realm: that that religion, which she pretendeth to maintain by fire and sword, is not

the true religion of Christ Jesus, but is expressly contrary to the same, a superstition devised by the brain of man, which I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and God's written word being admitted for judge.

2. I further require your honours, in my name, to say unto the queen, That as oft before I have written, so now I say, That this her enterprise shall not prosperously succeed in the end; and albeit for a time she trouble the saints of God, for she fights not against man only, but against the eternal God, and his invincible verity, and therefore the end shall be her confusion, unless betimes she repent and desist.

These things I require of you, in the name of the eternal God, as from my mouth, to say unto her majesty, adding that I have been, and am a more assured friend to her majesty than they, that either flattering her, as servants to her corrupt appetites, or else inflame her against us, who seek nothing but God's glory to be advanced, vice to be suppressed, and verity to be maintained in this poor realm.

They all three did promise to report his words, so far as they could, which afterwards we understood they did; yea, the lord Semple himself, a man sold unto sin, enemy to God and all godliness, did yet make such report, that the queen was somewhat offended, that any man should use such liberty in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice, for immediately thereafter she sent her lion-herald with letters, straitly charging all men to avoid the town under the pain of treason. Which letters, after he had declared them to the chief men of the congregation, he publicly proclaimed the same upon Sunday the twenty-seventh of May. In this mean time came sure knowledge to the queen, to duke Hamilton, and to monsieur d'Ofel, that the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the young sheriff of Air, the lairds of Craigie, Wallace, Sefnock, Carnel, Bar, Gargirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cunningham, approached for our relief; and in very deed they came in such diligence, and such a number, that as the enemy had just cause to fear, so have all that profess Christ Jesus just matter to praise God, for their fidelity and stout courage in that need; for by their presence was the tyranny of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was such, that albeit the passage by Stirling, and six miles above, was stopped (for there lay the queen with her bands, and

caused the bridges to be cut upon the waters of Forth, Gudy, and Teith, above Stirling), yet made they such expedition through desert and mountain, that they prevented the enemy, and approached within six miles of our camp, which then lay without the town, awaiting upon the enemy, before that any assured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was judged to be twenty-five hundred men, whereof there were twelve hundred horsemen.

The queen understanding how the said earl and lords, with their company, approached, caused to beset all ways, that no advertisement should come to us; to the end, that we, despairing of support, might condescend to such appointment as she required: and sent first, to require that some discreet men of our number would come and speak to duke Hamilton and monsieur d'Ofel (who then with their army lay at Auchterarder, ten miles from St. Johnston), to the end, that some reasonable appointment might be had. She had persuaded the earl of Argyle, and all others, that we meant nothing but rebellion; and therefore had he promised unto her, that in case we would not stand content with a reasonable appointment, he would declare himself open enemy unto us, notwithstanding that he professed the same religion with us. From us were sent the laird of Dun, the laird of Inverquharty, and Thomas Scot of Abbotshall, to hear what appointment the queen would offer. The duke and monsieur d'Ofel required, That the town should be made patent, and that all things should be referred to the queen's pleasure. To the which they answered, That neither they had commission so to promise, neither durst they in conscience so persuade their brethren; but if the queen would promise, That no inhabitants of the town should be troubled for any such crimes as might be alledged against them, for the late mutation of religion and abolishment of idolatry, and for down-casting the places of the same; if she would suffer the religion begun to go forward, and leave the town at her departing free from the garrisons of French soldiers; that they would labour at the hands of their brethren, that the queen should be obeyed in all things. Monsieur d'Ofel perceiving the danger to be great, if that a sudden appointment should not be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyranny against us, after that the congregation of Kyle (of whose coming we had no advertisement) should be joined with us, with good words dismissed the said lairds, to persuade the brethren to quiet con-

cord. To the which we were all so well minded, that with one voice they cried, 'Curfed be they that seek effusion of blood; let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his gospel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be.'

With all expedition were sent from Stirling again (after that the coming of the earl of Glencairn was known, for the enemy for fear quaked) the earl of Argyle and lord James aforesaid; and in their company a crafty man, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning; who were sent by the queen to smite the appointment aforesaid: but before that they came, was the earl of Glencairn and his honourable company arrived in the town, and then began all men to praise God, for that he had so mercifully heard them in their most extreme necessity, and had sent unto them such relief as was able, without effusion of blood, to stay the rage of the enemy. The earl of Argyle and lord James did earnestly persuade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but some did smell the craft of the adversary, *viz.* That they were minded to keep no point of the promise longer than they had obtained their intent. With the earl of Glencairn came our loving brother John Willock; John Knox was in the town before: these two went to the earl of Argyle and lord James, accusing them of infidelity, in so far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutiful support and comfort in their greatest necessity. They answered both, That their heart was constant with their brethren, and that they would defend that cause to the uttermost of their power; but because they had promised to labour concord, and to assist the queen, in case we refused reasonable offers, in conscience and honour they could do no less than be faithful in their promise made; and therefore, they required that the brethren might be persuaded to consent to that reasonable appointment, promising in God's presence, That if the queen did break in any jot thereof, that they with their whole powers, would assist and concur with the brethren in all times to come. This promise made, the preachers appeared the multitude, and obtained in the end, that all men did consent to the appointment aforesaid, which they obtained not without great labours; and no wonder, for many foresaw the danger to follow, yea, the preachers themselves, in open sermon, did affirm plainly, That they were assuredly persuaded, that the queen meant no truth. But to stop the mouth of the adversary, who unjustly did burden us with rebellion, they

most earnestly required all men to approve the appointment, and so to suffer hypocrisy to disclose itself. This appointment was concluded the twenty-eighth of May; and the day following, at two in the afternoon, departed the congregation from St. Johnston, after that John Knox had in his sermon exhorted all men to constancy, and unfeignedly to thank God, for that it had pleased his mercy to stay the rage of the enemy without effusion of blood: also, that no brother should be weary, nor faint, to support such as should after be likewise persecuted; for, said he, I am assured, that no part of this promise made shall be longer kept, than till the queen and her Frenchmen have the upper-hand. Many of the enemies were at the same sermon; for after that the appointment was made, they had free entry in the town to provide lodgings. Before the lords departed, was this bond made, whose tenor followeth, as it was written and subscribed:

The Second Covenant at Perth.

AT Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559, the congregations of the West-country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concur, and assist together, in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers, to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped: and in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled, and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.

In witnessing and testimony of the which, the whole congregation aforesaid have ordained and

appointed the noblemen and persons under-written, to subscribe these presents.

Sic subscribitur,

ARCH. ARGYLE.
 JAMES STUART.
 GLENCAIRN.
 ROBERT Lord BOYD.
 LORD OCHILTRIE.
 MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Teringland.

THE twenty-ninth of May entered the queen, the duke, monieur d'Ofel, and the Frenchmen, who, in discharging their volley of hackbuts, did well mark the house of Patrick Murray, a man fervent in religion, and that boldly had sustained all danger in that trouble, against whose stair they directed six or seven shot, even against the faces of those that were there lying; all men escaped, except the son of the foresaid Patrick, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, who being slain, was had to the queen's presence; but she understanding whose son he was, said in mockage, 'It is a pity ' it chanced on the son, and not on the father; but ' seeing that so it is chanced, we cannot be against ' fortune.' This was her happy entry in St. Johnston, and the great zeal she beareth to justice. The swarm of Papists that entered with her, began straight to make provision for their mass; and because the altars were not so easy to be repaired again, they provided tables, whereof some before used to serve for drunkards, dicers, and carders, but they were holy enough for the priest and his pageant. The queen began to rage against all godly and honest men; their houses were oppressed by the French; the lawful magistrates, as well provost as bailies, were unjustly, and without all order; deposed from their authority. A wicked man, void of God's fear, and destitute of all virtue, the laird of Kinfauns, was by her intrusted provost of the town; wherewith all honest men offended, left their own houses, and with their wives and children sought amongst their brethren some resting-place for a time. She took order, that four colours of the soldiers should abide in the town, to maintain idolatry, and to resist the Congregation. Honest and indifferent men, asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise? she answered, 'That she was bound to keep no promise to heretics; and moreover, that she promised only to leave the town free of French soldiers, which, said she, she did, because that these that therein were left were Scotmen. But when it was reasoned

in her contrary, 'That all those that took wages of France were counted French soldiers; she answered, 'Princes must not be straitly bound to keep their promises? myself, said she, would make little conscience, to take from all that sort their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with as honest an excuse.' And then she left the town in extreme bondage, after that her ungodly Frenchmen had most cruelly used the most part of those that remained in the same. The earl of Argyle, and lord James foresaid, perceiving in the queen nothing but mere tyranny and falsehood, mindful of their former promises made to their brethren, did secretly convey themselves, and their companies off the town; and with them departed the lord Ruthven, of whom before mention is made, then the earl of Monteth, and the laird of Tullybardin, who, in God's presence, did confederate and bind themselves together, faithfully promising one to assist and defend another against all persons that would pursue them for religion's sake; and also, that they, with their whole force and power would defend the brethren persecuted for the same cause. The queen highly offended at the sudden departure of the persons aforesaid, sent charges to them to return, under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered, that with safe conscience they could not be partakers of so manifest tyranny, as was by her committed, and of so great iniquity as they perceived devised by her, and her ungodly council the prelates. This answer was given to her the first day of June, and immediately the earl of Argyle and lord James repaired toward St. Andrews: and in their journey, gave advertisement by writing to the laird of Dun, to the laird of Petarrow, to the provost of Dundee, and others, professors in Angus, to visit them in St. Andrews the fourth of June, for reformation to be made there; which day they kept, and brought in their company John Knox, who, the first day after his coming to Fife, did preach in Crail, the next day in Anstruther, minding the third day, which was the Sunday, to preach in St. Andrew. The bishop hearing of reformation to be made in his cathedral-church, thought time to stir, or else never; and therefore assembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, besides his other friends, and came to the town upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with an hundred spears, of mind to have stopped John Knox from preaching. The two lords and gentlemen aforesaid, were only accompanied with their quiet households, and therefore was the sudden coming of the bishop the more fearful; for

then was the queen and her Frenchmen departed from St. Johnston, and were lying in Falkland, within twelve miles of St. Andrews; and the town at that time had not given profession of Christ, and therefore could not the lords be assured of their friendship.

Consultation being had, many were of mind, that the preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially, that John Knox should not preach; for that did the bishop affirm that he would not suffer, considering, that by his commandment the picture of the said John was before burnt. He willed therefore an honest gentleman, Robert Colvil of Cliefs, to say to the lords, 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 should light upon his nose. After long deliberation had, the said John was called, that his own judgment might be had: when many persuasions were made that he should delay for that time, and great terrors given in case he should enterprise such a thing, as it were in contempt of the bishop; he answered, 'God is witness, that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither mind I at any time to present myself to that place, having either respect to my own private commodity, either yet to the worldly hurt of any creature: but to delay to preach to-morrow (unless the body be violently withheld-en), I cannot in conscience; for in this town and church began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from the which I was rest by the tyranny of France, and procurement of the bishops, as ye well enough know; how long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the fobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one hath heard me say, when my body was absent from Scotland, that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preach in St. Andrews, before I departed this life; and therefore, said he, my lords, seeing that God, above the expectation of many, hath brought my body to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from the which most unjustly I was removed, I beseech your honours, not to stop me from presenting myself unto my brethren: and as for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek: and therefore I cannot so fear their boast nor tyranny, that I will cease from doing my duty,

' when of his mercy he offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, only do I crave audience, which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it.' At these words the lords were fully content that he should occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did treat of 'The ejection of the buyers and the sellers forth of the temple of Jerusalem,' as it is written in the evangelists Matthew and John; and so he applied the corruption that was then, to the corruption that is in Papistry; and Christ's fact, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto; that as well the magistrates, the provost and bailies, as the commonalty for the most part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition.

The bishop advertised hereof, departed that same day to the queen, who lay with her Frenchmen, as is said, in Falkland. The hot fury of the bishop did so kindle her choler (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them), that without farther delay conclusion was taken, to invade St. Andrews, and the two young lords aforesaid, who then were very slenderly accompanied. Posts were sent from the queen with all diligence to Cupar, distant only six miles from St. Andrews, to prepare lodgings and victuals for the queen and her Frenchmen. Lodgings were assigned, and furriers were sent before: which thing understood, council was given to the lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to Cupar, which they did, giving advertisement to all brethren with all possible expedition to repair towards them, which they also did, with such diligence, that in their assembly the wonderful work of God might have been espied: for when at night the lords came to Cupar, they were not an hundred horse, and some few footmen whom the lord James brought from the coast-side; and yet before the next day at noon (which was Tuesday the thirteenth of June) their number passed three thousand men, which by God's providence came unto the lords; from Lothian, the lairds of Ormiston, Calder, Hatton, Restalrig, and Colston; who albeit they understood, at their departing from their own houses, no such trouble, yet were they by their good counsel very comfortable that day: the lord Ruthven came from St. Johnston with some horsemen with him; the earl of Rothes, sheriff of Fife, came with an honest company. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews declared themselves both stout and faithful.

Cupar, because it stood in greatest danger, was assisted with their whole force. Finally, God did so multiply our number, that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds.

The enemy understanding nothing of our force, assured themselves of victory. Who had been in Falkland the night before, might have seen embracing and kissing betwixt the queen, the duke, and the bishop. But Mr. Gavin Hamilton; gaper for the bishopric of St. Andrews, above all others was lovingly embraced by the queen; for he made his solemn vow, That he would fight, and that he would never return till he had brought these traitors to her majesty, either alive or dead. And thus before midnight did they send forward their ordnance; themselves did follow before three in the morning. The lords hereof advertised, assembled their company early in the morning upon Cuparmuir; where, by the advice of Mr. James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, was chosen a place of ground convenient for our defence; for it was so chosen, that upon all sides our ordnance might have beaten the enemy, and yet we have stood in safety, if we had been pursued, till we had come to hand-strokes. The lord Ruthven took the charge of the horsemen, and ordered them so, that the enemy was never permitted to espy our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy, as before is said, thinking to have found no resistance, after that they had twice or thrice made shew unto us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile, before that ever their horsemen staid; and yet they kept betwixt us and them a water for their strength. It appeared to us, that either they marched for Cupar or St. Andrews, and therefore our horsemen in their troop, and a part of the footmen, with the ordnance, marched somewhat always before them for safety of the town.

The lords, with the gentlemen of Fife, and so many of Angus and Mearns as were present, kept themselves close in a knot, near to the number of a thousand spears. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews were arrayed in another battle, who came not to the fight of the enemy, till that after twelve of the clock the mist began to vanish, and then passed some of their horsemen to a mountain, from the height whereof they might discern our number; which perceived by them, their horsemen and footmen staid incontinent: posts ran to the duke and monsieur d'Oscl, to declare our number, and what order we kept: and then were mediators sent to make appointment; but

they were not suffered to approach near to the lords, neither yet to the view of our camp, which put them in great fear. Answer was given unto them, That as we had offended no man, so would we seek appointment of no man; but if any would seek our lives (as we were informed they did), they should find us, if they pleased to make diligence. This answer received, were sent again the lord Lindsay, and laird of Wauchton, who earnestly requested us to concord, and that we would not be the occasion that innocent blood should be shed. We answered, That neither had we quarrel against any man, neither yet fought we any man's blood, only we were convened for defence of our own lives unjustly fought by others. We added further, That if they could find the mean, that we and our brethren might be free from the tyranny devised against us, that they should reasonably desire nothing which should be denied for our part. This answer received, the duke and monsieur d'Oscl, having commission of the queen regent, required, That assurance might be taken for eight days; to the end, that indifferent men in the mean time might commune upon some final agreement of those things, which were then in controversy. Hereto did we fully consent, albeit that in number and force we were far superior; and, for testification hereof, we sent unto them our hand-writs, and we likewise received theirs, with promise, That within two or three days, some discreet men should be sent to us to St. Andrews, with further knowledge of the queen's mind. The tenor of the Assurance was this.

The Assurance.

WE James duke of Chattelherauld, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and my lord d'Oscl, lieutenant for the king in these parts, for ourselves, our assistants, and partakers, being presently with us in company, by the tenor hereof, promise faithfully in honour to my lords Archibald earl of Argyle, and James, commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, to their assistants and partakers, being presently with them in company, That we, and our company aforesaid, shall retire incontinent to Falkland, and shall with diligence transport the Frenchmen, and our other folk now presently with us; and that no Frenchmen, or other soldiers of ours, shall remain within the bounds of Fife, but so many as, before the raising of the last army, lay in Dyfart, Kirkealdy, and Kinghorn, and the same to lie in the same places only, if we shall think good:

and this to have effect for the space of eight days following the date hereof exclusive: that in the mean time certain noblemen, by the advice of the queen and the rest of the council, may convene to talk of such things as may make good order and quietness amongst the queen's lieges. And further, We, nor none of our assistants being present with us, shall invade, trouble, or disquiet the said lords nor their assistants, during the said space: and this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyal fidelity and honour, to observe and keep in every point above-written, without fraud or guile. In witness whereof, we have subscribed these presents with our own hands. At Garlbank, the thirteenth day of June, 1559.

Subscribed,

JAMES HAMILTON.
MENEITS D' OSEL.

And this received, we departed first, because we were thereto requested by the duke; and so we returned to Cupar, lauding and praising God, for his mercy shewed: and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling-place. The lords, and a great part of the gentlemen, passed to St. Andrews, who there abode certain days, still looking for those that were promised to come from the queen for appointment to be made: but we perceiving her craft and deceit (for under that assurance, she meant nothing else but to convey herself, her ordinance, and Frenchmen, over the water of Forth), took consultation what should be done for delivering St. Johnston from these ungodly soldiers, and how our brethren, exiled from their own houses, might be restored again. It was concluded, That the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, should convene at St. Johnston the four-and-twentieth day of June for that purpose; and in the mean time were these Letters written by the earl of Argyle and lord James to the queen then regent.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

AFTER our hearty commendations of service, this shall be to shew your majesty, That upon the thirteenth day of June, we were informed by them that were communers betwixt the duke, monsieur d' Osel, and us, That we should have spoken irreverently of your majesty, which we beseech your majesty, for the true service that we have made, and are ready to make at all times to your majesty,

that of your goodness, you will let us know the sayers thereof, and we shall do the duty of true subjects, to defend our own innocency: as we take God to witness of the good zeal and love we bear towards you, to serve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods; desiring no other thing for our service, but the liberty of our conscience to serve our Lord God, as we shall answer to him, which your majesty ought and should give us unrequired. Moreover, please your majesty, That the duke and the noblemen being in Stirling for the time, by your majesty's advice, solicited us to press the Congregation assembled at the town of Perth, to commune of concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to pass, as your majesty knows. And there is a point, that we plainly see is not observed to us, which is, That no soldier should remain in the town after your majesty's departing. And suppose it may be inferred, that it was spoken of French soldiers only, yet we took it otherwise, like as we do yet, That Scotsmen, or any other nation, taking wages of the king of France, are reputed and holden French soldiers. Therefore, seeing we of good will and mind brought that matter to your majesty's contentment, it will please your majesty of your goodness to remove the soldiers and their captains, with others that have gotten charge of the town, that the same may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before, by the bailies and council, conform to their indentments given to them, by the ancient and most excellent kings of this realm, to elect and chuse their officers at Michaelmas, and they to endure for the space of one year, conform to the old rite and custom of this realm; which being done by your majesty, we trust the better success shall follow thereupon to your majesty's content, as the bearer will declare at more length to your majesty; whom God preserve.

To St. Johnston, with the gentlemen before expressed, did convene the earl of Monteith, the laird of Glenurquhar, and divers others, who before had not presented themselves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was convened, a trumpet was sent by the lords, commanding the captains and their bands to avoid the town, and to leave it to the ancient liberty and just inhabitants of the same: also, commanding the laird of Kinfawns, put in provost by the queen, with the captains aforesaid, to open the gates of the town, and make the same patent to all our so-

vercign's lieges, to the effect, that as well true religion, now once begun therein, may be maintained, and idolatry utterly suppressed; as also, the said town might enjoy and bruik their ancient laws and liberties, unoppressed by men of war, according to their old privileges, granted to them by the ancient princes of this realm, and conform to the provision contained in the contract of marriage, made by the nobility and parliament of this realm, with the king of France; bearing namely, That our old laws and liberties should not be altered; adding thereto, If they foolishly resisted, and therein happened to commit murder, that they should be treated as murderers. To the which they answered proudly, That they would keep and defend that town, according to their promise made to the queen regent. This answer received, preparation was made for the siege and assault: for, amongst all, it was concluded that the town should be set at liberty, to what danger soever their bodies should be exposed. While preparation was making, came the earl of Huntly, the lord Erskine, Mr. John Ballenden justice-clerk, requiring that the pursuit of the town should be delayed. To speak to them, were appointed the earl of Argyle, lord James, and lord Ruthven, who perceiving in them nothing but a drift of time, without any assurance that the former wrongs should be redressed, gave unto them a short and plain answer, That they would not delay their purpose an hour; and therefore willed them to certify the captains in the town, that if by pride and foolishness they would keep the town, and in so doing slay any of their brethren, that they should every one die as murderers. The earl of Huntly, displeased at this answer, departed, and was highly offended that he could not dress such an appointment, as should have contented the queen and the priests. After their departing, the town was again summoned; but the captains supposing that no sudden pursuit should be made, and looking for relief to have been sent from the queen, abode in their former opinion.

And so upon Saturday the twenty-fifth of June, at ten of the clock at night, the lord Ruthven, who besieged the west quarter, commanded to shoot the first volley; which being done, the town of Dundee did the like, whose ordnance lay on the east side of the bridge. The captains and soldiers within the town, perceiving that they were unable long to resist, required assurance till twelve o'clock upon the morrow, promising, That if before that hour there came unto them no re-

lief from the queen regent, that they would render the town, provided that they should be suffered to depart the town with ensign displayed. We thirsting for the blood of no man, and seeking only the liberty of our brethren, condescended to their desires, albeit that we might have executed against them judgment without mercy; for that they had refused our former favours, and had slain one of our brethren, and had hurt two in their resistance; and yet we suffered them freely to depart without any further molestation. The town being delivered from their thralldom, upon Sunday the twenty-sixth of June, thanks was given to God for this great benefit received, and consultation was taken what was further to be done.

In this mean time, zealous men, considering how obstinate, proud, and despiteful the bishop of Murray had been before, how he had threatened the town by his soldiers and friends who lay in Scoon, thought good that some order should be taken with him, and with that place, which lay near to the town's end. The lords wrote unto him (for he lay within two miles of St. Johnston), That unless he would come and assist them, they neither could spare nor save his place. He answered by his writing, That he would come, and would do as they thought expedient: that he would assist them with his force, and would consent with them against the rest of the clergy in parliament. But because this answer was slow in coming, the town of Dundee, partly offended for the slaughter of their man, and especially bearing no good favour to the said bishop, for that he was, and is chief enemy to Christ Jesus, and that by his counsel alone was Walter Mile our brother put to death, they marched forward: to stay them was first sent the provost of Dundee, and his brother Alexander Haliburton captain, who little prevailing, was sent unto them John Knox; but before his coming, they were entered to the pulling down of the idols and dortoir. And albeit the said Mr. James Haliburton, Alexander his brother, and the said John, did what in them lay to have staid the fury of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order universally; and therefore they sent for the lords, earl of Argyle and lord James, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have saved the place and the church. But because the multitude had found buried in the church a great number of hid goods, of purpose to have preserved them to a better day, as the Papists speak, the towns of Dundee and St. Johnston could not be

fatisfied, till that the whole reparation and ornaments of the church, as they term it, were destroyed; and yet did the lords so travel, that they saved the bishop's palace, with the church and place for that night: for the two lords did not depart, till they brought with them the whole number of those that most sought the bishop's displeasure. The bishop, greatly offended that any thing should have been enterprised in reformation of his place, asked of the lords his bond and handwriting, which not two hours before he had sent unto them; which delivered to his messenger Sir Adam Brown, advertisement was given, That if any farther displeasure chanced unto him, they would that he should not blame them. The bishop's servants that same night began to fortify the place again, and began to do violence to some that were carrying away such baggage as they could come by. The bishop's giral was kept the first night by the labours of John Knox, who by exhortation removed such as violently would make interruption. The same night departed from St. Johnston the earl of Argyle, and lord James, as after shall be declared.

The morrow following, some of the poor in hope of spoil, and some of Dundee to consider what was done, passed up to the said abbey of Scoon; whereat the bishop's servants offended, began to threaten and speak proudly; and, as it was constantly affirmed, one of the bishop's sons thrust through with a rapier one of Dundee, because he was looking in at the giral-door. This report noised abroad, the town of Dundee was more enraged than before; who putting themselves in armour, sent word to the inhabitants of St. Johnston, that unless they would support them to avenge that injury, they should never after that day concur with them in any action. The multitude easily inflamed, gave the alarm, and so was that abbey and palace appointed to sackage, in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the fire: whereat no small number of us were so offended, that patiently we could not speak to any that were of Dundee or St. Johnston. A poor aged matron, seeing the flame of fire to pass up so mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and sober manner of speaking, said, 'Now I see and understand that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able to save where he will punish; since my remembrance, this place hath been nothing else but a den of whoremongers: it is incredible to believe how many wives have been

' adulterate, and virgins deflowered, by the filthy
' beasts which have been fostered in this den; but
' especially by that wicked man who is called the
' bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they
' would praise God, and no man would be offend-
' ed.' This woman dwelt in the town nigh to the
abbey. At whose words were many pacified,
affirming with her, that it was God's just judgment. And assuredly, if the labours or travel of any man could have saved that place, it had not been at that time destroyed; for men of greatest estimation laboured with all diligence for the safety of it.

While these things were done at St. Johnston, the queen fearing what should follow, determined to send certain bands of French soldiers to Stirling, of purpose to stop the passage to us that then were upon the north side of Forth. Which understood, the earl of Argyle and lord James departed secretly in the night, and with great expedition preventing the French, they took the town (before whose coming the rascal multitude put hands on the thieves, I should say friars places, and utterly destroyed them); whereat the queen and her faction not a little afraid, with all diligence departed from Edinburgh to Dunbar: and so we with reasonable diligence marched forward to Edinburgh, for reformation to be made there, where we arrived the 29th of June. The provost for that time, the lord Seton, a man without God, without honesty, and oftentimes without reason, had before greatly troubled and molested the brethren; for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the black and gray friars; and for that purpose did not only lie himself in one of the colleges every night, but also constrained the most honest of the town to watch those monsters, to their great grief and trouble. But hearing of our sudden coming, he abandoned his charge, and left the spoil to the poor, who had made havock of all such things as were moveable in those places before our coming, and left nothing but bare walls, yea, not so much as door or window; whereby we were the less troubled in putting order to such places. After that we had deliberated certain days what was best to be done, and what order was to be taken for suppressing all monuments of idolatry within that town, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken to send some message to the queen then regent: for she had reported (as her accustomed manner was, by advice of her council, ever to forge lies), that we sought nothing but her life, and a plain revolt from the lawful obedience due to our

sovereign's authority; as by the tenor of these Letters may be seen :

FRANCIS and MARY, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphiness of Viennois: to our loved lion king of arms, &c. Our sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting, Forasmuch as our dearest mother Mary, queen dowager, regent of our realm, and the lords of our secret council, perceiving the seditious tumult raised by one part of our lieges, naming themselves, The Congregation; who, under pretence of religion, have put themselves in arms: and that our mother, for satisfying of every man's conscience, and pacifying of the said troubles, had offered unto them to appoint a parliament to be holden in January next to come (this was a manifest lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her once thought upon, till we required it), or sooner, if they had pleased, for establishing of an universal order in matters of religion, by our advice, and estates of our realm; and, in the mean time, to suffer every man to live at liberty of conscience without trouble, unto the time that the said order were taken, by advice of our foresaid estates: and, at last, because it appeareth much to stand upon our burgh of Edinburgh, offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof chuse what manner of religion they would set up and use for that time, so that no man might alledge that he was forced to do against his conscience; which offer the queen, our said dearest mother, was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfil: nevertheless, the said Congregation being of mind to receive no reasonable offers, hath since by open deed declared, that it is no religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining, that they seek, but only the subversion of our authority, and usurpation of our crown: in manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive Englishmen with messages unto them, and send such like into England; and last of all, have violently inter-meddled with, taken, and yet with-hold the irons of our coining-house, which is one of the chief points that concerneth our crown: and such like have introritted with our palace of Holy-rood-house. Our will is therefore, &c. that ye pass to the market-crofs of our said burgh of Edinburgh, or any other place within the same, and there, by open proclamation, in our name and authority, command and charge all and sundry persons of the said Congregation, or yet being presently within our said burgh, other than the inhabitants thereof, that they; within six hours next after our said

charge, depart forth of the same, under the pain of treason. And also, that ye command all and sundry persons to leave their company, and to adhere to our authority; with certification, that such as do the contrary, shall be reputed and holden as manifest traitors to our crown.

These letters did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused: for never a sentence of the narrative is true, except, that we staid the irons, and that for just cause; *viz.* because that daily there was such number of hard heads printed, that the baseness thereof made all things exceeding dear; and therefore we were counselled by the wisest, to stay the irons till further order might be taken. The queen regent, with all possible diligence, posted for her faction: Mr. James Balfour was not idle in the mean time. The lords, to purge themselves of these odious crimes, wrote to her a Letter, in form as after followeth:

PLEASE your majesty to be advertised, that it is come to our knowledge, that your majesty hath set forth by your letters openly proclaimed, That we, called by name, The Congregation, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together to no other purpose but to usurp our sovereign's authority, and to invade your person, representing theirs at this present. Which things appear to have proceeded of sinister information made to your majesty by our enemies, considering that we never minded such thing, but only our mind and purpose was, and is, to promote and set forth the glory of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word, and, according to the same, abolish and put away idolatry and false abuses which may not stand with the said word of God; beseeching your majesty to bear patiently therewith, and interpose your authority to the furtherance of the same, as is the duty of every Christian prince, and good magistrate: for as to the obedience of our sovereign's authority in all civil and politic matters, we are, and shall be as obedient as any other of your majesty's subjects within the realm; and that our convention is for no other purpose, but to save our preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies; which should be more amply declared by some of us in your majesty's presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives, and fought our blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to have your highness in his eternal tuition. At Edinburgh, the 2d of July 1559.

And, for further purgation hereof, it was thought necessary that we should simply expose, as well to her majesty as to the whole people, what were our requests and just petitions; and, for that purpose, after that safe conduct was purchased and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of our council, *viz.* the lairds of Petarro and Cunninghamhead, to whom we gave commission and power, first to expose our whole purpose and intent, which was no other than before at all times we had required; *viz. first,* That we might enjoy the liberty of conscience. *Secondly,* That Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us. *Thirdly,* That usable ministers might be removed from ecclesiastical administration; and that our preachers might be relaxed from the horn, and permitted to execute their charges without molestation, until such time as, either by a general council lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controversies in religion were decided. And for declaration that her majesty was hereto willing, that the bands of Frenchmen, who then were a burden intolerable to the country, and to us so fearful, that we durst not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, should be sent to France their native country: which things granted, her majesty should have experience of our accustomed obedience. To these heads she did answer at the first so pleasantly, that she put both our commissioners in full hope that all should be granted; and for that purpose she desired to speak with some of greater authority, promising, that if they would assure her of their dutiful obedience, that she would deny nothing of that which was required. For satisfaction of her mind, we sent again the earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the lord Ochiltree, and the said laird of Petarro, with the same commission as before. But then she began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining, that she was not sought in a gentle manner; and that they in whom she had put most singular confidence, had left her in her greatest need; and such other things pertaining nothing to the commission, proposed she to spend and put off the time. They answered, That by unjust tyranny devised against them and their brethren (as her majesty did well know), they were compelled to seek the extreme remedy; and therefore, that her majesty ought not to wonder though godly men left the company where they neither found fidelity nor truth.

In the end of this communing, which was the twelfth day of July 1559, she desired to have talk-

ed privately with the earl of Argyle and lord James, prior of St. Andrews: for one, as she alledged, she could not but suspect, that they pretended to some other higher purpose than religion: she and her crafty council had abused duke Hamilton, persuading him and his friends, that the said earl and lord James had conspired, first to deprive our sovereign, her daughter, of her authority; and thereafter, the duke, and his successors, of their pretended title to the crown of Scotland. By these invented lies she inflamed the hearts of many against us, inasmuch that some of our number began to murmur: which perceived, as well the preachers in their public sermons, as we ourselves by our public proclamation, gave purgation and satisfaction to the people, plainly and simply declaring what was our purpose; taking God to witness, that no such crimes ever entered into our hearts, as most unjustly were laid to our charge. The council, after consultation, thought it not expedient that the said earl and lord James should talk with the queen in any sort; for her former practices put all men in suspicion, that some deceit lurked under such coloured communing. She had before said, That if she could by any means sunder these two from the rest, she was assured shortly to come to her whole purpose. And one of her chief council in those days (and we fear but too inward with her yet) said, That ere Michaelmas-day these two should lose their heads; and therefore, all men feared to commit two such young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was therefore finally denied, that they should talk with the queen, or any appertaining to her, but in places void of all suspicion, where they should be equal in number with those that should talk with them.

The queen perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that duke Hamilton, and the earl of Huntly, with others by her appointed, should convene at Preston, to commune with the said earl and lord James, and such others as the lords of the Congregation would appoint, to the number of an hundred on each side; of the which number, eight persons only should meet for conference. The principals for their party were, the duke, the earl Huntly, the lords Erskine and Somervell, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, and the justice-clerk: from us were directed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven and lord James, Boyd and Ochiltree, the lairds Dun and Petarro; who convening at Preston, spake the whole day without any certain conclusion; for this was the

practice of the queen and of her faction, by drift of time to weary our company, who for the most part had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May; that we being dispersed, she might come to her purpose: in which she was not altogether deceived; for our commons were compelled to scatter for lack of expences, and our gentlemen, partly constrained by lack of furnishing, and partly hoping for some final appointment after so many communings, returned for the most part to their dwelling-places, for reposing of themselves.

The queen in all those conventions seemed that she would give liberty to religion, provided, 'That wheresoever she was, our preachers should cease, and the mass should be maintained.' We, perceiving her malicious craft, answered, 'That as we would compel her majesty to no religion, so could we not in conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly creature, put silence to God's true messengers; neither could we suffer that the right administration of Christ's true sacraments should give place to manifest idolatry, for in so doing we should declare ourselves enemies to God, to Christ Jesus his Son, to his eternal verity, and to the liberty and establishment of his church within this realm; for your request being granted, there can no church within the same be so established, but at your pleasure, and by your resistance and remaining there, ye might overthrow the same.' This our last answer we sent unto her with the lord Ruthven and the laird of Petarro, requiring of her majesty, in plain words, to signify unto us, what hope we might have of her favour towards the up-setting of religion? We also required, That she would remove her Frenchmen, who were a fear to us, and a burden most grievous to our country; and that she would promise to us, on the word of a princess, that she would procure no man to be sent in: and then should we not only support to the uttermost of our powers to furnish ships and victuals for their transporting, but also upon our honours should we take her body into our protection; and should promise, in the presence of God and the whole realm, to serve our sovereign her daughter, and her majesty regent, as faithfully and as obediently as ever did we kings in Scotland. That, moreover, we should cause our preachers give reason of their doctrine, in her audience, to any that pleased to impugn any thing that they did or taught: finally, that we should submit ourselves to a lawful parliament, provided that the bishops, as the party accused, and our plain enemies; should be removed from judgment.

To no point would she answer directly, but in all things she was so general and ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men: she had gotten assured knowledge that our company was scattered (for her Frenchmen were daily amongst us, without molestation or hurt done unto them), and therefore she began to disclose her mind, and said, The Congregation hath reigned these two months past, I myself would reign now other two. The malice of her heart being plainly perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done: it was concluded, That the lords, barons, and gentlemen, with their chief domestics, should remain at Edinburgh that whole winter, for establishing of the church there: and because it was found, that by the corrupting of our money the queen made to herself immoderate gains, for maintaining of her soldiers, to the destruction of the whole commonwealth; it was thought necessary, that the printing-irons, and all things pertaining thereto, should be staid, for fear that she should privily cause transport them to Dunbar.

In this mean time came assured word, first, that the king of France was hurt, and after, that he was dead: which albeit it ought to have put her in mind of her own estate and wicked enterprises; for he, that same time, in the fulness of his glory, as she herself used to speak, had determined most cruel persecutions against the saints of God in France, even as she herself was here persecuting in Scotland; and yet he so perished in his pride, that all men might see that God's just vengeance did strike him, even when his iniquity was come to full ripeness: albeit we say, that this wonderful work of God, in his sudden death, ought to have daunted her fury, and given unto her admonition, that the same God would not suffer her obstinate malice against his truth long to be unpunished; yet could her obdurate heart nothing be moved to repentance: for hearing of the staying of the printing-irons, she raged more outrageously than before; and sending for all such as were of her faction, exposed her grievous complaint, aggravating the same with many lies, *viz.* That we had declared that which before she suspected; for what could we mean else but the usurpation of the crown, when we durst put hands to the coining-house, which was a portion of the patrimony of the crown. She further alledged, That we had spoiled the coining-house of great sums of money.

To the which we answered, both by our letters sent to her and her council, and by public proclamation to the people, That we, without usurpa-

tion of any such things justly appertaining to the crown of Scotland, did stay the printing-irons, in consideration that the commonwealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And because we were born counsellors of this realm, sworn to procure the profit of the same, we could do no less, of duty and of conscience, than to stay that for a time, which we saw so abused, that unless remedy were found, should turn to the utter detriment of the whole body of this realm. And as to her false accusation of spoil, we did remit us to the conscience of Mr. Robert Richardson, master of the coining-house, who from our hands received silver, gold, and metal, as well coined as uncoined; so that with us there did not remain the value of a halfpenny, or farthing. This our declaration and purgation notwithstanding, she, partly by her craft and policy, and partly by the labours of the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, procured the whole number that were with her, to consent to pursue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company (which then was dispersed for new furnishing) assembled again.

The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, being the 25th of July, we did what in us lay to give advertisement to our brethren; but impossible it was that the West, Angus, Mearns, Strathern, or Fife, in any number could come to us; for the enemy marched from Dunbar upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before sun-rising on Monday; for they verily supposed to have found no resistance, being assured, that the lords only, with certain gentlemen, remained with their private houses. Calling upon God for counsel in that strait, we sought what was the next defence: we might have left the town, and might have retired ourselves without any danger; but then we should have abandoned our brethren of Edinburgh, and suffered the ministry thereof to have decayed; which to our hearts was so dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremity than so to do: for then the most part of the town appeared rather to favour us, than the queen's faction, and did offer unto us the uttermost of their support, which for the most part they did faithfully keep. The same did the town of Leith, but they kept not the like fidelity; for when we were upon the field, marching forward for their support (for the French marched nigh to them), they rendered themselves without further resistance; and this they did, as is supposed, by the treason of some

within themselves, and by persuasion of the laird of Restalrig, who before declared himself to be one of us; and notwithstanding that same day rendered himself undesired to monsieur d'Ofel. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many, and yet we retired quietly to the side of Craingate, which place we took for resisting the enemy.

In the mean time divers mediators passed betwixt us, amongst whom the lord Ruthven for our part was principal. Alexander Erskine did much travel to stay us and our soldiers, that we should not join with them of Leith, till that they, as is said, had rendered themselves to the French. The said Alexander did oft promise that the French would stay, provided that we would not join with those of Leith; but after that they were rendered, we heard nothing of him but threatening and uncomfortable words. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reasonable number, to withstand their fury. The town of Edinburgh, so many as had subjected themselves to discipline, and divers others besides them, behaved themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The gentlemen of Lothian, especially Calder, Hatton, and Ormiston, were very comfortable, as well for their counsel as for their whole assistance. Some gentlemen of Fife prevented the Frenchmen, others were stopped, by reason that the French had possessed Leith; always the enemy took such a fear, that they determined not to invade us where we stood; but took purpose to have passed to Edinburgh by the other side of the Water of Leith, and that because they had the castle to their friend, which was to us unknown; for we supposed the lord Erskine, captain of the same, either to have been our friend, or at least to have been indifferent: but when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the earl of Argyle, to lord James' sister's son, and to the other noblemen, That he would declare himself both enemy to them, and to the town, and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the Frenchmen to enter into the town. This his treasonable defiance sent us by the laird of Riccarton, did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight, nor stop the enemy, but under the mercy of the castle and whole ordnance thereof. Hereupon was consultation taken, and in conclusion, it was found less damage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not such as we desired, than to hazard battle betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certain heads

were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

I. That no member of the Congregation should be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions, by the queen, her authority, nor any other justice within the realm, for any thing done in the late innovation, till a parliament (which should begin the tenth of January) had decreed things in controversy.

II. That idolatry should not be erected, where it was at that day suppressed.

III. That the preachers and ministers should not be troubled in their ministry where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach where-foever they should chance to come.

IV. That no bands of men of war should be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh.

V. That the Frenchmen should be sent away at a reasonable day, and that none other should be brought into the country, without consent of the whole nobility and parliament.

But these our articles were altered, and another form disposed, as followeth :

At the Links of Leith, the twenty-fourth of July 1559, it is appointed in Manner following :

IN the first place, the Congregation and their company, others than the inhabitants of the said town, shall remove themselves forth of the said town, the morrow at ten o'clock before noon, the twenty-fifth of July, and leave the same void and rid of them and their said company, conform to the queen's majesty's pleasure and desire.

Item, The said Congregation shall cause the irons of the coming-house, taken away by them, be rendered and delivered to Mr. Robert Richardson; and likewise the queen's majesty's palace of Holyrood-house to be left, and rendered again to Mr. John Balfour, or any other, having her majesty's sufficient power in the same matter, as it was resolved, and that betwixt the making of these articles, and the morrow at ten of the clock.— For observing and keeping of these two articles above-written, the lord Ruthven, and the laird of Petarro, have entered themselves pledges.

Item, The said lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to our lord and lady's authority, and to the queen regent in their place; and shall obey all laws and laudable customs of this realm, as they were

used before the moving of this tumult and controversy, excepting the cause of religion, which shall be hereafter specified.

Item, The Congregation, nor any of them, shall not trouble or molest a churchman by way of deed, nor yet shall make them any impediment in the peaceable bruiking, enjoying, and up-taking of their rents, profits, and duties of their benefices; but that they may freely use and dispose upon the same, according to the laws and customs of this realm, to the tenth of January next to come.

Item, The said Congregation, nor none of them, shall use in nowise from thenceforth any force or violence in casting down of churches, religious places, or apparel thereof; but the same shall stand harmless of them until the tenth of January.

Item, The town of Edinburgh shall, without compulsion, use and chuse what religion, and manner thereof, they please to the said day, so that every man may have freedom to his own conscience to the day aforesaid.

Item, The queen shall not interpose her authority to molest or trouble the preachers of the Congregation, nor their ministry (to them that please to use the same), nor no other of the said Congregation, in their bodies, lands, goods, or possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they possess; nor yet suffer the clergy, or any other, either spiritual or temporal jurisdiction, to trouble them in any manner of sort, privately or openly, for the cause of religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the said tenth day of January within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conscience.

Item, That no men of war, French or Scots, be laid in daily garrison within the town of Edinburgh, but to repair thereto to do their lawful business, and thereafter to retire them to their garrisons.

This alteration in words and order was made without knowledge and consent of those, whose counsel we had used in all such causes before; for some of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequal conditions, said, 'God hath wonderously assisted us in our greatest dangers; he hath stricken fear in the hearts of our enemies, when they supposed themselves most assured of victory; our case is not yet so desperate, that we need to grant to things unreasonable and ungodly; which, if we do, it is to be feared, that things shall not so prosperously succeed as they have done heretofore.'

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid perions, the duke and the earl of Huntly, who that day were against us, desired to speak with the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, and others of our party; who obeying their requests, met with them at the Quarrel-holes, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, who in conclusion promised to our lords, That if the queen brake to us any one jot of the appointment then made, that they should declare themselves plain enemies to her, and friends to us. As much promised the duke that he would do, in case that she would not remove her Frenchmen at a reasonable day; for the oppression which they did was manifest to all men. This appointment made and subscribed by the duke, monsieur d'Osé, and the earl of Huntly, the twenty-fifth of July, we returned to the town of Edinburgh, where we remained till the next day at noon; when, after sermon, dinner, and proclamation made at the market-cross, in form as followeth, we departed.

Form of the Proclamation.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased God, that appointment is made betwixt the queen regent, and us the lords Protestants of this realm; We have thought good to signify unto you the chief heads of the appointment, which be these:

First, That no member of the Congregation shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions, by the queen, by her authority, nor by any other justice within this realm, for any thing done in this late innovation, till that a parliament hath decided things that are in controversy.

Secondly, That idolatry shall not be erected where it is now at this day suppressed.

Thirdly, That the preachers and ministers shall not be troubled in the ministrations where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach wheresoever they shall happen to travel within this realm.

Fourthly, That no bands of men of war shall be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh.

The chief heads of appointment concerning the liberty of religion, and conservation of our brethren, we thought good to notify unto you by this proclamation, that in case wrong or injury be done by any one of the contrary faction to any member of our body, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to our God, our faithful support to the uttermost of our powers.

At this proclamation made with sound of trumpet, were offended all the Papists; for, *first*, they alleged, It was done in contempt of authority. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed more than was contained in the appointment. And, *lastly*, That we, in our proclamation, had made no mention of any thing promised unto them. To such murmurs we answered, That no just authority could think itself contemned, because that the truth was by us made manifest unto all, who otherwise might have pretended ignorance. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon, in word and promise, betwixt us and those with whom the appointment was made, whatsoever the scribes had after written, who in very deed had altered both in words and sentences our articles, as they were first conceived; and yet, if their own writings were diligently examined, the self-same thing shall be found in substance. And, *lastly*, To proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not necessary, knowing, that in that behalf they themselves would be diligent enough; and in this we were nothing deceived: for within fifteen days after, there was not a shaveling in Scotland, to whom tenths, or any other rents pertaineth, but he had that article of the appointment by heart, 'That the churchmen should be answered of tenths, rents, and all other duties; and that no man should trouble or molest them.'

We departing from Edinburgh the twenty-sixth of July, came first to Linlithgow, and after to Stirling, where, after consultation, the Bond of defence, and maintenance of religion, and for mutual defence every one of the other, was subscribed of all that were there present.

Tenor of the Bond.

WE foreseeing the craft and sleight of our adversaries, who try all manner of ways to circumvent us, and by privy means intend to assail every one of us particularly, by fair heights and promises, there-through to separate one of us from another, to our utter ruin and destruction: for remedy thereof, we faithfully and truly bind us in presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true religion, That none of us shall, in time coming, pass to the queen dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent, without consent of the rest, or common consultation thereupon; and how soon that either message or writing should come from her unto us, with all diligence we shall

notify the same one to another, so that nothing shall proceed therein without common consent of us all.

At Stirling, the 1st of

August 1559.

This bond subscribed, and we, foreseeing that the queen and bishops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to seek aid and support of all Christian princes against her tyranny, in case we should be more sharply pursued. And because that England was of the same religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient first to prove them; which we did, by one or two messengers, as hereafter, in its own place, shall be more amply declared. After we had abode certain days in Stirling, the earl of Argyle departed to Glasgow; and because he was to depart to his own country (with whom also passed the lord James), to pacify some trouble, which by the craft of the queen was raised in his absence, he required the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltrie, and others of Kyle, to meet there, for some order to be taken, that the brethren should not be oppressed; which with one consent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at Stirling.

While these things were doing at Glasgow, letters and a servant came from the earl of Arran, to the duke his father, signifying unto him, that by the providence of God he had escaped the French king's hands, who most treasonably and most cruelly had fought his life, or at the least to have committed him to perpetual prison: for the same time the said French king, seeing he could not have the earl himself, caused put his younger brother, a child of such age as could not offend, in strait prison, where he yet remained, viz. in the month of October, the year of our Lord 1559; which things were done by the power and craft of the queen dowager, at the time that the duke and his friends were most ready to set forth her cause. These letters received, and the estate of his two sons known, of whom one was escaped, and the other cast in vile prison, the duke desired communing with the said earl of Argyle, who, partly against the will of some that loved him, rode unto the duke from Glasgow to Hamilton, where, abiding a night, he declared his judgment to the duke, and to his friends, especially to Mr. Gavin Hamilton. The duke required him and the lord James to write their friendly and comfortable letters to his son, which they most willingly did,

and thereafter addressed them to their journey: but the very day of their departing, came one Boutancourt (from the queen regent with letters, as was alledged), from the king and queen of France, to the lord James, which he delivered with a bragging countenance, and many threatening words. The tenor of his Letter was thus:

The King's Letter to the Lord James.

MY COUSIN,

I HAVE greatly marvelled, when I understood the troubles that are happened in these parts. And yet I more marvel, that ye, in whom I had whole confidence, and who hath the honour to be so near the queen my wife, and hath received from the late king my father, from the queen my wife, and from me, such graces and favours, that ye should be so forgetful, as to make yourself the head, and one of the principal beginners and nourishers of the tumults and seditions that are seen there; the which, because it is so strange to me, and so far against the profession that at all times ye have made, I cannot well believe it: but if it be so, I cannot think but ye have been enticed and led thereto by some persons that have seduced you, and caused you to commit such a fault, as I am assured you repent of already; which will be a great pleasure to me, to the effect I may lose a part of the occasion I have to be discontent with you, as I will you to understand I am. Seeing you have so far deceived the hope I had of you, and your affection toward God, and the welfare of our service, unto the which, ye know, ye are as much, and more obliged than any other of the lords there: for this cause, desiring that the matters may be duly amended, and knowing what ye can therein, I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed, to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cause me know the same by the effects. That you have another intention than this, which the follies by-past maketh me now to believe, doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their first estate, and put the same to the right and good obedience that you know to be due unto God, and unto me. Otherwise, ye may be well assured, that I will put to my hand, and that in good earnest, that you, and all they who have done, and do as ye do, shall feel (through your own fault) that which ye have deserved and merited. Even as I have given charge to this gentleman, present bearer, to make you know more largely of my part; for which

cause I pray you credit him even as ye would do myself. Praying God, my cousin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.

Written at Paris, the 17th
day of July 1559.

The same messenger brought also letters from the queen our sovereign, more sharp and threatening than the former; for her conclusion was, *Vous en sentirez la piñecture a jamais.*

His credit was, That the king would spend the crown of France, if that he were not revenged upon such seditious persons; that he would never have suspected such disobedience, and such desertion from his own sister, in him. To the which the said lord James answered, first by word, and then by writing, as followeth:

The Lord James' Letter to the King.

SIR,

My most humble duty remembered: your majesty's letter I received from Paris the 17th of July last, importing in effect, That your majesty doth marvel, that I, being forgetful of the graces and favours shewed me by the king of blessed memory, your majesty's father, and the queen my sovereign, should declare myself head, and one of the principal beginners of these alledged tumults and seditions in these parts, deceiving thereby your majesty's expectation in all times had of me; with assurance, That, if I did not declare, by contrary effects, my repentance, I, with the rest that had put, or yet putteth hand to this work, should receive that reward which we had deserved and merited.

Sir, it grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude should be laid to my charge by your majesty; and the rather, that I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information of them (whose part it was not to have reported so, if true service past had been regarded). And as touching the repentance, and declaration of the same by certain effects, that your majesty desires I shew, my conscience persuades me in these proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dutiful obedience towards your majesty, and the queen my sovereign; otherwise, it should not have been to be repented, and also amended already, according to your majesty's expectation of me: but your majesty being truly informed and persuaded, that the thing which we have done maketh for the advancement of God's glory, without any manner of derogation to your majesty's due obedience, we

doubt not but your majesty shall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternal God, we dare not leave the same unaccomplished; only wishing and desiring your majesty did know the same, and the truth thereof, as we were persuaded in our consciences, and all them that are truly instructed in the eternal word of our God, upon whom we cast our care from all dangers that may follow the accomplishment of his eternal will, and to whom we commend your majesty, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the gospel of his eternal truth, to know your majesty's duty towards your poor subjects, God's chosen people, and what you ought to crave justly of them again; for then we should have no occasion to fear your majesty's wrath and indignation, nor your majesty's suspicion in our disobedience. The same God have your majesty in his eternal safe-guard.

At Dumbarton, the 12th
of August 1559.

This answer directed to the queen our sovereign, and Francis her husband, the queen dowager received it, and was bold upon it, as she might well enough; for it was supposed that the former letters were forged here at home in Scotland. The answer read by her, she said, That so proud an answer was never given to king, prince, nor princess. And yet indifferent men thought that he might have answered more sharply, and not have transgressed modesty nor truth: for where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had purged himself, affirming, that the greatest benefit that ever he received of them, was to spend in their service that which God by others had provided for him; no honest man would have accused him, and no man could have been able to have convicted him of a lie: 'But princes must be pardoned to speak what they please.'

For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the church in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours, and bold courage in that battle, deserves immortal praise: for when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before was elected minister to the church, should continue there, the brethren requested the said John Willock to abide with them, lest that, for lack of ministers, idolatry should be erected up again: to the which he so gladly consented, that it might evidently appear, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren,

and the continuance of the church there, to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen were appointed to lie in garrison at Leith (that was the first benefit which they got for their confederacy with them), the other part were appointed to lie in the Canongate, the queen and her train abiding in the abbey. Our brother John Willock, the day after our departure, preached in St. Giles' church, and fervently exhorted the brethren to stand constant to the truth which they had professed. At this, and some other sermons, was the duke, and divers others of the queen's faction.

This liberty of preaching, and resort of all people thereto, did highly offend the queen, and the other Papists. And first they began to give terrors to the duke, affirming, that he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his presence to the sermons. Thereafter they began to require, that mass might be set up again in St. Giles' church, and that the people should be set at liberty to chuse what religion they would; for that, said they, was contained in the appointment, that the town of Edinburgh should chuse what religion they listed. For obtaining hereof, were sent to the town the duke, the earl of Huntly, and the lord Seton, to solicit all men to condescend to the queen's mind; wherein the two last did labour what they could; the duke not so, but as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good hope: and, after many persuasions and threatenings made by the said earl and lord, the brethren stoutly and valiantly, in the Lord Jesus, gain-said their most unjust petitions; reasoning, that as in conscience they might not suffer idolatry to be erected, where Christ Jesus was truly preached, so could not the queen nor they require any such thing, unless she and they would plainly violate their faith, and chief article of the appointment. For it is plainly appointed, 'That no member of the Congregation shall be molested in any thing that at the day of the appointment they peaceably possessed.' But so it was, that we the brethren and Protestants of the town of Edinburgh, with our ministers, the day of the appointment, did peaceably enjoy St. Giles' church, appointed us for preaching of Christ's true gospel, and right ministrations of his holy sacraments: therefore, without manifest violation of the appointment, you cannot remove us therefrom, until a parliament hath decided the controversy.

This answer given, the whole brethren departed, and left the foresaid earl, and lord Seton, then provost of Edinburgh, still in the tolbooth, who, perceiving that they could not prevail in that man-

ner, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would so far condescend to the queen's pleasure, as that they would chuse them another within the town, or at the least be content that mass should be said, either after, or before their sermon. To the which answer was given, That to give place to the devil (who was the chief inventor of the mass), for the pleasure of any creature, they could not. They were in possession of that church, which they could not abandon; neither yet could they suffer idolatry to be erected in the same, unless by violence they should be constrained so to do: and then they were determined to seek the next remedy. Which answer received, the earl of Huntly did lovingly entreat them to quietness, faithfully promising, that in no sort should they be molested, so that they would be quiet, and make no farther uproar. To the which they were most willing; for they sought only to serve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their possession, according to the appointment: which, by God's grace, they did, till the month of November, notwithstanding the great boasting of the enemy. For they did not only convene to the preaching, daily supplications, and administration of baptism, but also the Lord's table was ministered, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences: and as God did strongly work with his true ministers, and with his troubled church, so did not the devil cease to inflame the malice of the queen, and of the Papists with her: for that, after her coming to the abbey of Holyrood-house, she caused mass to be said first in her own chapel, and after in the abbey, where the altars before were cast down.

She discharged the common prayers, and forbade to give any portion to such as were the principal young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuskenneth; for there she discharged the portions of as many of the canons as had forsaken Papistry: she gave commandment and inhibition, that the abbot of Lindores, should not be answered of any part of his living in the North; because he had submitted himself to the Congregation, and had put some reformation to his place. By her consent and procurement was the preacher's chair broken in the church of Leith, and idolatry was erected in the same, where it was before suppressed. Her French captains, with their soldiers, in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, resorted to St. Giles' church in Edinburgh, and did take their common walks therein, with such loud talking, as no perfect audience

could be had. And although the minister was there-through oftentimes compelled to cry out on them, praying to God to rid them of such locusts, they nevertheless continued still in their wicked purpose, devised and ordained by the queen, to have drawn our brethren of Edinburgh and them into trouble: so that she might have had any coloured occasion to have broken the league with them: yet, by God's grace, they behaved themselves so, that she could find no fault in them, albeit in all these things before named, and in every one of them, she is justly accounted to have gained the said appointment.

We pass over the oppressing of our brethren in particular, which had been sufficient to have proved the appointment to have been plainly violated. For the lord Seton, without any occasion offered unto him, brake a chace upon Alexander White-law, as he came from Preston, accompanied with Mr. William Knox, towards Edinburgh; and ceased not to pursue him, till he came to the town of Ormiston: and this he did, supposing that the said Alexander had been John Knox. In all this mean time, and till that more Frenchmen arrived, they are not able to prove that we broke the appointment in any jot, except that a horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cut in four quarters, because he said, He would wear it in despite of the Congregation. In this mean time, the queen, then regent, knowing assuredly what force was shortly to come unto her, ceased not, by all means possible, to cloak the in-coming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our countrymen against us. And for that purpose she first wrote unto duke Hamilton, in form as followeth:

The Queen Regent's false, flattering Letter to Duke Hamilton.

MY LORD AND COUSIN,

AFTER hearty commendations, we are informed, that the lords of the West-country Congregation intend to make a convention and assembly of your kin and friends upon Govan-moor, beside Glasgow, on Monday come eight days, the 28th day of August instant, for some high purpose against us; which we can scarcely believe, considering they have no occasion on our part so to do. And albeit we know the appointment was made against, and without our advice, yet we accepted the same at your desire; and have since made no cause, whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Likeas, we

are yet minded to keep firm and stable all things promised by you in our behalf. We think, on the other part, it is your duty to require them, that they violate their part thereof in nowise. And, in case they mean any evil towards us, and so will break their promise, we believe ye will at the uttermost of your power converse with us, and compel them to do that thing which they ought; if they will not, praying you to have yourself, your kin and friends, in readiness to come to us, as ye shall be advertised by proclamation, in case the Congregation assemble themselves for any purpose against us, or the tenor of the said appointment: assuring you, without they gather, and give first occasion, we shall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you advertise us by writ what we may trust to herein by this bearer, who will shew you the fervent mind we bear to have good concord with the said Congregation, what offers we have made them, and how desirous we are to draw them to the obedience of our sovereign's authority, to whom you shall give credit: and God keep you.

At Edinburgh, the 10th of August 1559.

The like letter she wrote to every lord, baron, and gentleman, of this tenor:

The Queen Regent's Letter to the Barons, &c.

TRUSTY FRIEND,

AFTER hearty commendations, we doubt not but you have heard of the appointment made beside Leith, betwixt the duke, the earl of Huntly, and monsieur d'Osely, on the one part; and the lords of the Congregation, on the other part: which appointment we have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without our advice, and are minded to observe and keep all the contents thereof for our part. Nevertheless, as we are informed, the lords of the Congregation intend shortly to convene all such persons as will assist them, for enterprising of some high purpose against us, our authority, and tenor of the said appointment; which we cannot believe, seeing they neither have, nor shall have, any occasion given thereto on our part: but in case, against all reason, they should mean any such thing, we have thought it good to give warning to our special friends, of the advertisement we have gotten; and, amongst the rest, to you, whom we esteem of that number, praying you to have yourself, your kin and folks, in readiness to come:

to us. And so forth, as in the other letter above sent to the duke, word by word.

After that, by these letters, and by the deceitful furnishing of her solicitors, she had somewhat stirred up the hearts of the people against us, then she began openly to complain, That we were of mind to invade her person: that we would keep no part of the appointment; and therefore she was compelled to crave assistance of all men, against our unjust pursuit. And this practice she used, as before is said, to abuse the simplicity of the people, that they should not suddenly espy for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of war, who did arrive about the midst of August, to the number of a thousand men: the rest were appointed to come after with monsieur de la Brosse, and with the bishop of Amiens, who arrived the 19th day of September following, as if they had been ambassadors: but what was their negociation, the effect did declare, and they themselves could not long conceal; for by both tongue and pen they uttered, That they were sent for the extermination of all those that would not profess the Papistical religion in all points. The queen's practice and craft could not blind the eyes of all men; neither yet could her subtilty hide her own shame, but that many did espy her deceit; and some spared not to speak their judgments liberally, who, foreseeing the danger, gave advertisement, requiring, that provision might be found, before that the evil should exceed our wisdom and strength to put fit remedy to it; for prudent men foresaw, that she pretended a plain conquest; but, to the end that the people should not suddenly stir, she would not bring in her full force at once, as before is said, but by continual traffic purposed to augment her army, so that in the end we should not be able to resist: but the greatest part of the nobility, and many of the people, were so enchanted by her treasonable solicitors, that they would not hear nor credit the truth plainly spoken. The French then, after the arriving of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the lands and lordships, according to their own fancies; for one was styled Monsieur de Argyle, another Monsieur le Prior, the third Monsieur de Ruthven: yea, they were assured in their own opinion, to possess whatsoever they listed; so that some asked for the rentals and revenues of divers mens' lands, to the end that they might chuse the best; and yet in this mean time she was not ashamed to set out a proclamation in this form:

A Proclamation set forth by the Queen Regent, to blind the vulgar People.

FORASMUCH as we understand, that certain seditious persons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours and evil reports, intending thereby to stir up the hearts of the people; and so to stop all manner of reconciliations betwixt us and our subjects, being of the number of the Congregation; and consequently, to kindle and nourish a continual strife and division within this realm, to the manifest subversion of the whole state thereof: and, amongst other purposes, have maliciously devised for that effect, and have persuaded too many, that we have violated the appointment lately taken, in so far as any more Frenchmen since came in: and that we do mind to draw in great forces of men of war forth of France, to suppress the liberty of this realm, oppress the inhabitants thereof, and make up strangers with their lands and goods: which reports are all (God knoweth) most vain, feigned, and untrue: for it is of truth, that nothing hath been done on our part, since the said appointment, whereby it may be alledged, that any part thereof is contravened; nor yet was at that time any thing moved or concluded to stop the sending in of Frenchmen, as may clearly appear by inspection of the said appointment, which the bearer hereof hath present to shew. Whatsoever number of men of war be arrived, we have such regard to our honour, and quietness of this realm, that in case in the room of every Frenchman that is in Scotland, there were an hundred at our command, yet should not for that any jot that is promised be broken, or any alteration made by our provocation; but the said proclamation truly and surely should be observed in every point, if the said Congregation will in like manner faithfully keep their part thereof: nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable possession of their goods and rooms; nor yet to enrich the crown, and far less any strangers with your substance: for our dearest son and daughter, the king and queen, are, by God's providence, placed in the room, where all men of judgment may well consider, they have no need of any man's goods; and for ourself, we seek nothing but dutiful obedience unto them, such as good subjects ought to give to their sovereign, without diminution of your liberties and privileges, or alteration of your laws; therefore we have thought good, to notify unto you our good mind foresaid, and de-

fire you not to give ear nor credit to such vain imaginations, whereof, before God, no part entered into our conceit; nor suffer yourselves to be thereby led from your due obedience, assuring you, ye shall ever find with us truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all you behaving yourselves as our obedient subjects. But of one thing we give you warning, That whereas some preachers of the Congregation, in their public sermons, speak irreverently and slanderously, as well of princes in general, as of ourself in particular, and of the obedience of higher powers, inducing the people, by that part of their doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to religion, but rather sedition and tumult, things quite contrary to religion: therefore we desire you to take order in your towns and bounds, that when the preachers repair thither, they use themselves more modestly in these behalfs, and in their preaching not to meddle so much with civil policy and public government; nor yet name us, or other princes, but with reverence, otherwise it will not be suffered. And seeing you have presently the declaration of our intention, we desire likewise to know, what shall be your part to us, that we may understand what to trust for at your hands, whereof we desire a plain declaration in writing, with this bearer, without delay.

At Edinburgh, the 28th of
August 1559.

This proclamation she sent by her messengers through all the country, and had her solicitors in all parts, who painfully travelled to bring men to her opinion; amongst whom these were the principal, Sir John Ballantine justice-clerk, Mr. James Balfour official of Lothian, Mr. Thomas and Mr. William Scot, sons to the laird of Balwerie, Sir Robert Carnagie, and Mr. Gavin Hamilton, who, for fainting of the brethrens hearts, and drawing many to the queen's faction against their native country, have declared themselves enemies to God, and traitors to the commonwealth: but above all others, Mr. James Balfour, official for the time, ought to be abhorred: for he, of an old professor, is become a new denier of Christ Jesus, and a manifest blasphemous of his eternal verity, against his knowledge and conscience, seeking to betray his brethren and native country into the hands of a cruel and unfaithful nation. The answer to this former proclamation was made in form as followeth:

To the Nobility, Burgeses, and Commonalty, of this Realm of Scotland, the Lords, Barons, and others, Brethren of the Congregation, wisheth Increase of all Wisdom, with Advancement of the Glory of GOD, and of the Commonwealth.

THE love of our native country craveth, the defence of our honours requireth, and the sincerity of our consciences compelleth us, dear brethren, to answer in some part to the last writs and proclamations set forth by the queen regent, no less to make us and our cause odious, than to abuse your simplicity, and to work your final destruction, conspired of old, and now already put to work. And, first, where she alledgeth, That certain seditious persons, have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours, tending thereby, as she alledgeth, to stir up the hearts of the people to sedition, by reason that the Frenchmen are crept in of late in our country. True it is, dear brethren, that all such as bear natural love to their country, to you their brethren inhabitants thereof, to our houses, wives, children, the hope of our posterity; and to be short, to our commonwealth, and to the ancient laws and liberties thereof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth and tears complain, the most crafty assaults devised and practised, to the utter ruin of all these things forenamed. This is so manifestly gone to work, that even in our eyes, our dear brethren, true members of our commonwealth, are most cruelly oppressed by strangers; in so far as some are banished their own houses, some robbed and spoiled of their substance, purchased by their just labours in the sweat of their brows; some cruelly murdered at the pleasure of these inhuman soldiery; and altogether have their lives in such fear and dread, as if the enemy were in the midst of them; so that nothing can seem pleasant unto them, which they possess in the bowels of their native country: so near judgeth every man (and not without just cause) the practice used upon their brethren, to approach next unto them, their wives, children, houses, and substances, which altogether are cast at the feet of strangers, men of war, to be by them thus abused at their unbridled lust's desire. Now, if it be sedition, dear brethren, to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the sorrows and sobbs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him, for redress of those enormities (which elsewhere is not to be found), which altogether do proceed of the unlawful holding of strange soldiery over the heads of our brethren: if thus to com-

plain be sedition, then indeed, dear brethren, can none of us be purged of that crime; for as in very heart we condemn such inhuman cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, so can we not, nor dare we, neither by mouths speaking, nor yet by keeping silence, justify the same. Neither do we here aggravate the breaking of the appointment made at Leith (which always hath manifestly been done); but herein we remember what oath we have made to our commonwealth, and how the duty we owe to the same compelleth us to cry out, That the queen, by wicked and ungodly counsel, goeth most craftily about utterly to oppress the same, and the ancient laws and liberties thereof, as well against the king of France's promise, as her own duty, in respect of the high promotions that she hath received thereby; which justly should have caused her to have been indeed, that which she would be called (and is nothing less in verity), *viz.* a careful mother over this commonwealth.

But what motherly care she hath used towards you, ye cannot be ignorant of. Have ye not been, even from the first entry of her reign, ever smitten and oppressed, with unaccustomed and more exorbitant taxations than ever were used within this realm? Yea, and how far was it fought here to have been brought in-upon you and your posterity, under colour to have been laid up in store for the wars? The inquisition taken of all your goods, moveable and immoveable, by way of testament; the seeking of the whole coal and salt of this realm, to have been laid up in store and in gurnal, and she alone to have been merchant thereof, doth teach you by experience some of her motherly care. Again, what favour to our commonwealth doth she at this instant bear, when even now presently, and of a long time bygone, by the ministry of some (who better deserve the gallows than ever did Cochran), she doth so corrupt the good money, and hath brought it to such baseness, and such a deal of strife, that all men that have their eyes open may perceive an extreme beggary to be brought there-through upon the whole realm; so that the whole exchange and traffic to be had with foreign nations (a thing most necessary in all commonwealths) shall thereby be utterly extinguished; and all the gain received thereby, is, That she therewith entertaineth strangers upon our heads: for, brethren, you know, that her money hath served for no other purpose in our commonwealth this long time bygone. And the impunity of those wicked ministers (whom lately we spoke of) hath brought the matter to such a licentious enormity,

and plain contempt of the common-weal, that now they spare not plainly to break down, and convert the good and weighty money, coined in our sovereign's lesser age, into this their corrupted skruif and baggage of *hard-heads* and *non-funts*: most like as she and they had conspired to destroy all the whole good coin of this realm, and consequently that part of the common-weal. Besides all this, their clipped and ronged *shils*, which had no passage these three years past in the realm of France, are commanded to have course in this realm, to gratify thereby her new-come soldiers: and all these things together, are done without the advice or consent of the nobility and council of this realm; and manifestly there-through against our ancient laws and liberties.

Thirdly, Her last and most weighty proceeding more fully declareth the motherly care her majesty beareth to our commonwealth and us, when, in time of peace, without any occasion of foreign wars, thousands of strangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poor members of this commonwealth; their idle bellies fed upon the poor substance of the commonalty, conquest by their just labours in the painful sweat of their brows: which to be true, Dunbar, North-Berwick, Tranent, Prestonpans, Musselburgh, Leith, Canongate, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dyart, with the impoverished souls that this day dwell therein, can testify: whose oppression, as doubtless it is entered in before the justice-seat of God, so ought it justly to move our hearts to have pity and compassion upon these our poor brethren, and at our powers to provide remedy for the same. And albeit her strangers had been garnished with money (as you know well they were not), yet can their here lying be nowise but most hurtful to our commonwealth; seeing that the fertility of this realm had never been so plentiful, that it was able of any continuance to sustain itself and inhabitants thereof, without support of foreign countries; far less able, besides the same, to sustain thousands of strangers, wherewith it is burdened, to the dearthing of all victuals, as the murmur and complaint of Edinburgh this day doth testify. But to what effect the commonwealth is thus burdened, the end doth declare: for shortly were they brought to the field against our sovereign's true lieges, even us your brethren, who, God knoweth, sought nothing else but peace of conscience, under protection of our sovereign, and reformation of these enormities; for no other cause, but that we would not renounce the gospel of Jesus

Christ, and subdue our necks under the tyranny of that wicked man of sin, the Roman Antichrist, and his foreforn travelers, who at that time most tyrannically oppressed our souls with hunger of God's true word, and robbed us of our goods and substances, to waste the same upon their foul suits and stinking harlots.

But, O dear brethren! this was not the chief pretence and final scope of her proceedings (as these days do well declare); for had not God given in our hearts to withstand that oppression, with weapons of most just defence, thou, O St. Johnston and Dundee! had been in no better state than your sister of Leith is this day. For though we in very deed, God is witness, meant then nothing but, in the simplicity of our hearts, the maintenance of true religion, and safety of our brethren, professors of the same; yet lay there another serpent lurking in the breast of our adversaries, as this day, praise to God, is plainly opened to all that list to behold, *viz.* 'To bring you and us both under the perpetual servitude of strangers.' For we being appointed, as ye know, touching religion to be reasoned with all in the council, at the day affixed, and no occasion made to break the same on our side, as is well known, yet came there forth writings and complaints, That this day and that day we were prepared to invade the queen's person (when in very truth there was never such thing thought, as the very deed hath declared); but because she was before resolved to bring in Frenchmen to both our destructions, that you should not stir therewith, she made you to understand, that those bands came only for safety of her own person. O craft, brethren! O subtilty! but behold the end! They are come (yet not so many, no not the sixth part that she desired and looked for); and how? not only with weapons, to defend her person, but with wives and children to plant in your native rooms, as they have already done in the town of Leith, the principal port and staple of this realm, the gernal and furniture of the council, and seat of justice. And here will they dwell, till they may reinforce themselves with greater number of their fellow-soldiers to subdue then the rest, if God withstand not.

And yet her majesty feared or shamed not to write, If there were an hundred Frenchmen for every one of them that is in Scotland, yet they should harm no man. Tell thou now, Leith, if that be true; if this be not a crafty entry to a manifest conquest forethought of old, judge you,

dear brethren: thus to fortify our towns, and even the principal port of our realm, and to lay to strong garrisons of strangers therein, not only without any consent of the nobility and council of this realm, but also expressly against their mind (as our writ sent to her majesty beareth record), if this be not to oppress the ancient laws and liberties of our realm, let all wise men say to it. And further, to take the barn-yards new-gathered, the ginals replenished, and to sit down therein, and by force to put the just possessors and ancient inhabitants therefrom, with their wives, children, and servants, to shift for themselves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scotsmen, members of our commonwealth, and our dear brethren and sisters, born, fostered, and brought up in the bowels of our common and native country: if this be not the manifest declaration of their old pretence and mind towards the whole Scottish nation, let your own conscience, brethren, be judge herein. Was all Leith of the Congregation? No, I think not; yet were all alike served.

Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: *first*, By the great and exorbitant taxation used upon you, and yet ten times greater pressed at, as ye know. *Secondly*, The utter devaluation of our coin, to purchase thereby money to entertain strangers, French soldiers, upon you, and to make them strong holds, lest you should sometime expel them out of your native rooms. *Thirdly*, By the daily reinforcing of the said French soldiers in strength and number, with wives and children, planting in your brethrens houses and possessions. Indeed her majesty is, and hath been, at all times careful to procure by her craft of fair words, of fair promises, and sometimes of bribes, to allure your simplicity to that point, to join yourselves to her soldiers, to daunt and oppress us, that you the remnant (we being cut off) may be an easy prey to her sleights; which God, of his infinite goodness, hath now discovered to the eyes of all them that list to behold: but credit the works, dear brethren, if ye will not credit us, and lay the example of foreign nations, yea, even of our brethren, before your eyes, and procure not your own ruin willingly. If you tender true religion, you see how her majesty beareth herself plain enemy thereto, and maintaineth the tyranny of these idle bellies the bishops, against God's church. If religion be not persuaded unto you, yet cast you not away the care you ought to have over your commonwealth, which you see manifestly and violently ruined before your eyes: if

this will not move you, remember your dear wives, children, and posterity, your ancient heritages and houses; and think well, these strangers will regard no more your right thereunto, than they have done your brethren of Leith, whenever occasion shall serve.

But if you purpose (as we doubt not but that all those that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed) to bruik your ancient rooms and heritages, conquered most valiantly, and defended by your most noble progenitors, against all strangers, invaders of the same, as the French pretend plainly this day; if ye will not be slaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your children, your substance, and whatsoever is dear unto you cast at their feet, to be used and abused at the pleasure of strange soldiers, as you see your brethren at this day before your eyes: if you will not have experience some day hereof in your own persons (as we suppose the least of you all would not gladly have, but rather would chuse with honour to die in defence of his own native room, than live and serve so shameful a servitude), then brethren, let us join our forces, and both with wit and manhood resist their beginnings, or else our liberty hereafter shall be dearer bought. Let us surely be persuaded, when our neighbour's houses are on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himself herefrom; and if any will be so unhappy and mischievous, as we suppose none to be, let us all together repute, hold, and use him, as he is indeed, for an enemy to us, to himself, and to his commonwealth. 'The eternal and omnipotent God, the true and only revenger of the oppressed, be our comfort and protector against the fury and rage of the tyrants of this world; and especially from the insatiable covetousness of the generation of the Guises.' Amen.

Besides this our public Letter, some Men answered certain Heads of the Queen's said Proclamation on this Manner:

If it be sedition to speak the truth in all sobriety, and to complain when they are wounded, or to call for help against unjust tyranny, before that their throats are cut, then can we not deny but we are criminal, and guilty of tumult and sedition: for we have said, That our commonwealth is oppressed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyranny of strangers, and that we fear bondage and slavery, seeing that multitudes of cruel

murderers are daily brought into our country without our counsel, knowledge, and consent. We dispute not so much whether the bringing in of more Frenchmen be violating of the appointment (which the queen and her faction cannot deny to be manifestly broken by them in more cases than one), as that we would know, if that the heaping of strangers upon strangers, above us, without our counsel or consent, be a thing that may stand with the liberty of our realm, and with the profit of our commonwealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgment, that the fruits of our country in the most common years, are no more than sufficient to nourish the born inhabitants of the same: but now, seeing we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleasure of France, by the which the most fruitful portion of our country in corn hath been wasted, what man is so blind, but that he may see, that such bands of ungodly and idle soldiers can be nothing else but an occasion to famish our poor brethren? And in this point we refuse not (which is the chief) the judgment of all natural Scotsmen.

The queen regent alledged, That although there were an hundred Frenchmen for one that is in Scotland, yet she is not minded to trouble any just possession. Whereto we answer, That we dispute not what she intended (which nevertheless by probable conjectures it is to be suspected), but always we affirm, that such a multitude of Frenchmen is a burden, not only unprofitable, but also intolerable to this poor realm, especially being treated as they are by her and monsieur d'Osé: for if their wages be paid out of France, then they are both (the queen, we say, and monsieur d'Osé) traitors to the king and council; for the poor commons of this realm have sustained them with the sweat of their brows, since the contracting of the peace, and somewhat before.

What motherly affection she hath declared to this realm, and to the inhabitants of the same, her works have evidently declared, even since the first hour that she hath borne authority. And albeit men will not this day see what danger hangs over our heads, yet fear we that, ere it be long, experience shall teach some, that we have not feared without cause. The cruel murder and oppression used by those whom now she fostereth, is to us a sufficient argument what is to be looked for when her number is so multiplied, that our force shall not be able to withstand their tyranny.

Where she complaineth of our preachers, affirming, that irreverently they speak of princes in ge-

neral, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. and therefore that such a thing cannot be suffered. Because this occasion is laid against God's true ministers, we cannot but witness what course and order of doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point.

' In public prayers they recommend to God
' all princes in general, and the magistrates of this
' our native realm in particular. In open audi-
' ence they declare the authority of princes and
' magistrates to be of God; and therefore they
' affirm, That they ought to be honoured, feared,
' and obeyed, even for conscience sake; provided
' that they command or require nothing expressly
' repugning to God's commandment and plain
' will, revealed in his holy word. Moreover, they
' affirm, That if wicked persons, abusing the au-
' thority established by God, move princes to com-
' mand things manifestly wicked, that such as can
' and do bridle those inordinate appetites of misled
' princes, cannot be accused as resistors of the
' authority, which is God's good ordinance. To
' bridle the rage and fury of misled princes in free
' kingdoms and realms, they affirm it appertain-
' eth to the nobility, sworn and born counsellors
' of the same; and also to the barons and people,
' whose votes and consent are to be required in all
' great and weighty matters of the commonwealth;
' which if they do not, they declare themselves
' criminal with their misled princes, and so subject
' to the same vengeance of God which they de-
' serve, for that they pollute the seat of justice,
' and do, as it were, make God author of iniquity.
' They proclaim and cry, That the same God who
' plagued Pharaoh, repulsed Sennacherib, struck
' Herod with worms, and made the bellies of dogs
' the grave and sepulchre of the spiteful Jezebel,
' will not spare misled princes, who authorize the
' murderers of Christ's members in this our time.
' On this manner they speak of princes in general,
' and of your majesty in particular.

' This only we have heard one of our preachers
' say, rebuking the vain excuses of such as flatter
' themselves by reason of authority, Many now-a-
' days, said he, will have no other religion nor
' faith, than the queen and authority had: But
' is it not possible that the queen is so far blinded,
' that she will have no religion, nor no other faith,
' than may content the cardinal of Lorraine? And
' may it not likewise be true, that the cardinal is
' so corrupt, that he will admit no religion which
' doth not establish the pope in his kingdom? But

' plain it is, That the pope is lieutenant to Satan,
' and enemy to Christ Jesus, and to his perfect re-
' ligious. Let men therefore consider what danger
' they stand in, if their salvation shall depend up-
' on the queen's faith and religion. Further, we
' never heard any of our preachers speak of the
' queen regent, neither publicly nor privately.

' Where her majesty declarcth, It will not be
' suffered that our preachers meddle with policy,
' or speak of her, or of other princes, but with
' reverence; we answer, That, as we will justify
' and defend nothing in our preachers, which we
' find not God to have justified and allowed in his
' messengers before them, so we dare not forbid
' them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit
' of God, speaking in the prophets and apostles,
' hath reprehended before them. Elias did per-
' sonally reprove Ahab and Jezebel of idolatry, of
' avarice, of murder, and such like; Elias the
' prophet called the magistrates of Jerusalem in his
' time, companions to thieves, princes of Sodom,
' bribe-takers, and murderers; he complained that
' their silver was turned into dross, that their wine
' was mingled with water, and that justice was
' bought and sold: Jeremiah saith, That the bones
' of king Jehoiakim should wither with the sun:
' Christ Jesus called Herod a fox; and Paul calleth
' the high-priest a painted wall, and prayeth unto
' God that he should strike him, because, that a-
' gainst justice he commanded him to be smitten.
' Now, if the like, and greater corruptions be
' in the world this day, who dare enterprize to
' put to silence the Spirit of God, which will not
' be subject to the appetites of misled princes.'

We have said before, that the tenth of Septem-
ber was appointed for a convention to be holden
at Stirling, to the which repaired the most part of
the lords of the Congregation: at that same time
arrived the earl of Arran, who, after he had saluted
his father, came with the earl of Argyle and
lord James to Stirling, to the said convention; in
which divers godly men complained of the tyranny
used against their brethren; and especially, that
more Frenchmen were brought in to oppress their
country. After the consultation of certain days,
the principal lords, with my lord Arran, and the
earl of Argyle, passed to Hamilton for consulta-
tion to be taken with the duke. And in this mean
time came assured word, that the Frenchmen had
begun to fortify Leith: which thing, as it did
more evidently discover the queen's craft, so did it
deeply grieve the hearts of all the nobility there,

who, with one consent, agreed to write unto the queen, in form as followeth :

At Hamilton, the 29th day of September 1559.

MADAM,

WE are credibly informed, that your army of Frenchmen should instantly begin to plant in Leith, and to fortify the same, of mind to expel the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the Congregation; whereof we marvel not a little, that your majesty should so manifestly break the appointment made at Leith, without any provocation given by us and our brethren: and seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the nobility and council of this realm, we esteem the same not only oppression of our poor brethren, and indwellers of the said town, but also very prejudicial to the commonwealth, and plain contrary to our ancient laws and liberties: we therefore desire your majesty to cause the same work enterprised to be staid, and not to attempt so rashly and so manifestly against your majesty's promise, against the commonwealth, the ancient laws and liberties thereof (which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender to us, and only our pretence); otherwise assuring your majesty, we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm, and most earnestly seek for redress thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your highness, whom we commit to the eternal protection of God, expecting earnestly your answer. At Hamilton, the day and year aforesaid. By your majesty's humble and obedient servitors.

This letter was subscribed with the hands of the duke, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Montieth; by the lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, Boyd, and by divers other barons and gentlemen. To this request she would not answer by writ, but with a letter of credit she sent Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr. David Borthwick, two whom, amongst many others, she abused, and by whom she corrupted the hearts of the simple: they travelled with the duke, to bring him again to the queen's faction: la Brosse and the bishop of Amiens were shortly before arrived, and, as it was reported, were directed as ambassadors, but they kept close their whole commission; they only made large promises to them that would be theirs, and leave the Congregation. The queen did grievously complain, that we had intelligence with England; and the conclusion of their commission was, to solicit

the duke to put all in the queen's will, and then she would be gracious enough. It was answered, That no honest men durst commit themselves to the mercy of such throat-cutters as she had about her; whom if she would remove, and join to her a council of natural Scotsmen, permitting the religion to have free passage, then should none in Scotland be more willing to serve her majesty than should the lords and brethren of the Congregation be. At the same time the duke and the lords wrote to my lord Erskine, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, in form as followeth:

Letter to the Lord Erskine.

MY LORD AND COUSIN,

AFTER our hearty commendations, this present is to advertise you, that we are credibly informed that the army of Frenchmen now in this realm, without any advice of the council or nobility, are fortifying, or else shortly intend to fortify the town of Leith, and expel the ancient inhabitants thereof; whereby they proclaim to all, that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to see, what is their pretence. And seeing the faithfulness of your ancestors, and especially of your father, of honourable memory, who was so recommended and dear to the estates and counsellors of this realm, through affection they perceived in him towards the commonwealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key, as it were, of the council, of the justice, and policy of this realm, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your house by steadfast favour and loyalty to our commonwealth, than through the subtle persuasions of some (which care not what after shall come to you and your house, at the present would abuse you to the performance of their wicked enterprises and pretences against our commonwealth) utterly destroy the same. And therefore, seeing we have written to the queen to desist from that enterprize, otherwise that we will complain to the nobility and commonalty of the realm, and seek redress thereof; we likewise beseech you, as our tender friend, brother, and member of the same commonwealth with us, that in nowise you meddle with, or assent to that ungodly enterprize against the commonwealth; and likewise, that ye would save your body, and the jewels of this country committed to your and your predecessor's loyalty and fidelity towards your native country and commonwealth, if ye think to be reputed hereafter:

one of the same; and that ye would rather be brother to us than to strangers; for we do gather by the effects, the secrets of mens hearts, otherwise unsearchable unto us. This we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warn you of the danger, in case ye suffer yourself to be enchanted with fair promises and crafty counsellors; for let no man flatter himself, we desire all men to know, that though he were our father (seeing God hath opened our eyes to see his will), if he be enemy to the commonwealth, which is now assailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he shall be known and holden, as he is indeed, enemy to us, to our lives, our houses, babes, heritages, and whatsoever is contained within the same: for as the ship perishing, what can be safe that is within? so the commonwealth being betrayed, what particular member can live in quietness? And therefore, in so far as the said castles are committed to your credit, we desire you to shew your faithfulness and stoutness, as ye tender us, and whatsoever appertaineth unto us: and seeing we are assured ye will be assailed both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you against the first, so against the last ye shall not miss in all possible haste to have our assistance; only shew yourself a man, save your person by wisdom, strengthen yourself against force; and the Almighty God assist you in both, that one aid the other, and open the eyes of your understanding, to see and perceive the craft of Satan and his supports. At Hamilton, the twenty-ninth day of September 1559. By your Brethren.

The duke and lords understanding that the fortifications of Leith proceeded, appointed their whole forces to convene at Stirling, the fifteenth day of October, that from thence they might march forward to Edinburgh, for redress of the great enormities which the French did to the whole country, which by them was so oppressed, that the life of all honest men was bitter unto them. In this mean time the lords directed their letters to divers parts of the country, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the French should be suffered to plant in this country at their pleasure, They made mention farther, how humbly they had besought the queen regent, That she would send away to France her Frenchmen, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to this commonwealth; and how that she notwithstanding did daily augment their number, bringing wives and children, a declaration of a plain conquest.

The queen regent perceiving that her craft began to be espied, by all means possible travelled to blind the people; and first, she sent forth her pestilent poets forenamed, in all parts of the country, to persuade all men, that she offered all things reasonable to the Congregation; and that they refusing all reason, pretended no religion, but a plain revolt from authority. She tempted every man, in particular, as well those that were of the Congregation, as those that were neutral. She assaulted every man, as she thought most easily he might have been overcome. To the lord Ruthven she sent the justice-clerk, and his wife, who is daughter to the wife of the said lord; what was their commission and credit, is no further known, than the said lord hath confessed, which is, That a large promise of profit was given, if he would leave the Congregation, and be the queen's. To lord James, prior of St. Andrews, was sent Mr. John Spence of Condie, with a letter and credit as followeth:

The Memorial of Mr. John Spence of Condie, the thirtieth of September 1559.

1. YE shall say, That the queen's great favour towards you moveth her to this.
2. That she now knoweth, that the occasion of your departing from her, was the favour of the word, and of the religion, with the which, albeit she was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other lords, firmly fixed thereupon, she will bear with you in that behalf; and at your own sights she will set forward that cause at her power, as may stand with God's word, the common policy of this realm, and the prince's honour. [Note, good reader, what venom lurked here; for plain it is, that the policy which she pretended, and the prince's honour, will never suffer Christ Jesus to reign in this realm.]
3. To speak of the occasion of assembling of these men of war, and fortifying of Leith, you must know, That it was given to the queen to understand by some about her, that it is not the advancement of the word and religion which is fought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow or alter the authority of your sister, of the which she believeth still that ye are not participant; and considering the tenderness betwixt you and your sister, she trusted more in you, in that behalf, than in any living.—But before the earl of Arran arrived, and that the duke departed from her faction, she ceased not continually to cry, That the prior sought to make himself king; and so not only to

deprive his sister, to make himself king; but also to defraud the duke and his house of their pretension. But foreseeing a storm, he began to seek a new wind.

She further willeth him, to offer the sending away of the men of war, if the former suspicion could be removed: she lamented the trouble that appeared to follow, if the matter should long stand in debate; she promised her faithful labours for reconciliation, and required the fame of him. Requiring further, faith, honour, and kindness towards his sister, and to advertise for his part, what he desired; with promise, That he might obtain what he pleased to desire.

To this Letter and Credit the said Lord James answered as followeth:

MADAM,

I RECEIVED your highness's writ, and have heard the credit of the bearer; and finding the business of such importance, that dangerous it were to give hasty answer: and also, your demands are such, that with my honour I cannot answer them privately by myself; I have thought good to delay the same, till that I may have the judgment of the whole council. For this point I will not conceal from your majesty, That amongst us there is a solemn oath, that none of us shall traffic with your majesty secretly, neither yet that any of us shall treat or deal for himself particularly; which oath, for my part, I purpose to keep unviolated to the end; but when the rest of the noblemen shall convene, I shall leave nothing that lieth in my power undone, that may make for the quietness of this poor realm, provided, that the glory of Christ Jesus be not hindered by our concord: and if your majesty shall be found so tractable, as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtain of the rest of my brethren such favour towards your service, as your majesty shall have just occasion to stand content: for I take God to record, that in this action, I have neither sought, neither yet seek, any other thing than to increase God's glory, and the liberty of this poor realm to be maintained. Further, I have shewed unto your messenger what things have misliked me in your proceedings, even from such a heart as I wish to God you knew fully, and all men else; and this, with hearty commendation of service to your majesty, I heartily commit your highness to the eternal

protection of the Omnipotent. At St. Andrews, the first of October 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your majesty's humble and obedient servant,

JAMES STUART.

This answer received, she raged, as hypocrisy useth when it is pricked, and perceiving that she could not work what she would at the hands of men particularly, she set forth a proclamation, universally to be proclaimed, in the tenor as followeth:

The Queen's Proclamation.

FORSOMUCH as it is understood by the queen, that the duke of Chattelarault hath lately directed his missives into all parts of this realm, making mention, that the Frenchmen late arrived, with their wives and children, are begun to plant in Leith, to the ruin of the commonwealth; which he and his partakers will not pass over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be every man's part: and that the fortification of Leith, is a purpose devised in France; and that therefore monsieur de la Brosse, and the bishop of Amiens, are come to this country: a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is known to all men of free judgment. Therefore the queen, willing that the occasions whereby her majesty was moved so to do be made patent, and what have been her proceedings since the appointment last made on the Links beside Leith, to the effect that the truth of all things being made manifest, every man may understand how unjustly that a desire to suppress the liberty of this realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this discourse following: *First*, Although after the said appointment, divers of the said Congregation, and that not of the meanest sort, have violently broken the points thereof, and made sundry occasions of new trouble, the same was in a part winked at, and overlooked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abstain from such evil behaviour; which conversion her majesty ever sought, rather than any punishment, with such care and sollicitude by all means; and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own security. But at last, by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence thence was perceived; yet her majesty trusted the queen of England (let them seek as they please) will do the

office of a Christian princeſs, in time of a ſworn peace; through which, force was to her majeſty, ſeeing ſo great defections of great perſonages, ‘to have recourſe to the law of nature.’ And like as a ſmall bird, being purſued, will provide ſome neſt; ſo her majeſty could do no leſs in caſe of purſuit, but provide ſome ſure retreat for herſelf and her company; and to that effect choſe the town of Leith as a place convenient therefore, becauſe it was her deareſt daughter’s property, and no other perſon could claim title or intereſt there-to, and alſo, becauſe in former times it had been fortified. About the ſame time that the ſeeking ſupport of England was made manifeſt, arrived the earl of Arran, and joined himſelf to the Congregation, upon further promiſe than the pretended quarrel, or religion, that was to be ſet up by them in authority; and ſo to pervert the whole obedience. And as ſome of the Congregation at the ſame time had put into their hands, and taken the caſtle of Brochie, and put forth the keepers thereof; immediately came from the ſaid duke to her majeſty, unlooked for, a writ, beſide many others, complaining of the fortification of the ſaid town of Leith, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the ſaid Congregation, whereof he then profeſed himſelf a member. And albeit that the bearer of the ſaid writ was an unmeet meſſenger in a matter of ſuch conſequence, yet her majeſty directed to him two perſons of good credit and reputation, with answer; offering, if he would cauſe amend to be made for that which was committed againſt the laws of the realm, to do further than could be craved of reaſon: and to that effect, to draw ſome conference, which by his fault, and his colleagues, took no end; nevertheless they continually ſince continue in their doings, uſurping the authority, commanding and charging free burghs to chuſe provots and officers of their naming, and to aſſiſt them in the purpoſe they would be at; and that they will not ſuffer proviſion to be brought for ſuſtaining of her majeſty’s houſes. A great part have ſo plainly ſet aſide all reverence and humanity, whereby every man may know, that it is no matter of religion, but a plain uſurpation of the authority: and no doubt but ſimple men, of good zeal in former times, therewith falſly have been deceived. But as to the queen’s part (God, who knoweth the ſecrets of all hearts, well knoweth, and the world ſhall ſee by experience), that the fortification of Leith was deviſed for no other purpoſe, but for recourſe to her highneſs and her company, in caſe they were purſued. Wherefore, as good

ſubjects, that have the fear of God in their hearts, will not ſuffer themſelves, by ſuch vain perſuaſions, to be led away from their due obedience, but will aſſiſt in defence of their ſovereign’s quarrel, againſt all ſuch as ſhall purſue the ſame wrongfully; therefore her majeſty ordaineth the officers of arms to paſs to the market-croſſes of all the head burghs of this realm, and there, by open proclamation, command and charge all and fundry the lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themſelves in arms, nor take part with the ſaid duke or his aſſitaries, under the pain of treaſon.

Theſe letters being divulgate, the hearts of many were ſtirred; for they judged the narration of the queen regent to have been true: others underſtood the ſame to be utterly falſe. But becauſe the lords deſired that all men ſhould judge in their cauſe, they ſet out the Declaration ſubſequent:

The Declaration of the Lords againſt the former Proclamation.

We are compelled unwillingly to answer the grievous accuſations moſt unjuſtly laid to our charges by the queen regent, and her perverſe council, who ceaſe not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our deareſt brethren, natural Scotſmen; as, That we pretended no other thing, but the ſubverſion and overthrow of all juſt authority; when God knoweth we fought nothing but that ſuch authority, as God approveth by his word, be eſtabliſhed, honoured, and obeyed, amongſt us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually muſt complain, till God ſends redreſs), That our common country is oppreſſed with ſtrangers; that this in-bringing of ſoldiers, with their wives and children, and planting of men of war in our free towns, appeareth to us a ready way to conqueſt. And we moſt earnestly require all indifferent perſons to be judge betwixt us and the queen regent in this cauſe, *viz.* Whether our complaint be juſt or not? For what other purpoſe ſhould the thus multiply ſtrangers upon us, but only in reſpect of conqueſt? which is a thing of late deviſed by her and her avaricious houſe. We are not ignorant, that ſix years ago, the queſtion was demanded of a man of honeſt reputation, ‘What number of men was able to daunt ‘Scotland, and to bring it to the full obedience ‘of France?’ She alledged, That to ſay that the fortification of Leith was of purpoſe deviſed in France, and that for that purpoſe were monſieur de la Broſſe and the biſhop of Amiens ſent to this

country, is a thing so vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgment. But evident it is, whatsoever she alledged, that since their arrival, Leith was begun to be fortified.

She alledged, That she, seeing the defection of great personages, was compelled to have recourse to the law of nature, and, like a small bird pursued, to provide for some sure retreat to herself and her company. But why doth she not answer for what purpose did she bring in her new bands of men of war? Was there any defection espied before their arrival? Was not the Congregation under appointment with her? which, whatsoever she alledged, she is not able to prove that we have violated in any chief point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived; yea, before that they began to fortify Leith, a place, saith she, most convenient for her purpose; as indeed it is, for the receiving of strangers at her pleasure? for if she had feared the pursuit of her body, she had Incheolm, Dunbar, and Blackness, forts and strengths already made: yet all these could not so well serve her turn as Leith; because it was her daughter's property, and none other could have title unto it, and because it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the town of Leith, we shall in few words declare:

It is not unknown to the most part of this realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continually seeking constantly to possess the liberty of Leith, which, by donation of ancient kings, they have long enjoyed; and Leith, on the contrary, aspiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queen regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compass her own business; and therefore secretly she gave advertisement to some of Leith, that she would make their town free, if that she might do it with any colour of justice. By which promises the principal men of them did travel with the laird of Restalrig, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the superiority of Leith appertained, that he should sell his whole title and right to our sovereign for a certain sum of money, which the inhabitants of Leith paid, with a large taxation more to the queen regent, in hope to be made free, in despite and defraud of Edinburgh: which right and superiority when she had gotten, and when the money was paid, the first-fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitterness is, That stran-

gers shall possess their town; this is the just title which her daughter and she might claim to that town. And whereas she alledged, That it was fortified before; we ask, If that was done without the consent of the nobility and estates of the realm? as now she and her crafty counsellors do, in despite and high contempt of us the lawful and born counsellors of this realm.

How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and how just cause we had, and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all these that slander us for so doing: for this we fear not to confess, That as in this our enterprise against the devil, idolatry, and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's glory to be notified unto man, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained; so where power faileth in ourselves, we will seek it wheresoever God shall offer the same: and yet, in so doing, we are assured neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our duties. We heartily praise God, who moved the heart of the earl of Arran to join himself with us his persecuted brethren. But how malicious a lie it is, That we have promised to set him up in authority, the issue shall declare: God we take to record, that no such thing hath entered into our hearts; neither yet hath the said earl, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any such matter: which if they should do, yet are we not so slender in judgment, that inconsiderately we would promise that, which after we would repent. We speak and write to the praise of God's glory; the least of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawful authority, than she and her council doth practise the office of such as worthily may fit upon the seat of justice: for we offer, and we perform, all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither toll, tribute, nor fear, to her nor her officers: we only bridle her blind rage, in the which she would erect and maintain idolatry, and would murder our brethren, who refuse the same: but she doth utterly abuse the authority established by God, she profaneth the throne of his majesty on earth, making the seat of justice, which ought to be the sanctuary and refuge of all godly and virtuous persons unjustly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to thieves, murderers, idolaters, whoremongers, adulterers, and of blasphemers of God and all godliness. It is more than evident what men they are, and long have been, whom she by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and also what hath

been our conversion, since it hath pleased God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury she cruelly persecuteth.

We deny not the taking of the house of Prochna; and the causes being considered, we think that no natural Scotman will be offended at our deed. When the assured knowledge came to us that the fortification of Leith was begun, every man began to enquire, What danger might ensue to the rest of the realm, if the French should plant in divers places; and what were the places that might annoy us. In conclusion it was found, that the taking of the said house by Frenchmen, should be destructive to Dundee, and hurtful to St. Johnston, and to the whole country; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preservation of our brethren and common country. It is not unknown what enemies those two towns have, and how gladly would some have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures, that the Frenchmen were of mind shortly to have taken the same place, were not obscure: but whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we, as is said, have prevented the danger; and would God that power had been in the same manner to have foreclosed their enterprize at Leith: for what trouble this poor realm shall endure before that those murderers and unjust possessors be removed from the same, the issue will declare.

If her accusations against the duke, and that we refused conference, be truly and simply spoken, we will not refuse the judgment of those very men, whom she alledgeth to be of such reputation. They know that the duke did answer, That if the realm should be set at liberty from the bondage of those men of war, which presently did oppress it, and was so fearful to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent themselves from the places, where she and they made residence, that he, and the whole Congregation, should come, and give all dutiful obedience to our sovereign her daughter, and unto her, as regent for the time; but to enter into conference, so long as she kept above him and his brethren that fearful scourge of cruel strangers, he thought no wife man would counsel him. And this his answer we approve, adding further, 'That she can make us no promise which she can keep, nor we can credit, so long as she is forced with the strength, and ruled by the council of France. We are not ignorant, that princes think it good policy to betray their subjects by breaking of promises, be they never so solemnly

'made.' We have not forgotten what counsel she and monsieur d'Ofel gave to the duke, against those that slew the cardinal, and kept the castle of St. Andrews, which was this, That what promise they list to require, should be made unto them; but as soon as the castle was rendered, and things brought to such pass as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the duke answered, That he would never consent to so treasonable an act; but if he promised fidelity, that he would faithfully keep it. Monsieur d'Ofel said in mockage to the queen in French, That is a good simple nature, but I know no other prince that would do so. If this was his judgment in so small a matter, what have we to suspect in this our cause? for the question is not of the slaughter of one cardinal, but of the just abolishing of all tyranny, which that Roman Antichrist hath usurped above us, of the suppressing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermin of shavelings utterly corrupted. Now, if the slaughter of a cardinal be a sin irremissible, as they themselves affirm; and if faith ought not to be kept to heretics, as their own law speaketh, what promise can she, that is ruled by the counsel and commandment of a cardinal, make to us that can be sure?

Where she accuseth us, That we usurp authority to command and charge free burghs, to chuse provosts and officers of our naming, &c. we will, that the whole boroughs of Scotland testify in that case, whether we have used any kind of violence, but lovingly exhorted such as asked our support, to chuse such in office as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and justice, and were not noted for avarice and bribing; but wonder it is, with what face she can accuse us of that, whereof we are innocent, and she so openly criminal, that the whole realm knoweth her iniquity: in that case hath she not compelled the town of Edinburgh to retain a man to be their provost, most unworthy of any authority in a well-ruled commonwealth? Hath she not enforced them to take bailies of her appointment? and some of them so meet for their office in this troublesome time, as 'a fouter is to sail a ship in a stormy day.' She complaineth, that we will not suffer provision to be made for her house. In very deed we unfeignedly repent, that before this we took not better order, that these murderers and oppressors, whom she pretendeth to nourish for our destruction, had not been disappointed of their great provision of victuals, which she and they have gathered, to the great

hurt of the whole country; but as God shall assist us in times coming, we shall use diligence somewhat to frustrate their devilish purpose. What both she and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot suffer the abuse of his own name long to be unpunished) shall one day declare, and unto him we fear not to commit our cause. Neither yet fear we, in this present day, to say, that against us she maketh a malicious lie, where that she saith, That it is not religion that we go about, but a plain usurpation of authority. God forbid that such impiety should enter in our hearts, that we should make his holy religion a cloak and coverture of our iniquity: from the beginning of this controversy, it is evidently known what have been our requests; which if the rest of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland will cause to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any sign of rebellion, let us be reputed and punished as traitors: but while strangers are brought in to suppress us, our commonwealth and posterity; while idolatry is maintained, and the true religion of Christ Jesus despised; while idle bellies and bloody tyrants, the bishops, are maintained, and Christ's true messengers persecuted; while, finally, virtue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we, a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm, are most unjustly persecuted, What godly man can be offended, that we shall seek reformation of these enormities (yea, even by force of arms, seeing that otherwise it is denied unto us)? we are assured that neither God, neither nature, neither any just law, forbiddeth us. God hath made us counsellors by birth of this realm, nature bindeth us to love our own country, and just laws command us to support our brethren unjustly pursued; yea, the oath that we have made to be true to this commonwealth, compelled us to hazard whatsoever God hath given us, before that we see the miserable ruin of the same.

If any think it is not religion which now we seek, we answer, That it is nothing else but the zeal of the true religion which moveth us to this enterprize: for as the enemy doth craftily foresee, that idolatry cannot universally be maintained, unless that we be utterly suppressed; so do we consider, that the true religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot universally be erected, unless strangers be removed, and this poor realm purged of those pestilences, which before have infected it: and therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose cause we sustain, we require all our brethren, natural

Scotmen, prudently to consider our requests, and with judgment to discern betwixt us and the queen regent, with her faction, and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceit, that to lift their weapons against their brethren, who seek nothing but God's glory, or yet to extract from us their just and dutiful support, seeing that we hazard our lives for preservation of them and us, and of us and our posterity to come; assuring such as shall declare themselves favourers of her faction, and enemies unto us, that we shall repute them, whensoever God shall put the sword of justice in our hands, worthy of such punishment as is due for such as study to betray their countries into the hands of strangers.

This our answer was formed, and divulgate in some places, but not universally, by reason of our day appointed to meet at Stirling, as before is declared. In this mean time the queen's posts ran with all possible expedition, to draw men to her devotion; and, in very deed, she found more favourers of her iniquity than we suspected: for a man that of long time had been one of our number in profession, offered, as himself did confess, his service to the queen, to travel betwixt her majesty and the Congregation for concord; she refused not his offer, but knowing his simplicity, she was glad to employ him for her advantage: the man is Mr. Robert Lockhart, a man of whom many have had, and still have good opinion, as touching his religion; but to enter in the managing of such affairs, not so fit as godly and wise men would require. He travelleth not the less earnestly in the queen regent's affairs, and could not be persuaded but that she meant sincerely, and that she would promote the religion to the uttermost of her power. He promised in her name, That she would put away her Frenchmen, and would be ruled by the counsel of natural Scotmen. When it was reasoned to the contrary, That if she were so minded to do, she could have found mediators a great deal more fit for that purpose; he feared not to affirm, That he knew more of her mind than all the French or Scots that were in Scotland; yea, more than her own brethren that were in France. He travelled with the earl of Glencairn, the lords of Ochiltree and Boyd, with the laird of Dun, and with the preachers, to whom he had certain secret letters, which he would not deliver, unless that they would make a faithful promise, That they should never reveal the thing contained in the same. To the which it was answered, That in nowise they could make such a promise, by reason that

they were from one to another, and altogether in one body, That they should have no secret intelligence, nor deal with the queen regent, but that they should communicate with the great council whatsoever she proposed unto them: so they did answer unto her, as by this answer written by John Knox to the queen regent may be understood, the tenor whereof followeth:

To the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

My duty humbly promised, your majesty's servant, Mr. Robert Lockhart, most instantly hath required me, and others to whom your majesty's letters, as he alledged, were directed, to receive the same in a secret manner, and to give him answer accordingly: but because some of the number that he required, were, and are of the great council of this realm, and therefore are solemnly sworn to have nothing to do in a secret manner, neither with your majesty, nor with any that cometh from you, or from your council, and so they could not receive your majesty's letters with such conditions, as the said Mr. Robert required; therefore thought he good to take back to your majesty again the said letters close. And yet because, as he reporteth, he hath made to your majesty some promise in my name, at his request, I am content to testify by my letter and subscription, the sum of that which I did communicate with him. In Dundee, after many words betwixt him and me, I said, That albeit divers sinister reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred or enmity against your majesty: for if it be the office of a true friend, to give true and faithful counsel to them whom he seeth run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not be proved enemy to your majesty, but rather a friend unfeigned. For what counsel I had given to your majesty, my writings, as well my letter and addition to the same, now printed, as divers others which I wrote from St. Johnston, may testify. I further added, That such an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both persuade, and obtain, that your authority and government should be obeyed of us in all things lawful, till you declared yourself open enemy to this commonwealth, as now, alas! ye have done. This I willed him moreover to say to your majesty, That if ye, following the counsel of flattering men, having no God but this world and their belly, did proceed in your malice against the religion of Christ Jesus,

and true ministers, that ye should do nothing else but accelerate and hasten God's plague and vengeance upon yourself, and those that follow you; and that ye (if ye did not change your purpose hastily) should bring yourself in such extreme danger, that when ye would seek remedy, it should not be so easy to be found as it had been before. This is the effect and sum of all that I said at that time, and willed him, if he pleased, to communicate the same to your majesty; and the same yet again I notify unto your majesty by this my letter, written and subscribed at Edinburgh, the 26th day of October 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your majesty's, to command in all godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

Postscriptum. God move your heart yet in time to consider, That ye fight not against men, but against the eternal God, and against his Son Jesus Christ, the only Prince of the kings of the earth.

At which answer, the said Mr. Robert was so offended, that he would not deliver his letters, saying, That we were ungodly and injurious to the queen regent, if we suspected any craft in her. To the which it was answered by one of the preachers, That time should declare whether he or they were deceived: if she should not declare herself enemy to the true religion which they professed, if ever she had the upper-hand, then they would be content to confess, that they had suspected her sincerity without just cause; but if she should declare her malice no less in times coming than she had done before, they required that he should be more moderate than to condemn them whose conscience he knoweth not. And this was the end of his travel for that time, after that he had troubled the consciences of many godly and quiet persons; for he and others, who were her hired posts, ceased not to blow in the ears of all men, that the queen was heavily dealt with, that she required nothing but obedience to her daughter, that she was content that the true religion should go forward, and that all abuses should be abolished; and by this means they brought a grudge and division among ourselves: for many (and our brethren of Lothian especially) began to murmur, that we sought another thing than religion, and so ceased to assist us certain days, after that we were come to Edinburgh; which we did according to the former diet the 16th day of Octo-

ber. This grudge and trouble among ourselves was not raised by the aforesaid Mr. Robert only, but by those pestilents whom before we have expressed, and Mr. James Balfour especially, whose venomous tongues against God and his true religion, as they deserve punishment of men, so shall they not escape God's vengeance, unless that speedily they repent.

After our coming to Edinburgh, the day forenamed, we assembled in council, and determined to give new advertisement to the queen regent of our convention, and in such sort; and so, with common consent, we sent unto her our request, as followeth:

The second Admonition to the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

YOUR majesty may call to mind, how, at our last convention at Hamilton, we required your highness, in most humble manner, to desist from the fortifying of the town of Leith, then enterprised and begun, which appeared to us, and yet doth, an entry to a conquest and overthrow of our liberties, and altogether against the laws and customs of this realm, seeing it was begun, and yet continueth, without any advice and consent of the nobility and council of this realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our commonwealth, we most humbly require your majesty to cause your strangers and soldiers whatsoever, to depart the said town of Leith, and make the same patent, not only to the inhabitants, but also to all Scotsmen, our sovereign lady's lieges; assuring your highness, that if refusing the same, ye declare thereby your evil mind towards the commonwealth, and liberty of this realm, we will, as before, move and declare the causes unto the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm; and, according to the oath which we have sworn, for the maintenance of the commonwealth, in all manner of things to us possible, we will provide remedy therefore. Requiring most humbly your majesty's answer in haste with the bearer; because in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring your determination of conquest, which is presumed of all men, and not without cause. And thus, after our commendation of service, we pray Almighty God to have your majesty in his eternal tuition.

These our letters received, our messenger was threatened, and with-holden a whole day: there-

after he was dismissed, without any other answer, but that she would send an answer, when she thought expedient. In this mean time, because the rumour ceased not, that the duke usurped the authority, he was compelled with the sound of trumpet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, to make his purgation as followeth, the 19th of October:

The Purgation of the Duke.

FORASMUCH as the duke of Chattelarault, understanding the false report made by these about the queen regent against him, that he and his son the lord Arran should pretend usurpation of the crown and authority of this realm, when in very deed he, nor his said son, never once hath made any shew of any such thing; but only in simplicity of heart, moved partly by the violent pursuit against religion, and true professors thereof; partly by compassion of the commonwealth, and poor commonalty of this realm, oppressed with strangers; he joined himself to the rest of the nobility, with all hazard, to support the common cause of the one and of the other; and hath thought expedient to purge himself and his said son in presence of you all, as he had done in presence of the council, of that said crime of old, even by summons laid to his charge, the second year of the reign of our sovereign lady; which accusation hath continued ever against him, as guilty of that crime: he therefore now openly and plainly protesteth, That neither he, nor his said son, sues nor seeks any pre-eminence, either to the crown or authority, but as far as his puissance may extend, is ready, and ever shall be, and his son also, to concur with the rest of the nobility his brethren, and all others, whose hearts are touched to maintain the common causes of religion and liberty of their native country, plainly invaded by the said regent and her said soldiers, who only do forge such vain reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scotsmen from the succour they owe of bounden duty to their commonwealth oppressed. Wherefore, exhorting all men that will maintain the true religion of God, or withstand this oppression or plain conquest enterprised by strangers upon our native Scotsmen, not to credit such false and untrue reports; but rather concur with us and the rest of the nobility, to set our country at liberty, expelling strangers therefrom; which doing, ye shall shew yourselves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was established for maintenance of the commonwealth, and true members of the same.

The 21st of October, came from the queen regent Mr. Robert Foreman, lion king of arms, who brought unto us a writing, in this tenor and credit :

AFTER commendations, we have received your letter, of Edinburgh, the 19th of this instant, which appeareth to us, rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that bear authority : for answer whereof, we have presently directed unto you this bearer, lion herald king of arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credit. At Leith, October 21st 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

MARY R.

His Credit is this :

THAT the queen wonders how any durst presume to command her in that realm, which needeth not to be conquest by any force, considering that it was already conquest by marriage: that Frenchmen could not justly be called strangers, seeing that they were naturalized; and therefore, that she would neither make that town patent, neither yet send any man away, but as she thought expedient: she accused the duke of violating his promise: she made long protestation of her love towards the commonwealth of Scotland; and in the end commanded, that, under the pain of treason, all assistants to the duke, and unto us, should depart from the town of Edinburgh.

This answer received, credit heard, pre-conceived malice sufficiently espied, consultation was taken, what was expedient to be done; and for the first it was concluded, That the herald should be staid, till further determination should be taken.

The whole nobility, barons, and burgessees, then present, were commanded to convene in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the same twenty-first day of October, for deliberation of these matters, where the whole cause being exposed by the lord Ruthven, the question was propounded, 'Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born counsellors of the realm, being also but a regent, whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannically to domineer over them?' And because that this question had not been before disputed in open assembly, it was thought expedient that the judg-

ment of the preachers should be required; who being called, and instructed in the case, John Willock, who before had sustained the burden of the church in Edinburgh, being commanded to speak, made discourse as followeth:

Asserting, *first*, That albeit magistrates are God's ordinance, having of him power and authority, yet is not their power so largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his word.

And, *secondarily*, That as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so are the magistrates commanded to give some duty to their subjects; so that God by his word hath prescribed the office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God hath appointed magistrates his lieutenants on earth, and hath honoured them with his own title, calling them Gods, that yet he did never so firmly establish any, but at his pleasure he, seeing just cause, might deprive them.

Fourthly, That in deposing of princes, and those that have been in authority, God did not always use his immediate power; but sometimes he useth second means, which his wisdom thought good, and justice approved: as by Aza he removed Maachah, his own mother, from honour and authority, which before she had used; by Jehu he destroyed Joram, and the whole posterity of Ahab; and by divers others he hath deposed from authority those whom before he had established by his own word. And hereupon concluded he, That since the queen regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was, to minister justice to them indifferently; to preserve their liberties from invasion of strangers; and to suffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached amongst them: seeing moreover, that the queen regent was an open and obstinate idolatress, a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry; as also, she openly declares the country to be conquest, and no more free: and finally, that the utterly despiseth the counsel and requests of the nobility; he could see no reason, why they, the born counsellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her from all government and authority amongst them.

Hereafter was the judgment of John Knox required, who approving the sentence of his brother, added, *first*, That the iniquity of the queen regent, and disorder, ought in nowise to withdraw either our hearts, or the hearts of other subjects, from the obedience due unto our sovereign.

Secondly, That if we deposed the said queen regent, rather of malice and private envy, than for the preservation of the commonwealth, and for that her sins appeared incurable, that we should not escape God's just punishment, howsoever that she hath deserved rejection from honours.

And, *thirdly*, he required, That no such sentence should be pronounced against her; but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the commonwealth, and submission to the nobility, place should be granted unto her of regents to the same honours, from the which for just causes she justly might be deprived.

The voice of every man particularly by himself required, and every man commanded to speak, as he would answer to God, what his conscience judged in that matter, there was none found amongst the whole number, who did not by his tongue consent to her deprivation. Thereafter was her process committed to writing, and registered, as followeth:

Articles against the Queen Regent.

AT Edinburgh, the twenty-first day of October 1559, The nobility, barons, and burgessees convened, to advise upon the affairs of the commonwealth, and to aid, support, and succour the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their said commonwealth, and overthrow of the liberties of their native country, by the means of the queen regent, and certain strangers her privy counsellors, plain contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's mind, and direct against the counsel of the nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermost ruin; so that the urgent necessity of the commonwealth may no longer suffer delay, and earnestly craveth our support: seeing therefore that the said queen regent (abusing and over-passing our sovereign lord and lady's commission given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings pursued the barons and burgessees within this realm, with weapons and armour of strangers, without any process and order of law, they being our sovereign lord and lady's true lieges, and never called nor convicted of any crime, by any lawful judgment:

As, 1. at St. Johnston, in the month of May, she assembled her army against the town, and the inhabitants thereof, never called nor convicted of any crime, only because they professed the true worship of God, conform to his most sacred word.

2. And likewise, in the month of June last, without any order or calling going before, invaded the persons of sundry noblemen and barons, with force of arms, convened at St. Andrews, only for cause of religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convicted of any crime.

3. Again, laid garrisons the same month upon the inhabitants of the said town, oppressing the liberties of the queen's true lieges; for fear of which garrisons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled from the town, and durst not return again into their houses and heritages, until they were restored by arms; they notwithstanding never being called nor convicted of any crime.

4. Further, at that same time did thrust in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the said town, provost and bailies, against all order of election; as lately, in this month of September, she hath done in the towns of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, and divers other places, in manifest oppression of our liberties.

5. Declaring her evil mind towards the nobility, commonalty, and whole nation, she hath brought in strangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the same, pretending a manifest conquest of our native rooms and country, as the deed itself declareth; in so far as she, having brought in the said strangers, without any advice of council and nobility, and contrary to their express mind sent to her in writing, hath placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principal towns and parts of the realm, sending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to suppress the commonweal and liberty of our native country, to make us and our posterity slaves to strangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to commonwealths and free countries, so it is very prejudicial to our sovereign lady and her heirs whatsoever, in case our sovereign lady die without heirs of her person: and to perform these our wicked enterprises, conceived, as appeareth, of inveterate malice against our whole country and nation, caused, without any consent or advice of the council and nobility, to coin lead money, so base, and of such quantity, that the whole realm shall be impoverished, and all traffic with foreign nations destroyed thereby.

6. Again, she so placeth and maintaineth, against the pleasure of the council of this realm, a stranger, in one of the greatest offices of credit in this realm, that is, in keeping of the great seal thereof, wherein great perils may be ingendered to the commonwealth and liberty thereof.

7. Further, lately sent the great seal forth of this realm by the said stranger, against the advice of the said council, to what effect God knoweth.

8. And hath also by this means altered the old law and custom of this our realm, ever observed in the graces and pardons granted by our sovereigns to all their lieges, being repentant of their offences committed against their majesties or the lieges of the realm; and hath introduced a new captious style and form of the said pardons and remissions, conform to the practices of France, tending thereby to draw the said lieges of this realm, by process of time, into a deceivable snare; and further shall creep in the whole subversion and alteration of the remanent laws of this realm, contrary to the contents of the appointment of marriage.

9. And also, peace being accorded amongst the princes, retaineth the great army of strangers, after commandment sent by the king of France to retire the same, making excuse, that they were retained for the suppressing the attempts of the lieges of this realm; albeit the whole subjects thereof, of all estates, are, and ever have been ready, to give all dutiful obedience to their sovereigns, and their lawful ministers, proceeding by God's ordinance: and the same army of strangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor commonalty of our native country, who were compelled by force to defraud themselves, their wives, and children, of that poor substance, which they might purchase with the sweat of their brows, to satisfy their hunger and necessities, and quit the same, to sustain the idle bellies of her strangers; through the which, in all parts, rose such heavy lamentation and complaint of the commonalty, accusing the council and nobility of their sloth, that as the same oppression, we doubt not, hath entered in before the justice-seat of God, so hath it moved our hearts with pity and compassion. And for redress of the same, with other great offences committed against the public-weal of this realm, we have convened here, as is said: and as oftentimes before, have most humbly, and with all reverence, desired and required the said queen regent to redress the said enormities; and especially to remove her strangers from the necks of the poor commonalty; and to desist from enterprising of fortifications of strength within this realm, against the express will of the nobility and council of the same. Yet we being convened the more strong, for fear of her strangers, whom we

law presume no other thing, but with arms to pursue our lives and possessions, besought her to remove the fear of the same, and make the town patient to all our sovereign lord and lady's lieges. The same in nowise would she grant; but when some of our company, in peaceable manner, went to view the town, there was both great and small munition shot forth at them. And seeing therefore, that neither access was granted to us by her, nor yet she would join herself to us, to consult upon the affairs of our commonwealth, as we that are born counsellors to the same by ancient laws of the realm; but fearing lest the judgment of the council would reform, as necessity required, the foresaid enormities, the refuseth all manner of assistance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to suppress the liberties of our commonwealth, and of us the favourers of the same.

We therefore, so many of the nobility, barons, and provosts of our boroughs, as are touched with the care of the commonwealth (unto the which we acknowledge ourselves not only born, but also sworn protectors and defenders, against all and whatsoever invaders of the same), and moved by the foresaid notorious proceedings, and with the lamentable complaint of oppression of our commonalty, our fellow-members of the same: perceiving further, that the present necessity of our commonwealth may suffer no delay, being convened, as is said, presently in Edinburgh, for support of our commonwealth, and ripely consulted and advised, taking the fear of God before our eyes, for the causes foresaid, which are notorious, with one consent and common vote, every man's judgment, in order, being required, in the name and authority of our sovereign lord and lady, suspend the said commission, granted by our said sovereign to the said queen dowager, discharging her of all administration or authority she hath, or may have thereby, unto the next parliament, to be set by our advice and consent: and that because the said queen, by the foresaid notorious faults, declareth herself enemy to our commonwealth, abusing the power of the said authority, to the destruction of the same. And likewise, we discharge all members of her said authority from thenceforth; and that no coin be coined from thenceforth, without express consent of the said council and nobility, conform to the laws of this realm, which we maintain; and ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of arms, in all head-boroughs within the realm of Scotland. In witness of the which our common

consent and free vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspension with our hands, day, year, and place foresaid.

Sic subscribitur,

By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.

After that this our Act of Suspension was, by Sound of Trumpet, divulgate at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, we dismissed the Herald with this Answer :

MADAM,

WE received your answer, and heard the credit of the lion king of arms; whereby we gathered sufficiently your perseverance in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native country: for the safety of which, according to our duty, we have, in our sovereign lord and lady's name, suspended your commission, and all administration of policy which you may pretend thereby; being most assuredly persuaded, that your proceedings are directly contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's will, which we ever esteem to be for the welfare, and not for the hurt of this our commonwealth. And as you will not acknowledge us, our sovereign lord and lady's true barons and lieges, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawful magistrate unto us; seeing, if any authority ye have by reason of our sovereign's commission granted unto you, the same, for most worthy reasons, is worthily suspended by us, in the name and authority of our sovereign, whose council we are of, in the affairs of this our commonwealth. And so far as we are determined, with the hazard of our lives, to set that town at liberty, wherein you have most wrongfully planted your soldiers and strangers, for the reverence we owe to your person, as mother to our sovereign lady, we require your highness to transport your person therefrom; seeing we are constrained, for the necessity of the commonwealth, to follow the same by arms, being denied the liberty thereof, by sundry requisitions made oft before. Again, we desire you cause depart with you out of the said town any person having commission in embassy, if any such be, or in lieutenantship of our sovereigns, together with all Frenchmen, soldiers, being within the same (whose blood we thirst not, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the occasion of the marriage of our sovereign lady to the king of that realm,

should rather increase than decrease). And this we pray your highness and them both to do, within the space of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we owe to your persons. And thus, recommending our humble service to you, we commit your highness to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the 24th of October 1559.

Your Highness's humble Servitors.

The Day following we summoned the town of Leith, by the Sound of Trumpet, in Form as followeth :

I REQUIRE and charge, in the name of our sovereign lord and lady, and of the council presently in Edinburgh, that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatsoever estate and degree they be, depart out of the town of Leith, within the space of twelve hours, and make the same patent to all and sundry our sovereign lady's lieges: for seeing we have no such hatred at either the one or the other, that we thirst the blood of any of the two; for the one is our natural brother, born, nourished, and brought up within the bowels of one common country; and with the other our nation hath continued long in amity and alliance, and hopeth that so shall do, so long as they use us as friends, and not strive to make slaves of friends, which this strengthening of our towns portendeth. And therefore most heartily desire, the one and the other to desist from fortifying or maintaining of this town, in our sovereigns, and their said council's name, requiring them to make the same free within the space of twelve hours.

Defiance given, there was skirmishing, without great slaughter: preparation of scales and ladders was made for the assault, which was concluded by common consent of the nobility and barons. The scales were appointed to be made in St. Giles's church; so that preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the preachers, and many godly with them. The preachers spared not openly to say, That they feared the success of that enterprise should not be prosperous, because the beginning appeared to bring with it some contempt of God and of his word. Other places, said they, had been more apt for such preparations, than where the people convened to common prayers, and unto preaching. In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled all that time, which (with other disorder espied amongst us) gave occasion to our preachers to affirm, That God could not suffer such contempt of his word, and abuses of his grace,

long to be unpunished. The queen had amongst us her assured spies, who did not only signify unto her what was our estate, but also what was our counsel, purposes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently suspected to be the very betrayers of all our secrets; for a boy of the official's of Lothian, Mr. James Balfour, was taken carrying a writ, which did open the most secret thing that was devised in the council; yea, those very things, which were thought to have been known but to very few. By such domestic enemies were not only our purposes frustrated, but also our determinations were often overthrown and changed.

The duke's friends gave unto him such terrors, that he was greatly troubled, and by his fear were troubled many others. The men of war (for the most part were men without God or honesty) made a mutiny, because they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the same in Linlithgow before, where they made a proclamation, That they would serve any man, to suppress the Congregation, and set up the mass again. They made a fray upon my lord Argyle's Highlandmen, and slew one of the principal men of his chamber, who, notwithstanding, behaved himself so moderately, and so studious to pacify that tumult, that many wondered as well of his prudent counsel and stoutness, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly soldiers, in hatred of goodness and good men, continuing in their disorder, mocked the laird of Tullibairn, and other noblemen, who exhorted them to quietness.

All these troubles were practised by the queen, and put in execution by the traitors among ourselves; who albeit then lurked, and yet are not manifestly noted, yet we doubt not but God shall make them known, to their confusion, and to the example of others. To pacify the men of war, a collection was devised: but because some were poor, and some were niggards and avaricious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a coin-house should be made; that every nobleman should coin his silver-work and plate, to supply the present necessity: and through David Forrest, John Hart, and others, who before had charge of the coining-house, did promise their faithful labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the said John Hart, and others of his faction, stole away, and took with them the instruments fit for that purpose. Whether this was done by the falsehood and febleness of the said John, or the practising of

others, is yet uncertain. Rested then no hope amongst ourselves, that any money could be furnished: and therefore it was concluded by a few of those whom we judged most secret, that Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, should be tried, if they would support us with any reasonable sum in that urgent necessity: and for that purpose was the laird of Ormiston directed unto them, in so secret manner as we could devise. But yet our council was disclosed to the queen, who appointed the earl Bothwell, as himself confessed, to wait upon the returning of the said laird, as that he did with all diligence; and so being assuredly informed by what way he came, the said earl Bothwell beset his way; and, coming upon him unawares, did take him; after he was much wounded in the head; for neither could he get his led horse, nor his steel bonnet: with him was taken the sum of four thousand crowns of the sun, which the forenamed Sir Ralph and Sir James most lovingly had sent for our support. The report hereof coming to our ears, our sorrow was doubled, not so much for the loss of the money, as for the loss of the gentleman, whom we suspected to have been slain, or at the least that he should be delivered to the queen's hands.

And so upon the sudden the earl of Arran, the lord James, the master of Maxwell, with the most part of the horsemen, took purpose to pursue the said earl Bothwell, if they might apprehend him in Crichton, or Morhan, whitherto, as they were informed, he had retired himself after his treasonable act. We call his act treasonable, because that three days before he had sent his special servant, Mr. Michael Balfour, to us to Edinburgh, to purchase of the lords of the council licence to come and speak with us; which we granted, after that he had promised, that in the mean time he should neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he should write his answer again, whether that he would join with us or not. He gave us farther to understand, that he would discharge himself of the queen, and thereafter would assist us; and yet in this mean time he cruelly and traitterously hurt and spoiled the nobleman aforesaid. Albeit that the departure and counsel of the earl of Arran and lord James, with their company aforesaid, was very sudden and secret, yet was the earl Bothwell, then being in Crichton, advertised, and so escaped with the money which he took with himself, as the captain of his house, John Somervel (who was taken without long pursuit), confessed and affirmed. Because that the noblemen

that fought redress, sought rather his safety and reconciliation, than destruction and hatred, they committed his house to the custody of a captain, *viz.* captain Forbes; to whom, and to all soldiers there left, was given a sharp commandment, that all things found within the said house of Crichton (which were put in inventory in presence of the lords) should be kept till that the earl Bothwell should give answer, whether he would make restitution or not: time of advertisement was granted unto him the whole day subsequent, till going down of the sun.

In absence of the said lords and horsemen (we mean the same day that they departed, which was the last of October), the provost and town of Dundee, together with some soldiers, passed forth of the town of Edinburgh, and carried with them some great ordnance to shoot at Leith. The duke, the earl of Glencairn, and the rest of the noblemen, were gone to the preaching, where they continued almost till noon. The French being advertised by one named Clark, who after was apprehended, that our horsemen were absent, and that the whole company were at dinner, issued, and with great expedition came to the place where our ordnance was laid. The town of Dundee, with a few others, resisted a while, as well with the ordnance as hackbuts; but being left by our ungodly and feeble soldiers, who fled without stroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and so to leave the ordnance to the enemies, who further pursued the fugitives, *viz.* to the midst of the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith-wynd. Their cruelty began then to discover itself; for the maimed, the aged, the women, and children, found no greater favour in their fury, than did the strong man who made resistance. It was very apparent, that among ourselves there was some treason: for when, upon the first alarm, all men made haste for relief of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have saved, and at least we might have saved the ordnance, and have kept the Canongate from danger (for we were once marched forward with bold courage); but then, we say, was a shout raised amongst ourselves (God will disclose the traitors one day), affirming, that the whole French company were entered in at Leith-wynd, upon our backs. What clamour and disorder did then suddenly arise, we list not to express with multiplication of words; the horsemen, and some of those that ought to have put order to others, over-rode their poor brethren at the entry of the Nether-bow. The cry of discomfiture arose in the town; the wicked and

malignant blasphemed. The feeble (amongst whom the justice-clerk Sir John Ballenden was) fled without delay. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the West-port. Mr. Gavin Hamilton cried with a loud voice, 'Drink now as ye have brewed.' The French perceiving, by the clamour of our fray, followed, as is said, to the midst of the Canongate, to no great number, being about twenty or thirty of their foot; for in the mean time the rest retired themselves with our ordnance. The earl of Argyle and his men were the first that stopped the flying of our men, and compelled the port to be opened after that it was shut. But in very deed lord Robert Stewart, abbot of Holyrood-house, was the first that issued forth; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At last came the duke, and then was no man more busy than was Mr. Gavin Hamilton afore said.

The French burnt a bake-house, and took some spoil from the poor of the Canongate. They slew a Papist and a drunken priest, named Sir Thomas Selater, an aged man, a woman giving suck, and her child, and of our soldiers to the number of ten: certain were taken, amongst whom captain Mowat was one, and Mr. Charles Geddes, domestic to the master of Maxwell. The captain of the castle that day shot a shot at the French, declaring himself thereby a friend to us, and enemy to them, but he suddenly repented of well-doing. The queen, glad of the victory, sat upon the rampart, to salute and welcome her victorious soldiers: one brought a kirtle, another a petticoat, the third a pot or pan; and of envy more than womanly laughter, she asked, 'Where bought ye your ware?' *Le pense que vous l'avez achete sans argent?* This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this realm. The earl Bothwell, lifted up in his own conceit, by reason of this our repulse and discomfiture, utterly refused any restitution; and so, within two days after, was his house spoiled, in which were nothing of great importance, his evidences and certain clothing excepted.

From that day back the carriage 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 enterprize: many fled away secretly, and these that did abide, a very few excepted, appeared destitute of counsel and manhood. The master of Maxwell, a man stout and witty, foreseeing the danger, desired most gravely, either to take such order, that they might remain to the terror of the enemy; or

else that they should retire themselves with their ordnance, and banners displayed in order: but the wits of men being dashed, no counsel could prevail. We continued from Wednesday the last of October, till Monday the fifth of November, never two or three abiding firm in one opinion the space of twenty-four hours. The pusillit wits of the queen's practisers did then exercise themselves (God shall recompense their malicious craft into their own bosom, we doubt not); for they caused two godly and forward young men, the lairds of Fairnieharite and Cesford, who once had gladly joined themselves with us, to withdraw themselves and their friends. The same they did to the earl of Morton, who promised to be ours, but did not plainly join. They enticed the captain of the castle to deny us support, in case we were pursued. And finally, the counsel of some was no less pestiferous against us, than was the counsel of Ahithophel against David, and his discomfited soldiers. 'Render, O Lord, to the wicked according to their malice.'

Upon Monday, the fifth of November, did the French issue out of Leith early in the morning, for keeping of the victuals which should have come to us; we, being troubled among ourselves, and, as is said, divided in opinions, were neither circumspect when they did issue, neither yet did we follow with such expedition, as had been meet for them that would have fought our advantage. Our soldiers could scarcely be driven forth of the town: the earl of Arran, lord James, and certain with them, made haste; many honest men then followed, and made such diligence, that they caused the French once to retire somewhat afraid. The rest that were in Leith, perceiving the danger of their fellows, issued out for their succour. The earl of Arran and lord James aforesaid, being more forward than prudent and circumspect, did compel the captains, as is alledged, to bring their men so near, that either they must needs have hazarded battle with the whole Frenchmen (and that under the mercy of their cannon also), or else they must needs retire into a very narrow corner: for our men were approached near to Restalrig: the one part of the French were upon the north toward the sea, the other part marched from Leith to Edinburgh; and yet they marched so, that we could have fought with neither company before that they should have joined.

We took purpose therefore to retire towards the town, and that in haste, lest that the former company of the French should either have invaded

the town before that we could have come to the rescue thereof, or else have cut us off from the entry of the abbey of Holyrood-house, as apparently they had done, if that the laird of Grange, and Alexander Whitelaw, with a few horsemen, had not staid both their horsemen and footmen. The company which was next us, perceiving that we retired, with speed sent forth their skirmishers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took as at a disadvantage, before us having the mire of Restalrig betwixt us and them, and we were inclosed by the park-ditch, so that in nowise we could avoid their shot. The horsemen followed upon our heels, and slew divers: our own horsemen over-rode our footmen; and so, by reason of the narrowness of the place, there was no resistance made. The earl of Arran, and lord James, in great danger, lighted amongst the footmen, exhorting them to have some respect to order, and to the safety of their brethren, whom by their flying they exposed to murder, and so were criminal of their death. Captain Alexander Halyburton, a man that feared God, carried with certain of his soldiers behind, and made resistance, till that he was first shot, and then taken; but being known, those cruel murderers wounded him in divers parts to the death, and yet, as it were by the power of God, he was brought in to the town; where in few, but yet most plain words, he gave confession of his faith, testifying, That he doubted nothing of God's mercy purchased to him by the blood of Christ Jesus; neither yet that he repented, that it pleased God to make him worthy to shed his blood, and spend his life, in defence of so just a cause; and thus, with the dolour of many, he ended his dolour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that blessed immortality. Within two hours after our departure, there were slain to the number of twenty-four or thirty men, the most part poor. There was taken the laird of Pitmillie, the laird of Pharnie younger, the master of Buchan, George Cowell of Dundee, and some others of lower rank, John Dunbar lieutenant to captain Mowat: captain David Murray had his horse slain, and himself hurt in the leg.

Few days before our first departure, which was upon All-hallow-even, William Maitland of Lethington younger, secretary to the queen, perceiving himself not only to be suspected as one that favoured our part, but also to stand in danger of his life, if he should remain amongst so ungodly a company; for whensoever matters came in question, he spared not to speak his conscience; which

liberty of tongue, and gravity of judgment, the French did highly disdain: which perceived by him, he conveyed himself away in the morning, and rendered himself to Mr. Kirkealdy laird of Grange; who coming to us, did exhort us to constancy, assuring us, That in the queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travelled exceedingly to have retained the lords together, and most prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might ensue their departing from the town; but fear and dolour had so seized the hearts of all, that they could admit no consolation. The earl of Arran and the lord James offered to abide, if any reasonable company would abide with them; but men did so steal away, that the wit of man could not stay them; yea, some of the greatest determined plainly, that they would not abide. The captain of the castle, then lord Erskine, would promise unto us no favour, but said, He must needs declare himself friend to those that were able to support and defend him; which answer given to the lord James, discouraged those that before determined to have bidden the uttermost, rather than have abandoned the town, so that the castle would have stood their friend; but the contrary declared, every man took purpose for himself. The complaints of the brethren within the town of Edinburgh were lamentable and fore; the wicked then began to spue forth the venom which then lurked in their cankered hearts: the godly, as well those that were departed, as the inhabitants of the town, were so troubled, that some of them would have preferred death to life at God's pleasure; for avoiding of danger, it was concluded, that they should depart at midnight. The duke made provision for his ordnance, and caused it to be sent before; but the rest was left to the care of the captain of the castle, who received it, as well that which appertained to the lord James, as that of Dundee. The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked other to cast stones at us; one cried, Alas! if I might see another defy given; Give advertisement to the Frenchmen, that they may come, and we shall help them now to cut the throats of these heretics: and thus, as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, so were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed: for we would never have believed, that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity (God move

their hearts to repentance); for else we fear, that he, whose cause we sustain, shall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruel strangers, into whose hands they wished us to have been betrayed.

We staid not till we came to Stirling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh; for it was concluded, that there consultation should be taken, what was the next remedy in so desperate a matter.

The next Wednesday, which was the 7th of November, John Knox preached (John Willock was gone into England, as before he had appointed); and treated of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the Eightieth Psalm, where David, in the person of the afflicted people of God, speaketh thus:

The SERMON of JOHN KNOX in Stirling, in the greatest of our trouble.

4. *O thou the Eternal, the God of Hosts, how long shalt thou be against the prayer of thy people?*

5. *Thou hast fed us with the bread of tears, and hast given to us tears to drink in great measure.*

6. *Thou hast made us a strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laugh us to scorn among themselves.*

7. *O God of Hosts, turn us again, make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved, &c.*

This psalm had the said John begun in Edinburgh, as it were foreseeing our calamity, of which, in very deed, he did not obscurely speak, but he plainly did admonish us, That he was assured of troubles suddenly to come, and therefore he exhorted all men to prayers. He treated on the first three verses in Edinburgh, to the comfort of many.

The Argument of the Eightieth Psalm.

HE declared the argument of the psalm, affirming, for his judgment, That it was made by David himself, who, in the spirit of prophecy, foresaw the miserable estate of God's people, especially after the ten tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of Judah; for it was not, said he, without cause, that Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, were especially named, and not Judah; viz. because that they came first to calamity, and were translated from their own inheritance, while that Judah yet possessed the kingdom. He confessed, that justly they were punished for idolatry com-

mitted; but he affirmed, That amongst them there remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the prophets sent, as well to call them to repentance, as to assure them of deliverance, and of the promises of God to be performed unto them.

The Division.

He divided the psalm into three parts; *viz.*

1. In a prayer.
2. In the ground whereupon their prayer was founded.
3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the vow they made unto God.

Their prayer was, 'That God should convert & turn them; that he should make his face to shine upon them; and that he should restore them to their former dignity.'

The Grounds and Foundations of their Prayers were,

1. That God himself had become pastor and governor unto them.
2. That he had taken the protection of them into his own hand.
3. That he had chosen his habitation amongst them.
4. That he had delivered them from bondage and thralldom.
5. That he had multiplied and blessed them with many notable benedictions.

Upon those two Parts he gave these Notes,

First, That the felicity of God's people may not be measured by any external appearance; for often it is, that the same people to whom God becometh not only Creator, but Pastor and Protector, is more severely dealt with, than those nations where very ignorance and contempt of God reigneth.

Secondly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with one people by his word, but that there he had some of his elect; who, albeit they suffered for a time in the midst of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that God's promises are not vain.

Thirdly, That those prayers were dictated unto the people by the Holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of trouble, to assure them, that God, by whose Spirit the prayer was dictated, would not condemn the same in the midst of their calamities.

The *third part*, containing the lamentable complaint, he treated on in Stirling, in presence of the duke, and of the whole council.

In the exposition thereof, he declared wherefore God in wisdom sometimes suffered his chosen flock to be exposed to mockage and dangers, and to appearing destruction; *viz.* that they may feel the vehemency of God's indignation; that they may know how little strength is in themselves; that they may leave a testimony to the generations following, as well of the malice of the devil against God's people, as of the marvellous work of God, in preserving his little flock by far other means than man can espy.

In explaining these words, 'How long shalt thou be angry, O Lord, against the prayer of thy people,' he declared how dolorous and fearful it was to fight against that temptation, That God turned away his face from our prayers; for that was nothing else, than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed to our destruction; which temptation no flesh can abide or overcome, unless the mighty Spirit of God interpose himself suddenly.

The example he gave, The impatience of Saul, when God would not hear his prayers.

The difference betwixt the elect and reprobate, in that temptation, he plainly declared to be, That the elect, sustained by the secret power of God's Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit he appeared to condemn their prayers; which, said he, is the sacrifice most acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as Jacob did in wrestling with his angel.

But the reprobate, said he, being denied of their requests at God's hand, do either cease to pray, or condemn God, who strictly commandeth us to call upon him in the day of adversity; or else they seek at the devil, that which they see they cannot obtain by God.

In the *second part*, he declared, how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours, not to rejoice and put confidence in ourselves, when God giveth victory; and therefore how necessary it was, that man by affliction should be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmity, lest that he, being puffed up with vain confidence, make 'an idol of his own strength,' as did king Nebuchadnezzar.

He did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blind world, which in all ages had insolently rejoiced when God did chasten his own children, whose glory and honour because the reprobate

can never see, therefore they despise them, and the wonderful works of God in them; and yet, said he, the joy and rejoicing of the world is but mere sorrow, because the end of it tendeth to sudden destruction, as the riotous banquetting of Belshazzar declareth. Applying these heads to the time and persons, he said, If none of God's children had suffered before us the same injuries that presently we sustain, these our troubles would appear intolerable: such is our tender delicacy, and self-love of our own flesh, that these things which we lightly pass over in others, we can greatly complain of if they touch ourselves.

I doubt not but that some of us have oftener than once read this psalm; as also, that we have read and heard the travel and troubles of our ancient fathers; but which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations, did so descend into ourselves, that we felt the bitterness of their passions? I think none; and therefore hath God brought us to some experience in our own persons.

But yet, because the matter may appear obscure, unless it be more properly applied, I cannot in conscience but use such plainness, as God shall grant unto me: our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppressed with sorrow and shame. But what shall we think to be the very cause that God hath thus dejected us? If I shall say, Our sins, and former unthankfulness unto God, I speak the truth, but yet I speak more generally than the present necessity requireth: for when the sins of men are rebuked in general, seldom is it that man descendeth within himself, accusing and condemning in himself that which most displeaseth God; but rather he doubteth that to be a cause, which before God is no cause indeed. For example, The Israelites fighting against the tribe of Benjamin, were twice discomfited, with the loss of forty thousand men: they lamented and bewailed both first and last: but we find not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and sin, which was the cause that they fell by the edge of the sword; but rather they doubted that to have been a cause of their misfortune, which God had commanded; for they asked, Shall we go and fight any more against our brethren the sons of Benjamin? By which question it is evident, that they supposed that the cause of their overthrow and discomfiture was, because they had lifted the sword against their brethren and natural countrymen; and yet the express commandment of God, that was given unto them, did deliver

them from all crime in that cause. There is no doubt but that there was some cause in the Israelites, that God gave them so over into the hands of those wicked men, against whom he sent them, by his own express commandment, to execute his judgments. Such as do well mark the history, and the estate of that people, may easily see the cause why God was offended: all the whole people had declined from God; idolatry was maintained by the common consent of the multitude; and, as the text saith, "Every man did that which was good in his own eyes." In this mean time, the Levite complained of the villany that was done unto himself, and unto his wife, who, oppressed by the Benjamites of Gibeah, died under their filthy lusts, which horrible fact inflamed the hearts of the whole people, to take vengeance upon that abomination (and therein they offended not): but in this they failed, That they go to execute judgment against the wicked, without any repentance, or remorse of conscience, of their own former offences, and defection from God: and farther, because they were a great multitude, and the other were far inferior to them, they trusted in their own strength, and thought themselves able enough to do their purpose, without any invocation of the name of God: but after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own strength, they fasted and prayed; and being humbled before God, they received a more favourable answer, and assured promise of the victory.

The like may be amongst us, albeit suddenly we do not espy it: and to the end that every man may the better examine himself, I will divide the whole company into two sorts of men; the one are those that from the beginning of this trouble have sustained the common danger with their brethren, the other are these which are joined to our fellowship. In the one, and in the other, I fear that just cause shall be found, why God should thus have humbled us: and albeit that this appear strange at the first hearing, yet, if every man shall examine himself, and speak that which his conscience dictateth to him, I doubt not but he shall subscribe to my sentence. Let us begin at ourselves, who longest have continued in this battle: when we were a few in number, in comparison of our enemies; when we had neither earl nor lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our Protector, Defence, and only Refuge; amongst us was heard no bragging of multitude, nor of our strength, nor policy; we did only cry to God, to have respect to the

equity of our cause, and to the cruel pursuit of the tyrannical enemy: but since that our number had been thus multiplied, and chiefly since the duke, with his friends, have been joined with us, there was nothing heard but, ‘ This lord will bring these many hundred spears; this man hath the credit to persuade this country; if this earl be ours, no man in such bounds will trouble us.’ And thus the best of us all, that before felt God’s potent hand to our defence, have of late days put flesh to be our arm; but wherein yet had the duke and his friends offended? It may be, that as we have trusted in them, so have they put too much confidence in their own strength: but granting it be not so, I see a cause most just, why the duke and his friends should thus be confounded amongst the rest of their brethren; I have not yet forgotten, what was the dolour and anguish of my own heart, when at St. Johnston, Coupar-muir, and Edinburgh-craigs, those cruel murderers, that now have put us to this dishonour, threatened our present destruction: the duke and his friends, at all the three journeys, were to them a great comfort, and to us a great discouragement: for his name and authority did more astonish us than did the force of the other; yea, without his assistance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the queen, upon so unequal conditions. I am uncertain if the duke hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance to those murderers, unjustly pursuing us; yea, I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ’s blessed martyrs, which was shed by his fault: but let it be that so he hath done (as I hear that he hath confessed his offence before the lords and brethren of the Congregation), yet I am assured, that neither he, neither yet his friends, did feel before this time, the anguish and grief of heart which we felt, when their blind fury pursued us; and therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall into this confusion at once; us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man; and them, because that they should feel in their own hearts, how bitter was the cup which they made others to drink before them.

Resteth, that both they and we turn to the Eternal, our God (who beateth down to death, to the intent that he may raise up again, to leave the remembrance of his wonderful deliverance, to the praise of his own name), which if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after that twice with ignominy they were repulsed and driven back: yea, whatsoever shall become of us and our mortal carcases, I doubt not but that this cause, in despite of Satan, shall prevail in this realm of Scotland; for as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it once prevail, howsoever for the time it is impugned. It may be that God shall plague some, for that they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly respects they seem to favour it; yea, God may take some of his dearest children away, before that their eyes see greater troubles: but neither shall the one, nor the other, so hinder this action, but in the end it shall triumph.

This sermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to prayer, and to the works of charity: the minds of men began wonderfully to be erected; and immediately after dinner, the lords passed to council, unto the which the said John Knox was called, to make invocation of the name of God (for other preachers were none with us at that time). In the end it was concluded, That William Maitland aforesaid should pass to London, to expose our estate and condition to the queen and council; and that the noblemen should depart to their homes, and be quiet, till the 16th day of December: which time was appointed to the next convention in Stirling, as in this our **THIRD BOOK** following shall be more amply declared.

Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies; for we are brought even to the depth of the dungeon.

BOOK THIRD.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

S C O T L A N D.

AFTER this our dolorous departing from Edinburgh, the fury and rage of the French increased; for then durst neither man nor woman, that professed Christ Jesus, within the town be seen. The houses of the most honest men were given by the queen to Frenchmen, for a part of their reward. The earl Bothwell, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the earl of Arran traitor, with other despiteful words; all which was done for the pleasure, and by the suggestion, of the queen regent, who then thought the battle was won without further resistance. Great practices she made for obtaining the castle of Edinburgh; the French made their fagots, with other preparations, to assault the said castle, either by force, or else by treason: but God wrought so mightily with the captain, the lord Erskine, at that time, that neither the queen by flattery, nor the French by treason, prevailed. Advertisement with all diligence passed to the duke of Guise, who then was king of France (as concerning power to command), requiring him to make expedition, if he desired the full conquest of Scotland; who delayed no time, but with a new army sent away his brother marquis Dalbuis,

and in his company Marticks, promising, that he himself should follow. But the righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those who unfeignedly cry unto him, fought for us by his own out-stretched arm: for in one night, upon the coast of Holland, were drowned of them eighteen ensigns; so that only rested the ship, in the which were two principals aforesaid, with their ladies, who, violently driven back to Diepe, were compelled to confess, 'That God fought for the defence of Scotland.'

From England returned Robert Melvil, who past in company to London with the secretary, a little before Christmas, and brought unto us certain articles to be answered, as by the contract, that after was made, more plainly shall appear. Whereupon the nobility assembled at Stirling, and returned answer with diligence: whereof the French advertised, they marched to Linlithgow, spoiled the duke's house, and wasted his lands of Kinneil; and after came to Stirling, where they remained certain days (the duke, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, with their friends, passed to Glasgow; the earl of Arran and lord James passed to

St. Andrews: for charge was given to the whole nobility Protestants, to keep their own bodies, till that God should send them further support). The French took purpose first to assault Fife; for at it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the town and abbey, with the castle of St. Andrews: and so they came to Culrofs, after to Dumfermline, and then to Burntisland, where they began to fortify; but desisted therefrom, and marched to Kinghorn, upon the occasion as followeth:

When certain knowledge came to the earl of Arran, and to lord James, that the French were departed from Stirling, they departed also from St. Andrews, and began to assemble their forces at Coupar, and sent their men of war to Kinghorn, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast-side, of mind to resist rather at the beginning, than when they had destroyed a part of their towns: but the lords had given an express commandment, That they should hazard nothing, till that they themselves were present; and for that purpose was sent unto them the lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in stoutness: in his company was the earl of Sutherland, sent from the earl of Huntly, as he alledged, to comfort the lords in their affliction; but others whispered, That his principal commission was unto the queen regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arm, by the shot of an hackbut; for the men of war, and the rascal multitude, perceiving certain boats of Frenchmen landing, which came from Leith, purposed to stop their landing; and so, not considering the enemies that approached from Burntisland, unadvisedly they rushed down to Pettieur (so is that bay to the west of Kinghorn called), and at the sea-coast began the skirmishing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged them upon the back, and the whole bands came directly in their faces; and so were they compelled to give back, with the loss of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some; amongst whom were two that professed Christ Jesus, one named Paul Lambert a Dutchman, and a French boy, fervent in religion, and clean of life, whom in despite they hanged over the steeple of Kinghorn. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord! in thy appointed time.

The cause that in so great danger there was so small a loss, next unto the merciful providence of God, was the sudden coming of the lord Ruthven; for even as our men had given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae,

and did not only stay the Frenchmen, but also some of ours broke upon their horsemen, and so repulsed them, that they did no further hurt to our footmen. In that rencounter was the earl of Sutherland forefald shot in the arm, and was carried back to Coupar. The Frenchmen took Kinghorn, where they lay and wasted the country about, as well Papists as Protestants; yea, even those that were confederated with them, such as Seafield, Wemyss, Balmouto, Balweary, and others, enemies to God, and traitors to their country; of those, we say, they spared not the sheep, the oxen, the kine, and horte; and, some say, that their wives and daughters got favour of the French soldiers: and so did God recompense the Papists in their own bosoms; for besides the desiling of their houses, as is said, two of them received more damage than did all the gentlemen that professed the gospel within Fife, the laird of Grange only excepted, whose house of the Grange the Frenchmen overthrew with gunpowder. The queen regent, proud of this victory, burst forth into her blasphemous railing, and said, 'Where is now John Knox's God? My god is now stronger than his, yea, even in Fife.' She posted to her friends in France news that thousands of the heretics were slain, and the rest were fled; and therefore required, that some nobleman of her friends would come, and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information was Marticks, with two ships, and some captains and horses, directed to come into Scotland; but little to their own advantage, as we shall after hear.

The lords of the Congregation, offended at the foolishness of the rascal multitude, called to themselves the men of war, and remained certain days at Coupar; unto whom repaired John Knox, and in our greatest desperation, preached unto us a most comfortable sermon: his text was, The danger wherein the disciples of Christ Jesus stood, when they were in the midst of the sea, and Jesus was upon the mountain. John vi. His exhortation was, That we should not faint, but that we should still row against the contrarious blasts, till that Jesus Christ should come: for, said he, I am as assuredly persuaded, that God will deliver us from this extreme trouble, as that I am assured, that this is the gospel of Jesus Christ which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come; abide a little, the boat shall be saved; and Peter, who hath left the boat, shall not drown. I am assured of that, albeit I cannot assure you by reason of this present rage; God grant that ye may

acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have seen his deliverance.

In that sermon he comforted many, and yet he offended the earl of Arran; for, in his discourse upon the manifold assaults the church of God sustained, he brought for example the multitude of strangers that pursued Jehoshaphat, after he had reformed religion. He spake of the fear of the people, yea, and of the king himself at the first. But after he affirmed, that Jehoshaphat was stout; and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his soldiers; he came forth in the midst of them, he spake lovingly unto them. He kept not himself, said he, inclosed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoiced them with his presence and godly comfort. These and the like sentences took the said earl to be spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more close and solitary than many men would have wished.

After these things, determination was taken, that the earl of Arran, and lord James, with the men of war, and some companies of horsemen, should go to Dyfart, and there lie to wait upon the French, to stop them from destroying the sea-coast, as they intended utterly to have done. The said earl, and lord James, did as they were appointed, albeit their company was very small; and yet they did so valiantly, that it passed almost credit: for twenty-one days they lay in their clothes, their boots came never off; they had skirmishing almost every day, yea, some days from morning to night. The French were four thousand soldiers, besides their favourers and faction of the country: the lords were never together five hundred horsemen, with an hundred soldiers; and yet they held the French so busy, that, for every horse that was slain to the Congregation, they lost four French soldiers.

William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the day after that his house was cast down, sent his defiance to monsieur d'Oscl, and unto the rest, declaring that to this hour he had used the French favourably, yea, he had saved their lives, when that he might have suffered their throats to have been cut; but, seeing they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in time to come. And unto monsieur d'Oscl he said, He knew that he should not get him in skirmishing, because he knew he was a great coward; but it might be, that he should quit him a common, either in Scotland, or else in France. The said William Kirkcaldy, and the master of Lindsay, escaped many dangers; the master had his horse slain under him, and William was almost betrayed in his house at Halyards; but

yet they never ceased, for night and day they waited upon the French: they laid themselves in a secret place, with some gentlemen, before day, to wait upon the French, who used commonly to issue in companies to seek their prey; and so came forth one captain Bartu, with his hundred, and began to spoil; whom the master, after lord Lindsay, and William suffered, without declaration of themselves, or of their company, till that they had them more than a mile from Kinghorn, and then began the horsemen to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called Glames-houfe, and made for debate; some took the house, others defended the court and yards: the hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but spears, and were compelled to light upon their feet; the other were within ditches, and every man had a culverin. The shot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt, amongst whom was Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkcaldy, brother to the said laird, who both were supposed to have been slain. The said laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recoil, said, 'Fy, let us never live after this day, that we shall recoil for French scybalds and rascals.' And so the master of Lindsay and he burst in at the gate, and others followed. The master struck with his spear at La Bartu, and grazing upon his harness, from fierceness stumbled almost upon his knees; but recovering suddenly, he fastened his spear, and bore the said captain backward; who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him. Those that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to Dundee to be kept.

This mischance to the Frenchmen, made them to be more circumspect in straying and wandering abroad into the country, and so the poor people got some relief. To furnish the French with victuals, was appointed captain Culan, with two ships, who travelled betwixt the south shore and Kinghorn for that purpose: for his wages, he spoiled Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and so much of Dyfart as he might: for remedy whereof, were appointed two ships from Dundee; Andrew Sands, a very stout and fervent man in the cause of religion, was the principal. This same time arrived Marticks, who, without delay, landed himself, the coffers, and the principal gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leaving the rest in the ships till better opportunity: but the said Andrew and his company striking sail, and making as they would cast anchor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee: in them were gotten some horse, and

much harness, with some other trifles; but of money we heard not. Hereat the French offended, vowed the destruction of St. Andrews and Dundee.

And so upon Monday in the morning, the thirteenth of January, they marched from Dysart, and passed the water of Leven, ever keeping the coast, by reason of their ships and victuals, as is said: about noon they espied ships (which were seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known). Monsieur d'Ofel affirmed them to be French ships, and so the soldiers triumphed, shot their volley for a false, and marched forward to Kingeraig, fearing no resistance; but shortly after, the English ships met with captain Culan, and seized upon him and his ships, which made them a little to muse: then suddenly came Mr. Alexander Wood, who had been upon the admiral, and assured monsieur d'Ofel that they were Englishmen, and that they were the forewarners of a greater number that followed, who were sent for support of the Congregation. There might have been seen pulling of beards for anger, and might have been heard such despite as cruel men use to spew forth, when God bridleth their fury. Weariness and the night constrained them to lodge there; they supped scarcely, because their ships were taken, in the which were their victuals and ordnance, which they intended to have placed in St. Andrews. They themselves durst not stray abroad to seek; and the laird of Wemyss's carriages, which likewise were coming with furnishing unto them, were staid; and therefore betimes in the morning they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward. The storm, which had continued near the space of a month, broke in the time of their returning; whereby many thought that they should have been staid, till that a reasonable company might have been assembled to have fought with them; and for that purpose did William Kirkcaldy cut the bridge of Tullibody: but the French, expert enough in such feats, took down the roof of a parish-church, and made a bridge over the same water, called Donan, and so they escaped, and went to Stirling, and thereafter to Leith; yet in their return they lost divers, amongst whom there was one whose miserable end we may rehearse.

As the French spoiled the country in their returning, one, captain or common soldier we cannot tell, but he had a red cloak, and a gilt murriow, entered upon a poor woman that dwelt in the White-

side, and began to spoil. The poor woman offered unto him such bread as she had ready prepared; but he, in nowise therewith content, would have the meal, and a little salt-beef, which the poor woman had to sustain her own life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the merciless man, but he would have whatsoever he might carry. The poor woman perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped down in her tub, for the taking forth of such stuff as was within it, first couped and turned up his heels, so that his head went down; and thereafter, whether by herself, or if any other company came to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life: God so punishing his cruel heart, who could not spare a miserable woman in that extremity. 'Let all such soldiers receive such reward, O Lord! seeing that thou only art the revenger of the oppressed.'

And now, because that, from this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we in our greatest extremity received by God's providence from our neighbours of England, we think it expedient simply to declare by what instruments that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to pass, that the queen and council of England shewed themselves so favourable unto us.

As John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue our enterprize; so, when he came to Diepe, mindful of the same, and resolving with himself what remedy God would please to offer, he took boldness to write to Sir William Cecil, secretary of state in England, with whom the said John had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open further of his mind. The tenor of his first letter follows:

*The Spirit of Judgment, Wisdom, and Sanctification,
I wish unto you by Jesus Christ.*

As I have no pleasure with long writing to trouble you, right honourable, whose mind I know to be taken up with most grave matters; so I mind not greatly to labour by long preface to conciliate your favours, which I suppose I have already (howsoever rumours report the contrary) as the favour it becometh one member of Christ's body to have of another; the contents therefore of my present letter shall be absolved in two points: in the former, I purpose to discharge in few words my conscience towards you; and in the other, somewhat must I speak, for my own defence, and in

defence of that poor flock, of late assembled in the most godly reformed church and city of the world, Geneva: to you, Sir, I say, that, as from God you have received life, wisdom, honours, and the present estate in the which you now stand; so ought you wholly to apply the same to the advancement of his glory, who only is the author of life, the fountain of wisdom, and who most assuredly doth, and will honour and glorify them, that with simple hearts do glorify him; which, alas! in times past you have not done; but, being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world in the way of perdition: for to the suppressing of Christ's true gospel, to the erecting of idolatry, and to the shedding of the blood of God's most dear children, have you by silence consented, and subscribed this your most horrible defection from the known truth, and once professed; yet hath God to this day mercifully spared, yea, to man's judgment, he hath utterly forgotten, and pardoned the same: he hath not dealt with you, as he hath done with others, of like knowledge, whom in his anger (but yet most justly according to their deserts) he did shortly strike after their desertion; but you, guilty in the same offences, hath he fostered and preserved, as it were, in his own bosom, during the time of that most miserable thralldom, of that professed enemy of God, mischievous Mary; and now he hath set you at such liberty, as the fury of God's enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly, against his honour, you take pleasure to conspire with them. As this benefit which you have received is great, so must God's justice require of you a thankful heart: for seeing that his mercy hath spared you, being traitor to his majesty; seeing further, that amongst your enemies he hath preserved you; and last, seeing, although worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honour and dignity; of you must he require, because he is just, earnest repentance for your former defection, a heart mindful of his merciful providence, and a will so ready to advance his glory, that evidently it may appear, that in vain you have not received these graces of God; to the performance whereof, of necessity it is, that carnal wisdom and worldly policy (to which you are reported too much inclined) must give place to God's simple and naked truth. Very love compels me to say, That except the Spirit of God purge your heart from that venom, which your eyes have seen to have been destruction to others, that you shall not long escape the reward of dissemblers. Call to mind what your ears heard pro-

claimed in the chapel of St. James, when this verse of the first Psalm was handled, 'Not so, O wicked! not so, but as the dust which the wind tosseth, &c.' And consider, that now you travel in the same way which then they did occupy; to speak plainly, now you are in that estate and credit, in the which you shall either comfort the sorrowful and afflicted for righteousness' sake, or else you shall molest or oppugn the Spirit of God speaking in his messengers. The comforters of the afflicted for godliness, hath promise of comfort in their greatest necessities; but the troublers of God's servants (how contemned that ever they appear before the world) are threatened to have their names in execration to the posterities following. The examples of the one, and of the other, are not only evident in Scripture, but also have been lately manifested in England: and this is the conclusion of that, which to yourself, I say, except that in the cause of Christ's gospel you be found simple, sincere, fervent, and unfeigned, you shall taste of the same cup, which politic heads have drunk in before you.

The other point concerning myself, and that poor flock now dispersed, and, as I hear say, rudely used, is this: by divers messengers I have requested such privileges, as Turks commonly do grant to men of every nation, *viz.* That liberty should be granted to me freely to pass through England, to the end that with greater expedition I might repair towards my own country, which now beginneth to thirst for Christ's truth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered the realm without licence demanded; and yet I understand, that it hath been so rejected, that the solicitors thereof did hardly escape imprisonment; and some of that poor flock I hear to be so extremely handled, that those who most rudely have shed the blood of God's most dear children, find this day amongst you greater favours than they do. Alas! this appeareth much to repugnate to Christian charity; for whatsoever hath been mine offence, this I fear not to affirm in their cause, That if any that have suffered exile in those most dolorous days of persecution, deserve praise and commendation, for peace, concord, sober and quiet living, it is they: and as for me, how criminal that ever I be in God's presence, for the multitude of my sins, yet before his justice-seat I have a testimony of a clear conscience, That since my first acquaintance with England, willingly I never offended person within it, except, in open chair, to reprove that which

God condemneth, can be judged offence. But I have, say you, written a treasonable book, against the government and empire of women: if that be my offence, the poor flock is innocent (except such as this day do fastest cry treason): for, Sir, (in God's presence I do write), with none in that company did I consult before the finishing of the same: therefore, in Christ's name, I require, that the blame may be upon me alone. The writing of that book I will not deny, but to prove it treasonable, I think it shall be hard; for, Sir, no more do I doubt of the truth of my proposition, than that I doubt, that this was the voice of God, which first did pronounce this penalty against women, 'In sorrow shalt thou bear thy children.' It is reported, that my book is, or shall be written against, or answered: if so be, Sir, I greatly fear, that slatterers shall more hurt than help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; for except my error be plainly shewn and confuted, by better authority than by such laws as from year to year may, and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest that, in so doing, I shall appear to betray the verity, which is not subject to the mutability of time: and if any think me, either enemy to the person, or yet to the government of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory), albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to such government. More plainly to speak, If queen Elizabeth shall confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy makes that lawful unto her, which both nature and God's laws do deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be: but if (God's wonderful works set aside) the ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws, and ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme majesty, so do I greatly fear, that her ingratitude shall not long lack punishment. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ (before whom both you and I shall stand, to make an account of all counsel we give), I require you to signify unto her majesty in my name; adding, That only humility, and desertion of herself before God, shall be the firmness and stability

of the throne, which I know shall be assaulted more ways than one. If this you conceal from her majesty, I will make it patent to the world, that thus far I have communicated with you, having also further to speak, if my judgment may be heard. Alas! Sir, is my offence (although in that time, and in that matter, I had written ten books) so heinous, that I cannot have licence, by preaching of Christ Jesus, to refresh those thirsty souls, who long have lacked the water of life: no man will I presently accuse, but I greatly fear, that 'the leprous have no great pleasure to behold fair faces in clear glass.' Let none be afraid, that I require to frequent the court, or yet to remain any long time in England; but only thirst, in passing through to my native country, to communicate with you, and some others, such things as willingly I list not to commit to paper, neither to the credit and knowledge of many; and then, in the north parts, to offer God's favours to such as I suppose do mourn for their desertion: and this, I trust, shall be no less profitable to the queen, and to all godly within England, than it should be pleasing to me in the flesh.

This is the third time that I have begged licence to visit the hungry and thirsty amongst you, which if now be denied, as before God I have a testimony, that I seek not for myself, but the advancement of Christ's gospel, and the comfort of such as I know afflicted; so shall the godly understand, that England, in refusing me, refuseth a friend, how small that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart deeply, to consider your duty unto God, and the estate of that realm, in which, by his appointment, you now serve.

Yours to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

From Diepe, the 10th of
April 1559.

To this letter was no answer made; for shortly the said John Knox made forward to Scotland by sea, where he landed the 3d of May, and had such success as is in the Second Book declared. The said John being in St. Andrews, after Couparmuir, entered in deep discourse with the laird of Grange; the dangers were very evident, but the support was not easily to be seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as followeth; 'If England would foresee their own commodity,

‘ yea, if they would consider the danger wherein themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel; for France hath no less decreed the conquest of England than of Scotland.’ After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two, that support should be craved of England: and, for that purpose, the said laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Henry Piercy, and after rode from Edinburgh, and spoke with him; to whom he made so plain demonstration of the danger appearing to England, that he took upon him to write to secretary Cecil, who with expedition returned answer back again, giving him to understand, That our enterprize altogether misliked not the council, albeit that they desired further resolution of the principal lords: which thing understood, it was concluded to write to him plainly our whole purpose; the tenor of our letter was this:

The first Letter to Sir William Cecil, from the Lords of the Congregation.

THE contents of a letter directed by you, right worshipful, to Sir Henry Piercy, was notified unto us by Mr. Kirkealdy of Grange, this Sunday the 26th of July; by the which we perceive, that the said laird of Grange, of zeal and faithful heart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, and, before the world, dangerous enterprize, hath travelled with you, as with an unfeigned favourer of Christ’s true religion, and of the liberty of our country, for knowledge of your minds towards us, in case that we be assaulted by any foreign invasion, or greater power than we be well able to resist. Your comfortable answer to this question we have considered, to our joy and comfort; as also your motions, and what you demand, *viz.* What the Protestants within this realm do purpose? To what end we mean to direct our actions? How we will, and how we are able to accomplish the same? What doubts we have of any adverse power? And, finally, in case that support should be sent from you, what manner of amity might ensue betwixt these two realms? &c.

To the which in brief we answer, That our whole and only purpose, as God knoweth, is to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, the true preaching of his gospel within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sorts of external idolatry; to bridle, to our powers, the fury of those that heretofore have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren: and, to our uttermost, to maintain the

liberty of this our country, from the tyranny and thralldom of strangers, as God shall assist us. How we are able to accomplish these premises, is to us unknown; only our hope is good, that he that hath begun this good work in us, and hath by his power to this hour confounded the faces of our adversaries, will perform the same to his glory, which chiefly we seek in this our enterprize. Because we suppose, that neither our present danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which France maketh against us, are hid from you, nor from the council, we omit that part. As touching the assurance of a perpetual amity to stand betwixt these two realms, as no earthly thing of us is more desired, so crave we of God, to make us the instruments, by which this unnatural debate, which long hath continued betwixt us, may once be composed, to the praise of God’s name, and to the comfort of the faithful in both realms. And if your wisdoms can foresee, and devise the means and assurances how the same may be brought to pass, persuade yourselves not only of our consent and assistance, but also of our constancy, as men can promise, unto our lives end; yea further, of charge and commandment by us, to be left to our posterity, that the amity betwixt us, in God, contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever.

As for the revolting from you to France, which ye seem to fear and suspect, at their pleasure, we utterly abhor that infidelity; for now doth the voice of God continually sound in our ears, That such as profane the terrible and reverend name of God, shall not escape vengeance. Our confederacy, amity, and league, shall not be like the pactions made by worldly men, for worldly profit; but as we require it for God’s cause, so will we call upon his name for the observation of the same. Moreover, if we should lack any thing in temporal commodity, yet should we never have occasion to return to them; for we now perceive and feel the weight of their yoke, and intend, by God’s grace, to cut away such instruments, as by whom this realm was before abused. True it is, that as yet we have made no mention of any change in authority; neither yet were we minded to do any such thing, till extreme necessity compelleth us thereto; but seeing it is now more than evident, that France, and the queen regent here, with her priests, pretend nothing but the suppressing of Christ’s gospel, the ruin of us, and the subversion of this poor realm, committing our innocence to God, and unto the judgment of all godly and

wife men, we are determined to seek the next remedy; in which we heartily require your counsel and assistance. And thus far we have enterprised, to make you participant of our purpose, because in the said letters ye required of the said Mr. Kirkealdy some further assurance than his own word or writing, which we doubt not but ye shall shortly receive from more than from us. We dare not hastily make the assembly, neither of nobles, neither of barons, privy in this cause, for dangers that may ensue by policy and craft of the adversaries; your wisdom, we doubt not, will communicate these only with such as ye know favourers of such a godly conjunction. It should much help, in our opinion, if the preachers, both in persuasion, and in public prayers, as ours do here, would commend the same unto the people. And thus, after our most humble commendations to the queen's majesty (whose reign we wish may be prosperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of his church), we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent.

From Edinburgh, the 17th of
July 1559.

With this our letter John Knox wrote two, one to the said secretary, and another to the queen's majesty herself; the tenor whereof follows thus:

John Knox's second Letter to Mr. Cecil, for the Delivery of another to the Queen.

SIR,

AFTER my humble commendations, please you deliver this other inclosed to the queen; it containeth a few and simple words of my confession, what I think of her authority, how it is just, and what may make it odious in God's presence. I hear that there is one confutation set forth against the **FIRST BLAST**; God grant, that the writer thereof hath no more sought the favours of this present world, no less the glory of God, and the stable good of his country, than he who enterprised in that Blast to utter his conscience. When I shall have time (which now is somewhat precious unto me) to peruse that work, I will communicate my judgment with you.

The time is now, Sir, that all, who either thirst for Christ to reign in this isle, or yet the hearts of the inhabitants to be joined together in love unfeigned, ought rather to study how the same might be brought to pass, than vainly to tra-

vel for the maintenance of that, whereof already we have seen the danger, and feel the smart: if the most part of women be wicked, and such as willingly we would not should reign over us; and if the most godly, and such as have rare graces, be yet mortal, we ought to take heed lest, in establishing of one judged godly and profitable to her country, we make an interest and title to many; by whom not only will the truth be impugned, but also will the country be brought into bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your country, eyes to see, and wisdom to avoid, the dangers appearing.

By divers letters I have required licence to have visited the north parts of England; but as yet I have received no favourable answer: the longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the less comfort will the faithful there receive; yea, weaker will the queen's favour be. If I were not an unfeigned friend to her majesty, I would not instantly beg such liberty: which, to me, I know, will neither be profitable nor pleasing in the flesh. The common things here, I doubt not, you know; some things I have, as oftentimes I have written, which gladly I would communicate, but I mind not to commit them to paper and ink; find therefore the means, that I may speak with such a one as you will credit in all things. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you.

I heartily beseech you to have my service recommended to the queen's majesty, adding, That whosoever maketh me odious to her majesty, seeketh somewhat besides the glory of God, and her majesty's prosperity; and therefore cannot be assured and unfeigned friends. From, &c.

The letter sent from the said John to the queen's majesty of England, being inclosed in the foresaid Mr. Cecil's letter.

To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, John Knox desireth the perpetual Comfort of the Holy Spirit.

MADAM,

As your majesty's displeasure against me, most unjustly conceived, hath been, and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almost intolerable; so is the testimony of a clear conscience to me a stay and uphold, that I sink not in despair, how vehement soever the temptations appear; for, in God's presence, my conscience

beareth me record, That maliciously, or of purpose, I never offended your majesty, nor your realm; and therefore, howsoever I be judged of man, I am sure to be absolved of Him, who only knoweth the secrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a book against the usurped authority and unjust government of women; neither yet am I minded to recant, or call back any principal point or proposition of the same, till truth and verity do further appear; but why that your majesty, or any such, who unfeignedly favour the liberty of England, should be offended at the author of such a work, I can perceive no just occasion; for first, my book touched not your majesty's person in special, neither is it prejudicial to any liberty of the realm, if the time of my writing be indifferently considered. How could I be enemy to your majesty's person, for delivery whereof, I did more study, and undertake further, than any of those who now accuse me? And as concerning your government, how could, or can I envy that? which most I have wished for, and for which, as my weak memory will suffer, I render thanks unfeignedly to God; *viz.* That it hath pleased him, of his eternal goodness, to exalt your head, which sometime was in danger, to the manifestation of his glory, and extirpation of idolatry: and as for my offence, which I have committed against England, either by writing that book, or by any other work, I will not refuse that moderate and indifferent men judge and discern betwixt me, and those that accuse me; *viz.* Whether of the parties do most hurt to the liberty of England; I, who affirm that no woman may be exalted above any realm, to make the liberty of the same subject to a strange, proud, and cruel nation; or they, that approve whatsoever pleaseth princes for the time. If I were as well disposed to accuse, as some of them, to their own shame, have declared themselves, I nothing doubt but that, in few words, I should let reasonable men understand, That some, that this day lowly crouch and bow to your majesty, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did, in your adversity, neither shew themselves faithful friends to your majesty, neither yet so loving and careful of their native country as they would be esteemed: but omitting the accusation of others, for my own purgation and your majesty's satisfaction, I say, that nothing contained in my book is, or can be prejudicial to your majesty's just government, providing that you be not found ungrateful unto God. Ungrateful you will be proved in the presence of his throne, howsoever that flatterers justify you,

if you transfer the glory of that honour, in which you now stand, to any other thing, than to the dispensation of his mercy, which only maketh that lawful to your majesty, which nature and law denieth to all women, to command and bear rule over men. Neither would I that your majesty should fear, that this your humiliation before God, should in any case infirm or weaken your majesty's just and lawful authority: nay, madam, such unfeigned confession of God's benefits received, will be the establishment of the same, not only to yourself, but also to your seed and posterity; where, on the contrary, a proud conceit, and elevation of yourself, will be the occasion that your reign will be unstable, troublesome, and short. God is witness, that unfeignedly I both love and reverence your majesty; yea, I pray that your reign may be both prosperous and quiet, and that for the quietness which Christ's members, before persecuted, have received under you: but yet, if I should flatter your majesty, I were no friend, but a deceitful traitor; and therefore in conscience I am compelled to say, That neither the consent of the people, the process of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve; but whatsoever he approveth by his eternal word, that shall be approved, and stay constantly firm; and whatsoever he condemneth, shall be condemned, though all men on earth should travel for the justification of the same: and therefore, madam, the only way to retain and keep the benefits of God, abundantly of late days poured upon you and your realm, is unfeignedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeserved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation; forget your birth, and all title which hereupon doth hang, and consider deeply, how for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to idolatry, going to mass under your sister Mary's persecution of God's saints. Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes, that you have declined from Christ Jesus, in the day of your battle; neither yet would I, that you should esteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, *viz.* That God hath covered your offence, hath preserved your person, when you were most unthankful; and, in the end, hath exalted and raised you up, not only from the dust, but also from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for comfort of his kirk. It appertaineth to you therefore, to ground the justice of your authority, not on that law which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternal providence of him, who, contrary to the ordinary course of na-

ture, and without your deserving, hath exalted your head. If thus, in God's presence, you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak instrument; so will I, with tongue and pen, justify your authority and government, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel: but if you neglect, as God forbid, these things, and shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and your government upon your own law, flatter you who so listeth, your felicity shall be short. Interpret my words in the best part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your majesty. By divers letters I have required to visit your realm, not to seek myself, neither yet my own ease and benefit; which if you now refuse and deny me, I must remit my cause to God, adding this for conclusion, that commonly it is seen, That such as refuse the counsel of the faithful (appear it never so sharp), are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers, to their own perdition. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart to understand what is said, and give unto you the direction of his Spirit, and so rule you in all your actions and enterprises, that in you God may be glorified, his kirk edified, and you yourself, as a lively member of the same, may be an example of virtue and godliness of life to all others. So be it. At Edinburgh, 28th July 1559.

These letters were directed by Alexander Whitelaw, a man who often had hazarded himself, and all that he had, for the cause of God, and for his friends, being in danger for the same cause. Within a day or two, after the departing of the said Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Henry Piercy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Alnwick the 3d day of August, for such affairs as he would not write, nor yet communicate with any, but with the said John himself. While he was preparing himself for the journey (for secretary Cecil had appointed to have met him at Stamford), the Frenchmen furiously came forth of Dunbar, of purpose to have surpris'd the lords, being in Edinburgh, as in the Second Book before is declared; which staid the journey of the said John, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger; and then was he sent, having in his company Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, directed from the lords, with full commission and instructions, to declare their whole

case and estate wherein they stood. Their passage was from Pittenweem by sea; they arrived at Holy Island; and being advertis'd, that Sir Henry Piercy was absent from the north, they address'd themselves to Sir James Crofts, then captain of Berwick, and warden of the east marches of England: they shewed unto him their credit and commission. He received them courteously, and comforted them with his faithful counsel, which was, That they should travel no further, neither yet should they be seen in public, and that for divers considerations: *First*, The queen regent had her spies in England. *Secondly*, The queen, and the council that favoured our faction, would that all things should be secret so long as they might. And, *lastly*, said he, I think it not expedient, that, in such rarity of preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the lords of the Congregation: and therefore, said he, ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I shall promise to you, upon my honour, to have answer at you, and at the lords again, before that ye yourselves can be at London; and where that your letters cannot express all things so fully as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not only by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will inform the council sufficiently of all things. The said John and Mr. Robert followed his counsel (for it was faithful, and proceeded of love at that time); they carried with him very secretly within the castle of Berwick two days: in which time returned Alexander Whitelaw aforesaid, with answer to the lords, and unto John Knox; the tenor of whose letter was this:

Mr. Cecil's Letter to John Knox.

MR. KNOX,

NON est masculus neque femina, omnes enim ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu: benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino; & erit Dominus fiducia ejus. I have received your letters, at the same time that I thought to have seen yourself at Stamford. What is now hitherto the cause of stepping you, I know not. I forbear to descend to the bottom of things, until I may confer with such one as ye are: and therefore, if your chance shall be hereafter to come hither, I wish you furnished with good credit and power to make good resolution. Although my answer to the lords of the Congregation be somewhat obscure, yet, upon further understanding, ye shall find the mat-

ter plain. I need to wish you no more prudence than God's grace, whereof God send you plenty: and so I end.

Sic subscribitur,

*Yours, as a member of the
same body in Christ,*

From Oxford, the 28th
of July 1559.

M. CECIL.

And albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing till that he had spoken with the lords, whom he found in Stirling, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the council of England (for Alexander Whitelaw took sickness betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the lord Seton, as in the former Book is declared): the answer sent by Mr. Cecil was so general, that many amongst us despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and therefore were determined that they would request no further. John Knox laboured in the contrary, but he could prevail no further, but that he should have licence and liberty to write as he thought best: and so he took upon him to answer for all, in form as followeth:

Answer to Mr. Cecil's Writing.

Two causes hindered me, right worshipful, to visit you in any part of England. Before this, no signification of your mind and pleasure was made unto me; for only did Sir Henry Piercy will me to come and speak with him, which conveniently, at that time, I could not do, by reason that the Frenchmen (which was the second cause of my stay) did then most furiously pursue us, while our company was dispersed, and then durst I not be absent for divers inconveniences. Neither did I think my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter, which I most desired, was opened and proposed; to the which I would have wished, that a more plain and special answer should have been made: for albeit Mr. Whitelaw by his credit, Mr. Kirkcaldy by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had received from Sir James Crofts, did persuade your good minds; yet could not the council be otherwise persuaded, but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose. It is not unknown what goodwill we three do bear to England: and therefore I wish, that rather your pen, than your credit, or

any thing written to any of us, should assure the lords and others of your good minds, who are now in number but five hundred: unless that money be furnished without delay, to pay the soldiers for their service past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen, till some stay be had in this danger, these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life, before that ever they compose, either with the queen regent, or with France: but this I dare not promise at all, unless in you they see greater forwardness. To support us, will appear excessive; and to break promise with France, will appear dangerous: but the loss of expences, in my opinion, ought not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, that against us they will spend the crown (so did mine own ears hear Button Court brag). But most assuredly I know, That unless by us they thought to make an entry to you, that they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money (and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support); some they threatened, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if ye lie by as neutrals, what will be the end, you may easily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plain answer, what the gentlemen here may trust to, and what the queen's majesty will do, may without long delay be put in execution. I rest in Christ Jesus.

At St. Johnston, the
28th day of, &c.

Answer with great expedition was returned to this letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent to the lords to Berwick, for the receiving of the money for the first support, with promise, that if the lords of the Congregation meant no otherwise than before they had written, and if they would enter into league with honest conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to their just causes. Upon this answer, was directed from the lords to Berwick, Mr. Henry Balnaves, a man of good credit in both the realms, who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs till November next, when John Cockburn of Ormiston sent for the second support,

and receiving the same, unhappily fell into the hands of the earl of Bothwell, was wounded, taken, and spoiled of a great sum: upon which mischance followed all the rest of the troubles before rehearsed. In the Second Book preceding, we have declared how secretary Lethington was directed to England: but one thing before we have passed by, in that our greatest dejection, this order was taken, that the duke, the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, and their friends, should remain together at Glasgow, for comfort of the country, and for giving of answers, as occasion should require; and that the earl of Arran, the lord James, the earl of Rothes, the master of Lindsay, and their adherents, should continue together within Fife for the same causes, that advertisements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the negociation of the secretary Lethington with the queen and council of England (in the which he travelled with no less wisdom and faithfulness, than happy success), many things occurred, that required the resolution of the whole lords.

After that the queen and council of England had concluded to send their army to Scotland, for expelling of the French, the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick, with full instructions, power, and commission to do in all things, concerning the present affairs of Scotland, as the queen and council in their own persons had power to do. Hereupon the said duke required such a part of the lords of Scotland, as had power and commission from the whole, to meet him at such a day and place as pleased them to appoint: this advertisement came first to Glasgow, by the means of the master of Maxwell; which read and considered by the lords, conclusion was taken that they would meet at Carlisle, and that was the procurement of the said master of Maxwell for his ease. Hereupon were letters directed from the lords, being in Glasgow, to lord James, requiring him, with all possible expedition, to repair towards them, for the purpose aforesaid: which letters read and advised upon, commandment was given to John Knox to make the answer; for so it was appointed at the division of the lords, that he should answer for the part of those that were in Fife, and Mr. Henry Balnaves for the part of them that abode at Glasgow. The said John answered as followeth:

To the Duke and the other Lords at Glasgow.

AFTER humble commendation of my service; albeit I have written more than once to Mr. Hen-

ry Balnaves, what things have misliked me in your slow proceedings, as well in supporting your brethren, who many days have sustained extreme danger in these parts, as in making provision how the enemy might have been annoyed, who lay, few in number, nigh to your quarters, in Stirling; and in making likewise provision how the expectation of our friends, who long have waited for your answer, might have been satisfied: albeit, I say, that of these things I have before complained, yet, in conscience, I am compelled to signify unto your honours, that, unless of these and other enormities I shall see some redress, I am assured, that the end shall be such, as godly men shall mourn, that a good cause shall perish for lack of wisdom and diligence. In my last letters to Mr. Henry Balnaves, I declared, that your special friends in England wonder that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being considered. If the fault be in the duke and his friends, I wrote also, that the greatest loss should be his and theirs in the end.

And now I cannot cease both to wonder and lament, that your whole council was so destitute of wisdom and discretion, as to charge this poor man, the prior, to come to you to Glasgow, and thereafter to go to Carlisle, for such affairs as are to be handled: Was there none amongst you who did foresee what inconveniences might ensue his absence from these parts? I cease to speak of the dangers by the enemy: your friends have lain in your haven now fifteen days past (what was their former travel it is not unknown); they have never received comfort of any man, him only excepted, more than if they had lain upon the coast of their mortal enemy. Do ye not consider, that such a company shall need comfort and provision from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth there who carefully will travel in that or any other weighty matter in these parts? Did ye not farther consider, that he that had begun to meddle with the gentlemen who have declared themselves back-friends heretofore, and also that order should have been taken for such as have been neutral; now by reason of his absence, the one shall escape without admonition, and the other shall be at their own liberty? I am assured, that the enemy shall not sleep, neither in that nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole cause, and especially to hurt this part of the country, to revenge their former folly. If none of these former causes should have moved you to have considered that such a journey, at such a

time, was not meet for him, neither yet for them that must accompany him; yet discreet men would have considered, that the men that have lain in their jackets, and travelled their horses continually the space of a month, required some longer rest, first to themselves, but especially to their horses, before they had been charged to such a journey, than yet they have had. The prior may, for satisfaction of your unreasonable minds, enterprize the purpose, but I am assured he shall not be able to have six honest men in all Fife to accompany him; and how that either standeth with your honours, or with his safety, judge ye yourselves. But yet, wonder it is, that ye did not consider, to what pain and grief shall ye put our friends of England, especially the duke of Norfolk and his council, whom ye shall cause to travel the most wearisome and troublesome way that is in England. In my opinion, whosoever gave you that counsel, either lacked right judgment in things to be done, or else had too much respect to his own ease, and too small regard to the travel and damage of their brethren.

A common cause requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionably: but prudent and indifferent men espy the contrary in this cause, especially of late days; for the weakest are most grievously charged, and they to whom the matter most belongeth, and to whom justly greatest burden is due, are exempted, in a manner, both from travel and expences. To speak the matter plainly, wise men do wonder what the duke's friends do mean, that they are so slack and backward in this cause: in other actions they have been judged stout and forward; and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appear destitute both of grace and courage. I am not ignorant, that they that are most inward of his council are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to this cause; but wonder it is, that he and his other friends should not consider, that the loss of this godly enterprize shall be the rooting out of them and their posterity from this realm: considering, my lords, that by God's providence ye are joined with the duke in this common cause, admonish him plainly of the danger to come, require him to beware of the counsel of those that are plainly infected with superstition, with pride, and with the venom of particular profit; which if he do not, at your admonition, he shall smart before he be aware; and if ye cease to put him in mind of his duty, it may be, that,

for your silence, ye shall drink some portion of the plague with him. Take my plain speaking as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being also uncertain, when I shall have occasion to write hereafter: God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, assist you with the spirit of wisdom and fortitude, that, to his glory, and your lordship's common comfort, ye may perform that thing which godly was once begun. Amen.

Sic subscribitur,

Your lordship's to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

From St. Andrews, the 6th of
February, in haste, 1559.

Upon the receipt of this letter, and consultation had hereupon, a new conclusion was taken, *viz.* that they would visit the said duke of Norfolk at Berwick, where he was. Thus far we have digressed from the text of our history, to let the posterity that shall follow, understand by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship that after we found in England. Now we return to our former history.

The parts of Fife set at freedom from the bondage of these bloody worms, solemn thanks were given in St. Andrews unto God, for his mighty deliverance: shortly after, the earl of Arran and lord James apprehended the lairds of Wemyss, Seafield, Balgowry, Durie, and others, that assisted the Frenchmen; but they were set shortly at freedom, upon such conditions as they minded never to keep, for such men have neither faith nor honesty: Mr. James Balfour, who was the greatest practiser, and had drawn the band of the Balfours, escaped. The English ships daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Frith, whereat the French and queen regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay nigh to Edinburgh. Let Mr. David Borthwick witness what favour his wife and place of Adeston found of the French, for all the service that he did to the queen regent. In the midst of February, were directed to England, from the duke and the Congregation, the lord James, lord Ruthven, the master of Maxwell, the master of Lindsay, Mr. Henry Balnaves, and the laird of Pittarro, all of whom, with their honest companies and commission, departed by sea, except the master of Maxwell, to Berwick: where there met them the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to the queen of England, and with him a great com-

pany of the gentlemen of the north, with some also of the south, having full power to contract with the nobility of Scotland; as they did, upon such conditions as are in the same contract specified. And because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make false report of that, we have faithfully and truly inserted in this our history the said contract, as well that which was made at Leith during the siege, as that which was first made at Berwick; that the memory thereof may abide to our posterity, to the end that they may judge with indifferency, whether that we have done any thing prejudicial to our commonwealth, or yet contrary unto the dutiful obedience which true subjects owe to their superiors; whose authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms committed to their charge, and not to oppress and betray the same to strangers. The tenor of our contract followeth:

The Contract at Berwick.

JAMES duke of Chattelarault, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and others of the council, nobility, and principal states of Scotland: to all and sundry whose knowledge these presents shall come, greeting. We have well considered, and are fully persuaded, in what danger, desolation, and misery, the long enmity with the kingdom of England hath brought our country heretofore; how wealthy and flourishing it shall become, if those two kingdoms, as they are joined in one island, by creation of the world, so they may be knit in a constant and assured friendship. These considerations, grounded upon a most infallible truth, ought no less to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us: but the present danger hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of those, of whom we have always best deserved, hath caused us to weigh them more earnestly than they did. The misbehaviour of the French monsieurs, I had almost said monsters, here, hath of late years been so great; the oppressions and cruelty of the soldiery, the tyranny and ambition of their superiors and rulers, so grievous to the people; the violent subversion of our liberty, and conquest of the land, whereat they have, by most crafty and subtle means, continually pressed, hath been, I say, so intolerable to us all, that at last, when we could not obtain redress by humble suits, and earnest supplications, presented to the queen dowager, who both for duty's sake, and place the doth occupy, ought to have been most careful of our state; we have been by real necessity constrain-

ed, not only to essay our own forces, but also to implore the queen's majesty of England's aid and support, which her majesty hath most willingly granted, upon certain conditions specified in a treaty past at Berwick, betwixt the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to her majesty, on the one part, and certain our commissioners, on the other part, whereof the tenor followeth:

At Berwick, the 27th day of February, the year of our Lord God 1559; it is appointed and finally contracted, betwixt the noble and mighty Thomas duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, and lieutenant to the queen's majesty of the said realm, in the name and behalf of her highness, on the one part; and the right honourable lord James Stewart, Patrick lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Terregles knight, William Maitland of Lethington younger, John Wiselhard of Pittarro, and Mr. Henry Balmaves of Halhill, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty James duke of Chattelarault of Scotland, and the lords of the Congregation, joined together in this cause, for maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country, on the other part, in form as after followeth: that is to say, That the queen, having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberty thereof, and unite the same unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the said realm, and the pacts, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for, and in name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, the said nobility and subjects thereof, into her majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the same in their old freedoms and liberties, and from conquest, during the time that the marriage shall continue betwixt the queen of Scots and the French king, and a year after: and, for expelling out of the same realm such as presently and apparently go about to practise the said conquest, her majesty shall, with all speed, send into Scotland a convenient aid of men of war, both horse and foot, to join with the power of Scotsmen, with artillery, munition, and all other instruments of war meet for that purpose, as well by sea as by land; not only to expel the present power of the French within that realm, oppressing the same, but also to stop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpose: and shall continue her maje-

ty's aid to the said realm, nobility, and subjects of the same, unto the time the French (being enemies to the said realm) be utterly expelled hence; and shall never transact, compose, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any league with them, except the Scots and the French shall be agreed, that the realm of Scotland may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor shall leave the maintenance of the said nobility and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, as long as they shall acknowledge their sovereign lady the queen, and shall endeavour themselves to maintain the liberty of their country, and the state of the crown of Scotland.

And in case any forts or strengths within the realm be won out of the hands of the French at this present, or any time hereafter by her majesty's aid, the same shall be immediately demolished by the Scotsmen, or delivered to the said nobility aforesaid, at their option and choice; neither shall the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the duke, nobility, and states of Scotland. For the which causes, and in respect of her majesty's most gentle clemency, and liberal support, the said nobility, as well such as be joined, as such as shall hereafter join with them, for the defence of the liberty of that realm, shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and support her majesty's army against the French and their partakers, with horsemen and footmen, and with victuals by land and sea, with all manner of other aid, to the best of their power, and so shall continue, during the time that her majesty's army shall remain in Scotland.

Item, They shall be enemies to all such Scotsmen and French, as shall in any ways shew themselves enemies to the realm of England, for the aiding and supporting of the said nobility, in the delivery of the realm of Scotland from conquest.

Item, They shall never assent nor permit that the realm of Scotland shall be conquered, or otherwise knit to the crown of France, than it is at this present, only by marriage of the queen their sovereign to the French king; and it be ruled by the laws and liberties of the realm, as it ought to be.

Item, In case the Frenchmen shall at any time hereafter invade, or cause to be invaded, the realm of England, they shall furnish the number of two thousand horsemen, and one thousand footmen at the least, or such part of either of them, at the charge of the queen of England, and shall conduct

the same to pass from the borders of Scotland, next England, upon her majesty's charges, to any part of the realm of England, for defence of the same. And in case the invasion be on the north parts of England, on the north side of the water of Tyne towards Scotland, or against Berwick, on the north side of the water of Tweed, they shall convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and shall join with the English power, and shall continue in good and earnest pursuit of the quarrel of England, during the space of thirty days, or so much longer, as they were accustomed to tarry in the fields for defence of Scotland, at the commandment of their sovereigns at any time by-past.

And also the earl of Argyle, lord justice of Scotland, being presently joined with the rest, shall employ his force and good-will, where he shall be required by the queen's majesty, to reduce the north parts of Ireland to the perfect obedience of England, conform to a mutual and reciprocal contract to be made betwixt her majesty's lieutenant, or deputy of Ireland, being for the time, and the said earl; wherein shall be contained what he shall do for his part, and what the said lieutenant or deputy shall do for his support, in case he shall have to do with James Mc'Donald, or any other of the isles of Scotland, or realm of Ireland.

For performance and sure keeping whereof, they shall for their part, give to the said duke of Norfolk, the pledges presently named by him, before the entry of her majesty's army within Scotland, to remain in England for the space of six months, and to be there exchanged upon deliverance of new hostages, of like, or as good condition as the former; or being the lawful sons, brethren, or heirs, of any of the peers or barons of parliament, that have, or hereafter shall shew themselves, and persist open enemies to the French in this quarrel; and so forth from six months to six months, or four months to four months, as shall best please the party of Scotland. And the time of continuance of the hostages shall be during the marriage of the queen of Scots to the French king, and a year after the dissolution of the said marriage, until further order may be had betwixt both the realms, for peace and concord. And furthermore, the said nobility, being peers and barons of parliament joined together, shall subscribe and seal these articles and agreement, within the space of twenty or thirty days at the uttermost, next following the day of the delivering of the said hostages; and shall also procure and persuade all others of the nobility that shall join them-

selves hereafter with the said lords, for the cause above specified, likewise to subscribe and seal those articles, at any time after the space of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them on the party of the queen's majesty of England.

And, finally, the said nobility joined together, certainly perceiving that the queen's majesty of England is thereunto moved, only upon respect of princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister intent, do by these presents testify and declare, That they, nor any of them, mean not by this agreement to withdraw any due obedience to their sovereign lady the queen, nor in any lawful thing to withstand the French king her husband and head, that during the marriage shall not tend to the subversion and oppression of the just and ancient liberties of the said kingdom of Scotland; for preservation whereof, both for their sovereign's honour, and for the continuance of the kingdom in its ancient state, they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands, and lives.

And, for performance of this present contract for the part of England, the queen's majesty shall confirm the same, and all clauses therein contained, by her letters patent, under the great seal of England, to be delivered to the nobility of Scotland, upon the entry of the pledges aforesaid within the ground of England. In witness whereof, the said duke of Norfolk hath subscribed these points, and thereunto affixed his seal, the day, year, and place aforesaid. Which contract we find honest and reasonable, and that our said commissioners therein have considerably respected the common-weal of this realm, of us, and our posterity; and therefore do ratify, allow, confirm, and approve the same, with all clauses and articles therein contained, by these presents. In witness hereof, we have subscribed the same with our hands; and our seals of arms, in such cases accustomed, are appended. At the camp before Leith, the 10th day of May, the year of God 1560.

Follow the subscriptions:

Duke of Chattelarault.	Earl of Monteith.
Earl of Argyle.	Lord Ogilvy.
Earl of Arran.	Lord Borthwick.
Earl of Huntly.	Lord James Stuart.
Earl of Glencairn.	Lord of St. John.
Earl of Morton.	Alexander Gordon.
Earl of Rothes.	Lord John Aberbrothwick.

Lord Boyd.
Lord Somervell.
Lord Ochiltrie.
Lord Robert Stuart.
Abbot of Kinlofs.

Gavin Hamilton of Kilmwinning.
Abbot of Culrofs.
James Stuart of St. Colm's Inch.

The Instructions given, subscribed to the said Commissioners, are as follows:

1. IN the first place, If it shall be asked of you by the duke of Norfolk, and by others the queen's majesty's appointed commissioners, If your pledges be in readines? ye shall answer, That they are, and in St. Andrews the 25th of this instant, and shall be ready to be delivered in hostage, for security of our promises and part of the contract; they offering and making security for their part by the queen's majesty's subscription and great seal, and delivering the same unto you: providing that they chuse and make their election of the pledges, as is communed.

2. *Item*, If the said commissioners shall demand of you, What enterprize the army of England shall take in hand at their first in-coming? ye shall answer in general, The expulsion of the French soldiers out of this realm; and first, and in special, out of the town of Leith, seeing their great forts are there.

3. *Item*, If it shall be asked of you, At what place our friends and brethren of England shall be met? and at what day? what number? and what noblemen in company? ye shall refer all these things to their election and choice.

4. *Item*, If it shall be asked of you, How the armies shall be furnished with victuals, and especially the horsemen? ye shall answer, That, with their advice, sufficient order shall be taken therein.

5. *Item*, If it be required, How the munition shall be carried, and oxen furnished to that effect? you shall answer, As we have given in commission to Lethington, which we ratify.

6. *Item*, If it shall be asked, Who shall be lieutenant to the army of Scotland? ye shall answer, The duke of Chattelarault.

7. *Item*, If it shall be enquired, What number our whole army extends to? ye shall answer, They will be, God willing, five thousand men.

8. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What manner of way Leith shall be assaulted? ye shall desire all preparations to be in readines, and the advice to be taken after the placing of the armies, and view of the strength shortly.

9. *Item*, If it shall be asked concerning the castle

of Edinburgh, If they will stand friends or not? ye shall declare our diligence made, and to be made shortly herein? but for the present we can assure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, in case the castle be enemy, Where the army shall be placed? ye shall answer, For the first in Musselburgh and Tranent, and those parts, till the battery and all preparations be in readiness.

11. *Item*, In case it be enquired of all by-lyers and neutrals, and in especial of the lord of Huntly, and the north? ye shall answer in general, A good hope is had of the most part thereof: and touching the lord of Huntly in special, ye shall shew how he hath sent writings to my lord of Arran, with a servant of credit, to assure him of his assistance; and for that cause, hath desired letters of suspension of the queen dowager's commission to be sent to him, to be used in those parts, and other letters to arrest the clergy's rents and hires both in those parts, with proclamations to cause all men to be in readiness to pass forward, for maintaining of the religion, and expelling of strangers. The nobility have written to him, that he may come to them in person; whereof the answer is not returned as yet.

12. *Item*, If it shall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in case Stirling be kept? we refer the answer hereof to your discretions.

13. *Item*, If it shall be asked, That their leaden money shall have passage for their necessities? ye shall reason the commodity and discommodity thereof with the council.

14. *Item*, If it shall be asked, What pioneers shall be had? ye shall answer, The number being expressed, and money in readiness to hold or pay them, they shall have sufficiency.

15. *Item*, If they shall desire, That we declare our causes unto the princes of Almain, and the king of Denmark, desiring their assistance; ye shall answer, That we think the same good, and shall speedily take order therewith.

16. *Item*, If it shall be desired of you to confirm for us, and in our name, the things past and granted by our former commissioner, the young laird of Lethington; ye shall in all points for us, and in our name, confirm the same, so far as it shall make either for the weal and conjunction of the two realms, or this present cause, or yet for the security of our part for fulfilling of the same: and as ye shall accept their offers tending to the same end, and such security on that part as ye may

purchase; and especially such as we have heretofore expressed. Given at Glasgow, the 10th of February 1559.

Item, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminish the said heads and articles, as ye think the weal of the cause shall require in all points.

Sic subscribitur,

John of Monteith.	William Murray of Tullibardin.
James Hamilton.	Glencairn.
Andrew of Rothes.	Ochiltrie.
Alexander Gordon.	John Erskine of Dun.
R. Boyd.	James Halyburton.
Alexander Argyle.	

Shortly after this contract were our pledges delivered to Mr. Winter admiral of the navy, that came to Scotland, a man of great honesty, so far as ever we could espy in him; who were safely conveyed to Newcastle, and so the English army began to assemble towards the border. Whereof the French and queen regent assured, they began to destroy what they could in the towns and country about; for the whole victuals they carried to Leith, the mills they broke, the sheep, oxen, and kine, yea, the horses of poor labourers, all made they to serve their tyranny. And, finally, left nothing which enemies could have devised, except that they demolished not gentlemen's houses, and burnt not the town of Edinburgh; in which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted understand, that he took care for them. Before the coming of the army, the French past to Glasgow, and destroyed the country thereabout.

What tyranny Marticks used upon a poor Scots soldier, is fearful to hear, and yet this deed may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poor men, and they were so slow to depart out of the town, that albeit the drum beat, the ensign could not be gotten. There was a poor craftsman, who had bought for his victuals a brown loaf, and was eating a morsel of it, and was putting the rest of it into his bosom. The tyrant came to him, and, with the poor wretch's own dagger, first struck him in the breast, and after threw it at him, and so the poor man staggering and falling, the merciless tyrant ran him through with his rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the stair. 'Lord, thou wilt look and recompense such tyranny, how contemptible soever the person was.'

The 2d of April, the year of our Lord 1560, the army entered into Scotland; the conducting whereof was committed to lord Gray, who had in his company the lord Scrope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Piercy, Sir Francis Lake, with many other captains and gentlemen, having charge, some of footmen, and some of horsemen. The army consisted of ten thousand men. The queen regent pass to the castle of Edinburgh, and some others of her faction: at Preston met them the duke, the earl of Argyle (Huntly came not till that the siege was confirmed), lord James, the earl of Glencairn, and Monteith, lords Ruthven, Boyd, Ochiltree, with all the Protestants, gentlemen of the West, Fife, Angus, and Mearns; so that in a few days the army was great. After the deliberation of two days had at Inveresk, the whole camp marched forward with ordnance, and all preparations necessary for the siege, and came to Restalrig on Palm-Sunday evening. The French had put themselves in battle array upon the Links without Leith, and sent forth their skirmishers, who, beginning before ten of the clock, continued skirmishing till after four of the o'clock at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by some horsemen of Scotland, and some of England; but because the principal captain of the horsemen of England was not present, the whole troops durst not charge; and so was not the overthrow and slaughter of the French so great as it once appeared to have been; for the great battle was once at the trot: but when they perceived that the great force of horsemen stood still, and charged not, they returned, and gave some rescue to their fellows that fled; and so there fell only in that defeat about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory so suddenly, lest that man should glory in his own strength.

The small victory that was gotten put both the English and Scots in over great security, as the issue declared. The French inclosed within the town, the English army began to plant their pavilions betwixt Leith and Restalrig: the ordnance of the town, and especially that which lay upon St. Anthony's steeple, gave them great annoyance; against which place were bent eight cannon, which shot so continually, and so just, that within few days the steeple was condemned, and all the ordnance that was on it discomfited; which made the Englishmen somewhat more negligent than it became good men of war to have been; for, perceiving that the French made no pursuit without their

walls, they took an opinion, that they should never issue forth more; which made some of the captains for pastime go to the town: the soldiers for their ease laid their armour beside them, and, as men without danger, fell to the dice and cards; and so upon the Easter-Monday, at the very hour of nine, the French issued both upon horse and foot, and with great violence entered within the English trenches, flew and put to flight all that was found therein. The watch was negligently kept, and so were the succours slow and long in coming; for the French, before that any resistance was made unto them, approached hard to the great ordnance: but then the horsemen trooped together, and the footmen got themselves in array, and so repulsed the French back again to the town; but the slaughter was great, some say, it doubled that which the French received the first day.

And this was the fruit of their security and ours, which after was remedied; for the Englishmen, most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the town round about, devised to make mounts at divers quarters of it, in the which they and their ordnance lay in as good strength as they did within the town: the common soldiers kept the trenches, and had the said mounts for their safeguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit than they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen, but principally of the horsemen, is worthy of all praise: for where was it ever heard, that eight thousand (they never exceeded that number that lay in camp) should besiege four thousand of the most desperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and to lie nigh unto them, daily skirmishing, the space of three months and more. The horsemen night and day kept watch, and did so valiantly behave themselves, that the French got no advantage from that day, to the day of the assault, whereof we shall shortly hear.

In this mean time was this other bond made of all the nobility, barons, and gentlemen, professing Christ Jesus in Scotland, and of divers others that joined with us, for expelling of the French, amongst whom the earl of Huntly was a prime man. The bond followeth:

The last Bond at Leith.

AT Edinburgh, the twentieth-and-seventh of April, the year of our Lord 1560 years; we, whose names are under-written, have promised and obli-

ged ourselves faithfully, in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, That we together in general, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word; and procure, by all means possible, that the truth of God's word may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word: and also, deeply weighing with ourselves the misbehaviour of the French ministers here, the intolerable oppression committed by the French men of war upon the poor subjects of this realm, by maintenance of the queen dowager, under colour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest, in which this country at this present standeth, by reason of divers fortifications upon the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attempted by them; do promise, That we shall, every one with another, as well as altogether, with the queen of England's army, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concur, join in one, take and hold one plain part, for expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our liberty, forth out of this realm, and for recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end, that in time coming we may, under the obedience of the king and queen our sovereigns, be only ruled by the laws and customs of the country, and men born in the land; and that never one of us shall have privy intelligence, by writing, message, or communication, with any of our enemies or adversaries in this cause, but by advice of the rest (at least of five) of the council. Again, That we shall tender the common cause, as if it was the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the causes of every one of us now joined together, being lawful and honest, shall be all our causes in general; and that he that is enemy to the cause aforesaid, shall be enemy to us all, in so far, that what personsoever will plainly resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concur, as a good and true member of this our commonwealth, we shall fortify the said authority of the council, to reduce him to his duty: likewise, we shall fortify the said authority of the council, in all things tending to the furtherance of the said causes. And if any particular debate, quarrel, or controversy shall arise, for whatsoever cause that is past, present, or to come, betwixt any of us, as God forbid, in that case we shall submit ourselves, and our said questions, to the decision of the council, or to arbitrators

to be named by them, &c.: providing always, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinary jurisdiction of judges; but that men may pursue their actions by order of law, civilly or criminally, as it pleaseth them.

This contract and bond came not only to the ears, but also to the sight of the queen dowager; whereat she stormed not a little, and said, 'The malediction of God I give unto them that counselled me to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm.' It was said to me, 'That the English army could not continue in Scotland ten days; but now they have lain near a month, and are more like to remain than they were at the first day they came. They that gave information to the queen, spake as worldly-wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the country being almost in all the parts thereof wasted, the victuals next adjacent to Leith, either brought in for their provision, or else destroyed; the mills, and other places, as before is said, being cast down, it appeared, that the camp could not have been furnished (except it had been by their own ships, and as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been little comfortable). But God confounded all worldly wisdom, and made his own benediction as evidently to appear, as if in a manner he had fed the army from above; for all kind of victuals were more abundant, and at more easy prices in the camp, all the time that it lay, after that eight days were past, than either they have been in Edinburgh any two years before, or it hath been in this town to this day, the 20th of May *anno* 1566.

The people of Scotland so much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the substance that they had to have been rid of that chargeable burden, which our sins had provoked God to lay upon us, in delivering us into the hands of a woman, whom our nobility in their foolishness sold unto strangers, and with her the liberty of this realm: 'God, for his great mercy's sake, preserve us yet from further bondage, in which we are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our nobility will yet remain blind still, and will follow their affection, come after whatsoever may.' But to return to our history.

The camp abounding in all necessary provision, order was taken for continuation of the siege, and so the trenches were drawn as near the town as possibly they might: the great camp removed from Restalrig, to the west side of the Water of Leith; and

fo were the cannon planted for the battery, and did shoot at the fourth-west wall: but, by reason all was earth, the breach was not made so great upon the day, but that it was sufficiently repaired upon the night; whereof the Englishmen beginning to be weary, determined to give the breach an assault, as that they did upon the 7th day of May, beginning before the day-light, and continued till it was nigh seven o'clock: and albeit that the English and Scots, with great slaughter of the soldiers of both, were repulsed, yet was there never a sharper assault given by so few hands; for they exceeded not a thousand men, that assaulted the whole two quarters of the town, and yet they dammed the whole block-houses; yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the east and west block-house: but they wanted backing, for their ladders lacked six quarters of the just height; and so, while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not join to support them; and so were they by multitude driven back again, when it was once thought that the town was won.

Sir James Crofts was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day; for he was appointed, with a sufficient number of the most able men, to have assaulted the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where at low water (as at the time of the assault it was) the passage was easy; but neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before, at the first coming in, spoken with the queen regent, at the fore block-house of the castle of Edinburgh. Whether she had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by suspicion of that day, in which he deceived the expectation of many; and, so far as man could judge, was the cause of that great repulse; for some ascribed the shortness of the ladders to him: but that omitted, which might have proceeded of negligence, his absence from the pursuit of his quarter, was the cause that the French, who were appointed to defend there, seeing no pursuer, came to the relief of their fellows; and so they two joining together, with great slaughter gave the repulse to our company. The Frenchmen's harlots, of whom the most part were Scots whores, did no less cruelties than did the soldiers; for besides that they charged their pieces, and ministered unto them other weapons, some continually cast stones, some carried chimneys of burning fire, some brought timber, and other impediments of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men, but especially when they began to turn back.

Now albeit in all this we acknowledge the secret work of God, who by such means would beat down as well the pride of England as of Scotland, yet neither ought the feebleness nor falsehood of men be excused, neither yet the cruelty of the adversaries concealed. The queen regent sat all the time of the assault (which was both terrible and long) upon the fore-wall of the castle of Edinburgh; and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a gasp of laughter, and said, 'Now will I go to the mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen.' And so was friar Black ready for that purpose, whom she herself a little before had catched with his harlot in the chapel; but whoredom and idolatry agree well together, and that our court can witness.

The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their dead carcases before the hot sun along the wall, where they suffered them to lie more days than one: unto the which, when the queen regent looked, for mirth she leapt, and said, 'Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw; I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and you were strewed with the same stuff.' This fact was seen of all, and her words were heard of some, and it was disliked of many; against the which John Knox spake openly in the pulpit, and boldly affirmed, That God should revenge that contumely done to his image, not only in the furious and godless soldiers, but even in such as rejoiced thereat: and the very experience declared, that he was not deceived; for within few days after (yea, some say, that same day), began her belly and legs to swell, and so continued, till that God, in his wisdom, took her away from this world, as after we shall hear.

After the defeat received, the queen regent, and her faction, were fully persuaded that the siege would be raised, and that the English army would depart; and so began the Papists wonderously to brag; and yet God did frustrate their expectation; for the army determined to remain, till new advertisement came from the queen and council. The duke of Norfolk, who then lay at Berwick, commanded the lord Gray to continue the siege; and promised, That he should not want men, so long as any were to be had betwixt Trent and Tweed; for so far was he lieutenant. He further promised his own presence, in case it should be required; and for assurance thereof, he sent his own tents, such as seldom before had been seen in Scotland, with his of-

fficers and provision. And with expedition were sent two thousand fresh men, whereby the camp, greatly comforted, began to forget the former discomforture, and to sustain the daily skirmishing, as they did before: in the which the French, after the day of the assault, did ever receive the hurt and the repulse, as the slaughter of many that came to the Cole-rake did witness. The greatest damage that either English or Scots received after that day, was the slaughter of two gentlemen; the one, master of household to my lord James, Robert Colvil of Cleish, a man stout, modest, and wise, who was shot in the thigh with a falcon or haekbut of Croke, and so departed the misery of this life within two hours after; the other was Alexander Lockhart, brother to the laird of Bar, who rashly discovering himself in the trenches, was shot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life.

While the siege thus continued, a fire happened in Leith, which destroyed many houses, and much victual; and so began God to fight for us, as the lord Erskine, in plain words, said to the queen regent; 'Madam,' saith he, 'I can say no more, but seeing that men may not expel unjust possessors forth of this land, God himself would do it; for you fire is not kindled by man.' Which words offended the queen regent not a little; whose sickness daily increasing, great craft she used, that monsieur d'Oscl might have been permitted to have spoken with her; belike she would have bidden him farewell (for their old familiarity was great); but that denied, she writ, as it had been to her surgeon and apothecary, shewing her sickness, and requiring some drugs. The letter being presented to the lord Gray, he espied the craft; for few lines being written above, and so much white paper left, he said, Drugs are more abundant and frether in Edinburgh, than they can be in Leith; there lurketh here some other mystery: and so he began to try, and, by holding the paper to the fire, he perceiveth some writing appear, and so began he to read: but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burnt the bill, and said to the messenger, Albeit I have been her secretary, yet tell her, I shall keep her counsel; but say to her, Such wares will not sell till a new market. The answer received, she was nothing content; and then travelled she earnestly, that she might speak with the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marshal, and with the lord James.

After deliberation, it was thought expedient that they should speak with her, but not altogether,

lest that some part of the Guisians practice had lurked under the colour of such friendship. Her regret was unto them all, 'That she had behaved herself so foolishly, as that she had compelled them to seek the support of others than of their own sovereign; and said, That she fore repented that ever it came to that extremity; but she was not to blame, but the wicked counsel of her friends on the one part, and the earl of Huntly on the other; for if he had not been, she would have fully agreed with them at their communing at Preston.' They gave unto her both the counsel and the comfort which they could in that extremity, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant Papists, that were about her, understood nothing of the mystery of our redemption. Upon their motion was John Willock sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space, and who did plainly shew unto her, as well the virtue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ, as the vanity and abomination of that idol the mass. She did openly confess, 'That there was no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ;' but of the mass we heard not her confession. Some say, she was anointed with extreme unction, after the Papistical manner; which was a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition; yet howsoever it was, Christ Jesus got no small victory over such an enemy. For albeit before she had vowed, that, in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Christ Jesus should either die, or be banished the realm; yet was she compelled not only to hear, that Christ Jesus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed; but also, she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers within the realm, and to approve the chief head of our religion, wherein we dissent from all Papists and Papistry. Shortly thereafter she finished her life, unhappy to Scotland, from the first day she entered into it, unto the day that she departed this life, which was the 9th day of June, in the year of God 1560. The Guisian counsels, as they were wicked and cruel to the people, so they proved mischievous to themselves, and to these that followed them.

Upon the 16th day of June, after the death of the queen regent, came to Scotland monsieur Randon, and with him the bishop of Vallance, in commission from France, to negotiate a peace: from England there came Sir William Cecil chief secretary, and doctor Whitton. Their negociation was

tedious; for both England and we, fearing deceit, sought by all means that the contract should be sure. And they, on the other part, meaning to gratify such as had sent them (who meant nothing but mere falsehood), protracted time to the uttermost; yea, while that those of Leith were very scarce of victuals, and those of the Inch had perished, had it not been that by policy they got a ship with victuals, and some munition, which was upon mid-summer evening, whereof they made no small triumph, which also for a season staid the appointment; yet in the end peace was concluded, in form as followeth:

The Articles transacted and agreed by John Bishop of Vallance and Monsieur Randon, Deputies to the King and Queen of Scotland, upon the Matters presented to them, by way of Petition, for the Part of the Nobility and People of Scotland.

IN the first place, Upon the complaint and petition of the said nobility, and the people of this country, and the number of men of war sustained by their majesties in these parts in the time of peace; it is humbly remonstrated to the said deputies, that they would provide convenient remedy thereunto, for the comfort and relief of the country. The said deputies, considering the said desires to be just, and conformable to reason, condescended, agreed, and assured, That the king and queen should procure no French men of war, nor no other nation, to come to these parts in time coming: but if strangers would pretend to enter into this realm with a navy or army, to occupy the same; in the which case, provision shall be made by their majesties, the judgment and counsel of the states of the realm being had thereto: and that the French men of war, being now in the town of Leith, shall be sent to France the same time that the navy and army of Englishmen and Scotsmen are scattered and departed both by sea and land; the which shall be done in the best manner may be, as at more length consideration shall be had thereupon. And as to the bands of Scots men of war, being at the said place, they shall be broken, and the men of war licensed to depart.

Moreover, as to the forts of Dunbar and Inchkeith; That there shall remain in them an hundred and twenty French men of war only, which shall be parted and distributed in these two places: and there shall remain no more in Dunbar but threescore men of war, if it is affirmed, by the captains chosen to that effect by both the parties, that, for the keep-

ing of the same, a greater number is not needful: also to depart, when the states of the realm can find a good and sure remedy, upon the expences made in the said places, to keep the same from peril of invasion, or ruin thereof, from them that would pretend to occupy the same; they shall immediately shew the same unto their majesties as hastily as may be done: and, in the mean time, the number of the said men of war shall not be augmented. And, in like manner, it shall not be lawful to the said men of war, to do any injuries to any persons, nor yet to maintain and defend any Scotsmen, of what quality soever they be, against the will and authority of the magistrates of the realm; nor to receive them in the said places, that the minister of justice may not put hands on them; nor yet shall intromit, in any manner of way, with the quarrels and discords of the lords, and other particular men of this realm: but they themselves shall be bound, in case of any quarrel, to be punished after the laws and constitutions of this realm, and to answer for themselves before the judges ordinaries of the same. Last of all, that from henceforth they be not compelled to take on credit, they shall be every month satisfied of their wages; and that two Scots lords, chosen by the council, may present it, at the weapon showing and musters of the said men of war; and also, to visit the said forces, to see if the number of them be added to: and it shall not be lawful to the said men of war to take any victuals for their sustenance, or for munition of the said places, but by payment of ready money numerate, and with the pleasure of them that deliver the same unto them; and therefore the said lords oblige themselves to give them so much as is needful unto them, they having to pay therefore.

Item, Upon the petition presented unto the said lords deputies, anent the demolition of the fortifications; the said deputies consent, agree, and assure, That the fortifications of Leith shall be demolished; and that two, three, or four captains shall be chosen by both the parties, to view the castle of Dunbar; and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortification, made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof be required, the reparation and fortification thereof shall be demolished, so soon as may be done, and shall remain only untouched that thing, which may make the said castle more sure, and in less danger from invasion; providing not the less, that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the same. Moreover, in times coming, the king and queen

shall make no more new forts within this realm; and shall not augment them that are already made, nor shall repair them that are demolished, without counsel and consent of the estates; nor yet shall transport to these parts any artillery, munition of war, powder, or victuals, but so much as may serve for keeping of the said places for the space of six months, or a year.

Item, Anent the demand made about the debts contracted by the French men of war in this country, the said deputies consent, That the king and queen shall cause to be restored all that which happeneth to be found given and granted to the king's lieutenant, and his captains and other officers, for the nourishment and maintenance of the said Frenchmen; or that which is found owing by the lieutenants for service of their majesties, that may appear by writ or confession of parties.

Item, Upon the petition made anent the convention of states of this realm, the said deputies consented and accorded, &c. That the states of the realm may convene and hold a parliament on the twentieth day of the month of July next to come; upon the which day the parliament shall be continued, as the use is, unto the first day of the month of August following: providing always, that before they begin to handle any things in the said parliament, all tumult of war be discharged and cease, that they who are present may be free, without fear of men of war, or others; and that in the mean time a messenger be sent by the said deputies to the king and queen, to certify them of the things agreed, treated, and accorded, requesting their majesties humbly to be contented with the same. And the said convention shall be as lawful, in all respects, as the same had been ordained and done by express commandment of their majesties; providing, that no matter be treated there-in before the said first day of August.

Item, Upon the article presented concerning war and peace, the said deputies consented, accorded, &c. That the king and queen neither make peace nor war on their parts, but by the counsel, judgment, and consent of the states, according to the ordinance of the country, and as was observed by their predecessors.

Item, Upon the petition presented to the said deputies, concerning the government and regiment of the policy, they have consented, &c. That four-and-twenty worthy men of this realm be chosen by the states, of which the king and the queen shall chuse seven, and the states five, which, in their majesties absence, shall take order, and make an

ordinary council, for the administration foresaid; so that no man, of whatsoever quality he be, shall have the power to order any thing to be done, touching the said business, without the mediation, authority, and consent of them: and the said counsellors shall convene together, as oft as they can conveniently; but shall convene no less nor six together. And when any matter of importance occurreth, they shall all be called to consult, and order to be taken by them, or the most part of them, if need be. And if any of the said seven, chosen by the king and queen, happen to die, their majesties shall chuse another forth of the said number of four-and-twenty, in the place of him that died; and if any of the said five chosen by the states dieth, the remainder fore-chosen by them, shall name another of the said number of twenty-four. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the said states, that other two be augmented to the said number of twelve, then, and in that case, the king and queen shall chuse one, and the states another: and so was this article agreed, under condition, that is to say, that the same be no prejudice, in times coming, to the king and queen, and rights of the crown. And the said deputies offered their labours, to make mediation to the king and queen, for maintaining pensions and expences of the said counsellors, and ordinary officers of the said council, to be provided from the rents and revenues of the crown.

Item, Upon the petition made to the said deputies, anent the officers of this realm, they consented and accorded, &c. That in time to come, the king and queen shall not depute any stranger in the administration of the civil and common justice, and likewise in the office of chancellor, keeper of the seal, the treasurer, comptroller, and other like offices, and shall not use them, but shall be content with their own subjects born in the realm. Moreover, it shall not be lawful to put the offices of treasurer and comptroller into the hands of churchmen, or others, who are not able to exercise the said offices; which treasurer and comptroller shall be provided of sufficient commission to use the said offices: but it shall not be lawful to them to dispose or sell wards of marriages, or other casualties, or any other things whatsoever they be, pertaining to their offices, without advice and consent of the said council, to the effect that the council may know, that all things be done to the profit of the king and queen: and yet they will not bind or restrict the king and queen to this article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

Item, They accorded, That in the first convention and parliament of the states of this realm, there shall be constituted, ordained, and established, an act of oblivion, which afterwards shall be confirmed by the king and queen's majesties; by the which the remembrance of bearing armour, and other things which have been done, shall be buried and forgotten, from the sixth day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord God 1558. And by the same act, they who have contravened the laws of the realm, shall be excused, and free of all pains contained therein, even so as if it had never been contravened; providing, that the privilege of the said act be not extended to them, which the states of the realm shall judge unworthy thereof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, That in the said convention or parliament, the states of the realm, as the custom is, and ordinarily is required, shall be called; in the which all they that have used to convene, and to be present, may come, without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any person; so that the said states shall oblige them, that where in time coming any sedition, or gathering of men of war, shall happen to be, without command of the council, being of the number of twelve, the realm and country shall repute the causers thereof, and they that convene, as rebels, and shall pursue them as such, that they may be punished by the laws of the realm; so that the king and queen shall not be compelled, in time coming, to send any men of war, strangers, into these parts, for obtaining due obedience of their subjects.

Item, They offered, accorded, and agreed, That there shall be a general peace and reconciliation amongst all lords and subjects of this realm; so that they that are of the Congregation, and they which are not of the same, shall lay no reproach to others, for the things which are done from the said sixth day of March 1558.

Item, They offered, accorded, and affirmed, That the king and queen shall not pursue, revenge, nor make any persecution for the things that have been done, nor yet shall they suffer the same to be done by their subjects, Frenchmen, but shall have all things in oblivion, as if the same had never been done; and such like the lords of this realm of Scotland shall do in all business betwixt them and the Frenchmen, on their parts. And if, by sinister information, or any other occasion, their majesties have conceived evil opinion against their subjects, they shall utterly forget and

change the same: nor shall they take from them, or any of them, their subjects, the offices, benefices, or estates, which they have bruiked and enjoyed in the said realm before, by reason of any thing they have meddled with, from the said sixth day of March 1558: and further, shall make no occasion of deprivation, or deposing of them by any other colour, without just cause; but rather, they shall esteem and use them, in time coming, as good and obedient subjects; providing, that the said lords, and other subjects, on their part, make to their majesties all obedience, such as other faithful and natural subjects owe to their sovereigns.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, That it shall be lawful to none of the lords and nobility of Scotland, or any other, to make convocation of men of war, but in the ordinary case approved by the laws and customs of the realm: and none of them shall cause any men of war, strangers, to come to their parts; and much less shall attempt to do any thing against the king or queen, or against the authority of the council, and other magistrates of the realm; and they which have presented the petition shall be bound thereunto. And in case any of them, or others, find occasion to invade, or take armour against any man, as he pretendeth, after that he hath communicated the matter with the council of the realm, he shall present his complaint to their majesties; and generally, they shall oblige them, under the said pains, to do the things which pertain to good and faithful subjects, for the quietness and tranquillity of the realm, and rights of their sovereign.

Item, It is agreed, That if any bishops, abbots, or other churchmen, shall complain of having received any injuries, either in their persons or goods, the complaints shall be seen and considered by the states of the said convention and parliament, and there shall be made redress, as they shall find according to reason; and, in the mean time, no man shall stop them, but they shall bruik and enjoy their goods; nor shall do any hurt, injury, or violence to them; and if any doth contravene this article, he shall be pursued by the lords, as a disturber of a good commonwealth.

Item, It is accorded, &c. That the said lords shall bind them to observe, and cause to be observed, all and sundry points and articles agreed in this treaty: and if it happen, that any of them, or any other, should gainsay the same, the other lords, and residue of the whole people, shall be enemies to him, and shall pursue him, till he be chastened and punished according to his demerits.

Item, It is concluded, &c. That all the whole realm may know, that the king and queen are not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles and differences past, and so far as concerns the nobility and other subjects of this realm, that their majesties desire is to use them humanely, and to be favourable unto them; the said deputies have promised and accorded, That the duke of Chattelarault, and all other noblemen of Scotland, shall be restored, and settled again in all their goods and benefices, which they had enjoyed in France, that they may bruike and enjoy the same, in the same manner as they did before these debates, the said sixth day of March and year aforesaid, even as the said controversies had never happened. And also, that all capitulations and articles agreed upon in times past, and especially those that were appointed in the king and queen's contract, shall be observed and kept, as well for the part of their majesties, as for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland. And as concerning David, son to the duke of Chattelarault, now being in Boes de Vincennes, liberty shall be granted unto him to return into Scotland, and to do as he pleaseth.

Moreover, when the said deputies set forth, that some time it might happen, that the king might have need of his great guns and artillery in France, the said lords, having consideration thereof, agreed, That no other artillery be translated out of this realm, but those which were sent and brought in, from the day of the decease of Francis king of France, of good memory, to these parts: and that all other artillery and munition be put into the places whence they were taken forth; and in special, they that have the arms of Scotland, shall put them into the places whence they were taken forth; and there shall be noblemen of Scotland appointed therefore; and two for the part of the king's majesty, are to be deputed, to recognize and view the same before the shipping thereof.

And moreover, That whereas, in the names of the nobility and people of Scotland, certain articles concerning religion, and other points, have been presented, which the said deputies will not touch; and considering the weight and importance of them, have remitted the same to be recognized and decided by their majesties: the said lords and nobility do promise, That a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next convention and parliament, to be sent to their majesties, who shall set forth to their highnesses those things that shall be thought needful for the state of their business, and for the fore-mentioned, and other articles and

points undecided by the deputies, to the effect they may know their majesties intention and good-will concerning those things which shall be set forth from the country; who also shall have with them a confirmation and ratification by the states of the realm, of those articles which are agreed on, &c. by the deputies, to whom also at the same time, or before, shall be given and delivered a like confirmation and ratification made by their majesties, so being that the said states send their ratification aforesaid.

The Proclamation of the Things above written, made the 8th of July, in the Year of God 1560.

To the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and to the comfort of all Christians, the most puissant prince and princess, and most Christian king and queen, Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of France and Scotland; and by the most puissant princess Elizabeth, by the same grace, queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. it is accorded, and reconciliation of peace and amity made, which is to be observed inviolably amongst them, their subjects, realms, and countries; so far as, in name of the same prince and princess, it is commanded, and strictly charged to all manner of persons under their obedience, or being in their service, from henceforth to desist from all hostility, both by sea and land, and to keep a good peace one with the other; and with charge, that none shall break the same, under peril of, &c.

These things transacted, and the peace proclaimed, as is said, sudden provision was made for transporting of the French to France, of whom the most part were put into the English ships, who also carried with them the whole spoil of Leith: and that was the second benefit which they received of their late promised liberty, the end whereof is not yet. The English army departed by land the 16th day of July, in the year of God 1560; the most part of our nobility, Protestants, honourably convoyed them (as in very deed they had well deserved). But lord James would not leave the lord Gray with the other noblemen of England, till that they entered into Berwick; after whose returning, the council began to look as well upon the affairs of the commonwealth, as upon the matters that might concern the stability of religion.

As before we have heard, the parliament was concluded to begin the 20th of July, and to be

continued till the first of August next; and therefore the lords made the greater haste and diligence, that all things should be put in convenient order. But before all things, the preachers exhorted them (for then in Edinburgh were the most part of the chief ministers of this realm) to be thankful unto God; and, next to provide that the ministers should be distributed, as the necessity of the country required. A day was appointed, when that the whole nobility, and the greatest part of the Congregation, assembled in St. Giles's church, in Edinburgh, where, after the sermon made for that purpose, public thanks were given unto God for his merciful deliverance, in form as followeth:

Thanksgiving for our Deliverance, with Prayers.

O ETERNAL and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath not only commanded us to pray, and promised to hear us, but also willest us to magnify thy mercies, and to glorify thy name, when thou shewest thyself pitiful and favourable unto us; especially when thou deliverest us from desperate dangers: for so did thy servants, Abraham, David, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah; yea, the whole people of Israel omitted not the same, when thou, by thy mighty hand, didst confound their enemies, and didst deliver them from fear and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord! in how miserable estate stood this poor country, and we, the just inhabitants of the same, not many days past; when idolatry was maintained; when cruel strangers did bear rule; when virgins were deflowered, matrons corrupted, mens wives violently and villainously oppressed, the blood of innocents shed without mercy; and finally, when the unjust commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as law. Out of these miseries, O Lord! could neither our wit, policy, nor strength deliver us; yea, thou didst shew to us how vain was the help of man, where thy blessing giveth not victory. In these our anguishes, O Lord! we sobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we proclaimed thy name, as thy troubled flock, persecuted for thy truth's sake. Mercifully hast thou heard us, O Lord! mercifully, we say, because that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates, was there any cause, why that thou shouldst have given unto us so joyful and sudden a deliverance: for neither of us ceased to do wickedly, even in the midst of our greatest troubles; and yet hast thou looked upon us so pitifully,

as that we had given unto thee most perfect obedience: for thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty; thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel; and thou hast, of thy mercy, set this our perishing realm at a reasonable liberty. Oh! give us hearts (thou, Lord, that only givest all good gifts) with reverence and fear, to meditate on thy wonderful works, lately wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the same unthankfully slip from our wavering minds. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord! that whatsoever we have received shall fall into oblivion with us, and so turn to our condemnation, unless thou, by the power of thy Spirit, keep and retain us in recent and perpetual memory of the same: We beseech thee therefore, O Father of Mercies! that as, of thy undeserved grace, thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, that so it would please thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majesty to shew us this favour, yet, for Christ Jesus, thy only well-beloved Son's sake, whose name we bear, and whose doctrine we profess, we beseech thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this verity, which now we profess: but seeing that thou hast mercifully heard us, and hast caused thy verity to triumph in us, so we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly name may be glorified in us thy creatures. And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy presence, O Lord! than ingratitude and violation of an oath and covenant made in thy name; and seeing thou hast made our confederates of England the instrument by whom we are now set at this liberty, and to whom, in thy name, we 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. Confound thou the counsel of those that go about to break that most godly league contracted in thy name, and retain thou us so firmly together, by the power of thy Holy Spirit, that Satan have never power to set us again at variance nor discord. Give us thy grace to live in that Christian charity, which thy Son our Lord Jesus hath so earnestly commended to all the members of his body; that other nations, stirred up by our example, may set aside all ungodly war, contention, and strife, and study to live in tranquillity and peace, as it becometh the sheep of thy pasture, and the people that daily look for our final deliverance, by the coming again of

our Lord Jesus: to whom, with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and praise, now and ever. Amen.

Hereafter were the commissioners of burghs, with some of the nobility and barons, appointed to see the equal distribution of ministers, to change and transport, as the most part should think expedient. And so was John Knox appointed to Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman (who the most part of the troubles had remained in Ayr) was appointed to St. Andrews, Adam Heriot to Aberdeen, Mr. John Row to St. Johnston, Paul Meassen (to whom was no infamy then known) to Jedburgh, William Christison to Dundee, David Fergusson to Dunfermline, and Mr. David Lindsay to Leith. There were nominated for superintendants and overseers, that all things in the church should be carried with order and well, Mr. John Spotiswood for Lothian, Mr. John Winram for Fife, Mr. John Willock for Glasgow, the laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr. John Carswell for Argyle and the Isles. These to be elected at the days appointed, unless that the countries whereto they were to be appointed, could in the mean time find out men more able and sufficient, or else shew such causes as might disable them from that employment.

The parliament approaching, due advertisement was made by the council, to all such as by law and ancient custom had, or might claim to have title therein. The assembly was great, notwithstanding some, as well of those that be called spiritual, as temporal lords, contemptuously did absent themselves: and yet the chief pillars of the Papistical church gave their presence, such as the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblain and Dunkeld, with others of the inferior sort; beside those that had renounced Papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us, such as the bishop of Galloway, the abbots of Lindros, Culros, St. Colm's Inch, Newbattle, Holyrood-house, the prior of St. Andrews, Coldinghame, St. Mary-Isle, the sub-prior of St. Andrews, and divers others whom we observed not. At the same time of parliament John Knox publicly preached upon some texts of the prophet Haggai: the doctrine was proper for the time; in application whereof he was so special and so vehement, that some (having greater respect to the world, than to God's glory), feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, 'We may now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God.' God be merciful to the speaker, for we fear yet he shall have experience, that the building of his own house

(the house of God being despised) shall not be so prosperous, and of such stability as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did assemble themselves together, to consult what things were to be proposed to that present parliament: and, after deliberation, was this subsequent supplication offered:

The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, and other true Subjects of this Realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same;

To the Nobility and States of Parliament presently assembled within the said Realm, desire Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Increase of his Holy Spirit.

PLEASE your honours to call to remembrance, how divers and sundry times we, with some of yourselves, most humbly petitioned, at the feet of the late queen regent, for freedom and liberty of conscience, with a godly reformation of abuses, which, by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men, are crept into the religion of God, and are maintained by such as take upon them the name of clergy. And albeit that our godly and most reasonable suit was then disdainfully rejected, whereof no small troubles have ensued, as your honours well know, yet seeing that the same necessity yet remaineth that then moved us, and moreover that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands to take such order, as God thereby may be glorified, this commonwealth quieted, and the policy thereof established; we cannot cease to crave of your honours the redress of such enormities as manifestly are, and of long time have been, committed by the place-holders of the ministry, and others of the clergy within this realm. And, first, seeing that God, of his great mercy, hath by the light of his word manifested to no small number of this realm, that the doctrine of the Roman church, received by the said clergy, and maintained through their tyranny by fire and sword, contained in itself many pestiferous errors, which cannot but bring damnation to the souls of such as therewith shall be infected; such as the doctrine of transubstantiation; of the adoration of Christ's body, under the form of bread, as they term it; of the merits of works, and justification that they alledge cometh thereby; together with the doctrine of the Papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed; which all either repugn to the plain Scriptures, or else have no ground in the

doctrine of our master Jesus Christ, his prophets and apostles.

First, We humbly therefore crave of your honours, that such doctrine and idolatry as by God's word are both condemned, so may they be abolished by act of this present parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors.

Secondly, Seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Roman harlot, and her sworn vassals; and also, because that the true discipline of the ancient church is utterly now amongst that sect extinguished: (for who within the realm are more corrupt in life and manners, than are they that are called the clergy, living in whoredom, adultery, deflowering virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of punishment?) We humbly therefore desire your honours to find remedy against the one and the other.

Thirdly, Because that Man of Sin falsely claimeth to himself the titles of, 'The Vicar of Christ, the Successor of Peter, the Head of the Church, that he cannot err, that all power is granted unto him, &c.' By the which usurped authority, he taketh upon him the distribution and possession of the whole patrimony of the church, whereby the true ministry of the word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the schools not provided, and the poor not only defrauded of their portion, but also most tyrannically oppressed; we likewise hereof desire remedy.

And lest that your honours should doubt in any of these premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, that in all the rabble of the clergy, there is not one lawful minister, if God's word, the practice of the apostles, the sincerity of the primitive church, and their own ancient laws, shall judge of lawful election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murderers, yea, rebels and traitors to the lawful authority of emperors, kings, and princes; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. How maliciously they murdered our brethren, for no other cause, but for that they offered to us the light of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and into what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole realm, the ages after will consider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, than ye have

seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived.

Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man, made you, who sometimes were suppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cause of God; at least, he hath so subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppress the verity, as heretofore they have done: we therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your honours, that either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such others as justly we have to lay to their charges; or else, that, all affection laid aside, ye pronounce them such by censure of this parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused; especially that they may be deemed unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure, in the church of God; and so from henceforth never to enjoy voice in parliament: which if ye do not, then, in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word, we forewarn you, that as ye leave a grievous yoke, and a burden intolerable upon the church of God in this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides; whom after, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, give you upright hearts, seeking his glory, and true understanding what this day he, who hath delivered you from bondage, both spiritual and temporal, craveth of you by his servants; and your honours answer most humbly we require.

This our supplication being read in audience of the whole assembly, divers men were of divers judgments: for as there were some that uprightly favoured the cause of God, so were there many that, for worldly respects, abhorred a perfect reformation; (for how many within Scotland, who have the name of nobility, are unjust possessors of the patrimony of the church?) and yet were the barons and ministers called, and commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and several heads, the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire the present parliament to establish, as wholesome, true, and only necessary to be believed, and to be received within the realm: which they willingly accepted; and within four days presented this Confession, as it followeth, without alteration of any one sentence.

T H E
C O N F E S S I O N O F F A I T H,

A S

Professed and Believed by the PROTESTANTS within the Realm of SCOTLAND,

Published by them in Parliament, and by the Estates thereof ratified and approved, as wholesome and sound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God.

MATTHEW XXIV. 14.

And these glad Tidings of the Kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole World, for a Witness unto all Nations, and then shall the End come.

P R E F A C E.

The STATES of SCOTLAND, with the Inhabitants of the same professing the holy Gospel of Christ Jesus, to their natural Countrymen, and unto all other Realms and Nations professing the same Lord Jesus with them, with Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment, for Salvation.

LONG have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger; but such hath been the rage of Satan against us, and against the eternal verity of Christ Jesus, lately now again born amongst us, that to this day no time hath been granted unto us, to clear our consciences, as most gladly we would have done: for how we have been tossed a whole year past, the most part of Europe (as we do suppose) doth understand. But seeing that of the infinite goodness of our God (who never suffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded), above expectation, have we obtained some rest and liberty, we could not but set forth this brief and plain Confession of such doctrine as is proposed unto us, and as we believe and profess; partly for satisfaction of our brethren, whose hearts, we doubt not, have been, and yet are, wounded by the despiteful railing of such as yet have not learned to speak well; and partly for stopping the mouths of impudent blasphemers, who boldly condemn that which they neither heard nor understood: not that we judge, that the cankered malice of such is able to be cured by this simple Confession; no, we know that the sweet favour of the gospel is, and shall be death unto the sons of perdition. But we have chief respect to our weak and infirm brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, lest that they be troubled or carried away by diversity of rumours which Satan spreadeth against us, to the defeating of this our most godly enterprise; protesting, That if any man will note in this our Confession, any article or sentence repugning to God's holy

word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writing; and we, upon 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. For God we take to record in our consciences, That from our hearts we abhor all sects of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's gospel, which is the only food of our souls; and therefore so precious unto us, that we are determined to suffer the extremest of worldly danger, rather than that we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same. For hereof we are most certainly persuaded, That whosoever denieth Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of him in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before his holy angels; and therefore, by the assistance of the mighty Spirit of the same Lord Jesus Christ, we firmly purpose to abide to the end in the Confession of this our Faith.

THE
CONFESSIO N O F FAITH.

I. *Of GOD.*

WE confess and acknowledge one only God, to whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust: who is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible, one in substance, and yet distinct into three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable providence, to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice hath appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory.

II. *Of the Creation of Man.*

WE confess and acknowledge this our God to have created man (*viz.* our first father Adam), of whom also God formed the woman to his own image and similitude; to whom he gave wisdom, lordship, justice, free-will, and clear knowledge of himself, so that in the whole nature of man there could be no imperfection: from which honour and perfection man and woman did both fall; the woman being deceived by the serpent, and man obeying the voice of the woman, both conspiring against the sovereign majesty of God, who in express words had before threatened death, if they presumed to eat of the forbidden tree.

III. *Of Original Sin.*

By which transgression, commonly called Original Sin, was the image of God utterly defaced in man, and he and his posterity of nature became enemies to God, slaves to Satan, servants to sin, inasmuch that death everlasting hath had, and shall have power and dominion over all that have not been, are not, or shall not be regenerated from above; which regeneration is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, working in the hearts of the elect of God an assured faith in the promises of God,

revealed to us in his word; by which faith they apprehend Christ Jesus, with the graces and benefits promised in him.

IV. *Of the Revelation of the Promises.*

FOR this we constantly believe, That God, after the fearful and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did seek Adam again, call upon him, rebuke his sin, convince him of the same, and in the end made unto him a joyful promise, *viz.* ‘ That the seed of the woman should break down ‘ the serpent’s head;’ that is, He should destroy the works of the devil: which promise, as it was repeated and made more clear from time to time, so was it embraced with joy, and most constantly retained of all the faithful, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to David, and so forth to the incarnation of Jesus Christ; who all (we mean the faithful fathers under the law) did see the joyful days of Christ Jesus, and did rejoice.

V. *The Continuance, Increase, and Preservation, of his Church.*

WE most constantly believe, That God preserveth, instructeth, multiplieth, honoureth, decoreth, and from death called to life his church in all ages, from Adam, till the coming of Christ Jesus in the flesh: for Abraham he called from his father’s country, him he instructed, his seed he multiplied, the same he marvellously preserved, and more marvellously delivered from the bondage of Pharaoh; to whom he gave his laws, constitutions, and ceremonies: them he possessed in the land of Canaan; to them, after judges, and after Saul, he gave David to be king; to whom he made promise, That of the fruit of his loins should one sit for ever upon his regal seat. To this same people, from time to time, he sent prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatry. And albeit, for their stubborn contempt of justice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their

enemies, as before he threatened by the mouth of Moses: inſomuch that the holy city was deſtroyed, the temple burnt with fire, and the whole land left deſolate the ſpace of ſeventy years; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to Jeruſalem, where the city and temple were re-edified, and they, againſt all temptations and aſſaults of Satan, did abide till the Meſſias came, according to the promiſe.

VI. *Of the Incarnation of Chriſt Jeſus.*

WHEN the fulneſs of time came, God ſent his Son, his Eternal Wiſdom, the Subſtance of his own glory, into this world, who took the nature of manhood, of the ſubſtance of a woman, *viz.* of a virgin, and that by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt; and ſo was born, the juſt Seed of David, the Angel of the great Counſel of God, the very Meſſias promiſed, whom we acknowledge and confeſs, Emmanuel, very God and very Man, two perfect natures united and joined in one perſon: by which our confeſſion, we condemn the damnable and peſtilent hereſies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Neſtorius, and ſuch others, as either deny the eternity of his Godhead, or the verity of his human nature, or conſound them, or yet divide them.

VII. *Why it behoveth the Mediator to be very God and very Man.*

WE acknowledge and confeſs, That this moſt wonderful conjunction betwixt the Godhead and Manhood of Chriſt Jeſus, did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence alſo our ſalvation ſpringeth and dependeth.

VIII. *Of Election.*

FOR that ſame eternal God, who of mere grace elected us in Chriſt Jeſus his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Paſtor, and great Biſhop of our Souls: but becauſe that the enmity betwixt the juſtice of God and our ſins was ſuch, that no fleſh by itſelf could, or might have attained unto God; it behoved that the Son ſhould deſcend unto us, and take himſelf a body of our body, fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones, and to become the perfect Mediator betwixt God and man; giving power to ſo many as believe in him, to be the ſons of God, as he himſelf doth witneſs; 'I paſs up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God:' by which moſt holy

fraternity, whatſoever we have loſt in Adam is reſtored to us again; and for this cauſe we are nothing afraid to call God our Father, not ſo much in that he hath created us (which we have common with the reprobate), as for that, that he hath given to us his only Son to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to embrace him for our only Mediator, as before is ſaid. It behoved further the Meſſias and Redeemer to be very God and very Man, becauſe he was to ſuffer the puniſhment due for our tranſgreſſions, and to preſent himſelf in the preſence of his Father's judgment, as in our perſon, to ſuffer for our tranſgreſſion and diſobedience, by death to overcome him that was author of death. But becauſe the only Godhead could not ſuffer death, neither could only the Manhood overcome the ſame, he joined both together in one perſon, that the imbecillity of the one ſhould ſuffer, and be ſubject to death (which we had deſerved), and the infinite and invincible power of the other, *viz.* of the Godhead, ſhould triumph, and purchaſe unto us life, liberty, and perpetual victory; and ſo we confeſs, and moſt undoubtedly believe.

IX. *Chriſt's Death, Paſſion, Burial, &c.*

THAT our Lord Jeſus offered himſelf a voluntary ſacrifice unto his Father for us; that he ſuffered contradiction of ſinners; that he was wounded and plagued for our tranſgreſſions; that he, being the clean and innocent Lamb of God, was condemned in the preſence of an earthly judge, that we might be abſolved before the tribunal-ſeat of our God; that he ſuffered not only the cruel death of the croſs (which was accuſed by the ſentence of God), but alſo, that he ſuffered for a ſeaſon the wrath of his Father, which ſinners had deſerved; but yet we avow, that he remained the only well-beloved and bleſſed Son of his Father, even in the miſt of his anguiſh and torment, which he ſuffered in body and ſoul, to make the full ſatiſfaction for the ſins of his people. After the which we confeſs and avow, that there remains no other ſacrifice for ſins; which, if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow, that they are blaſphemous againſt Chriſt's death, and the everlaſting purgation and ſatiſfaction purchaſed unto us by the ſame.

X. *Reſurrection.*

WE undoubtedly believe, that inſomuch as it was impoſſible that the pains of death ſhould retain in bondage the Author of Life, that our Lord Jeſus,

crucified, dead, and buried, who descended into hell, did rise again for our justification, and destroyed him who was the author of death; brought life again to us that were subject to death, and to the bondage of the same: we know that his resurrection was confirmed by the testimony of his very enemies; by the resurrection of the dead, whose sepulchres did open, and they did arise, and appeared to many within the city of Jerusalem: it was also confirmed by the testimony of angels, and by the senses and judgments of his apostles and others, who had conversation, and did eat and drink with him after his resurrection.

XI. *Ascension.*

WE nothing doubt but that the self-same body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, dead, and buried, and which did rise again, did ascend into the heavens, for accomplishment of all things; where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath received all power in heaven and in earth; where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, enthronized in his kingdom, Advocate and only Mediator for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongst the brethren shall possess, till that all his enemies be made his footstool; as that we undoubtedly believe they shall be in the final judgment: to the execution whereof, we certainly believe, that the same Lord Jesus shall visibly and apparently return, as that he was seen to ascend. And there we firmly believe, that the time of refreshing and restitution of all things shall come, in-somuch that those that from the beginning have suffered violence, injury, and wrong, for righteousness sake, shall inherit the blessed immortality promised from the beginning; but contrariwise, the stubborn, cruel, inobedient oppressors, filthy persons, adulterers, and all sorts of unthankful men, shall be cast into the dungeon of utter darkness, where their worm shall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguished: the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgment to be executed in the same, is not only to us a bridle, whereby our carnal lusts are restrained, but also such inestimable comfort, that neither may the threatenings of worldly princes, neither yet the fear of temporal death and present danger, move us to renounce and forsake that blessed society, which we the members have with our Head and only Mediator Christ Jesus; whom we confess and avow to be the Messiah promised, the only Head of the church,

our just Lawgiver, our only High Priest, Advocate, and Mediator: in whose honours and offices, if a man or an angel presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them, as blasphemous to our Sovereign, and supreme Governor Christ Jesus.

XII. *Faith in the Holy Ghost.*

THIS our faith, and the assurance of the same, proceedeth not from flesh and blood, that is to say, from no natural powers within us; but is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, whom we confess God equal with the Father and with the Son; who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all verity, by his own operation; without whom we should remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Son Christ Jesus: for of nature we are so dead, so perverse and blind, that neither we can feel when we are pricked, see the light when it shineth, nor assent to the will of God when it is revealed, only the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darkness from our minds, and boweth our stubborn hearts to the obedience of his blessed will: and so as we confess, that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Son our Lord Jesus redeemed us when we were enemies to him, so also we confess, that the Holy Ghost doth sanctify and regenerate us, without all respect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To speak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly spoil ourselves of all honour and glory of our own creation and redemption, so do we also of our regeneration and sanctification; for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one good thought; but he who hath begun the good work in us, is only he that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glory of his undeserved grace.

XIII. *The Cause of good Works.*

So that the cause of good works we confess to be, not of free-will, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, bringeth forth such good works, as God hath prepared for us to walk in: for this we most boldly affirm, that blasphemy it is to say, that Christ Jesus abideth in the heart of such, as in whom there is no Spirit of sanctification; and therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppressors, cruel persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthy persons, idolaters, drunkards, thieves, and all

workers of iniquity, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the Spirit of sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jesus, so long as they obstinately continue in their wickedness: for how soon soever the Spirit of the Lord Jesus (which God's elect children receive by true faith) taketh possession in the heart of any man, so soon doth he regenerate and renew the same man; so that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and beginneth to love that which before he hated; and from thence cometh that continual battle, which is betwixt the flesh and spirit in God's children, while the flesh and natural man (according to their own corruption) lusteth for things pleasing and delectable to itself, grudgeth in adversity, is lifted up in prosperity, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the majesty of God: but the Spirit of God, which giveth witnessing unto our spirit that we are the sons of God, maketh us to resist the devil, to abhor filthy pleasures, to groan in God's presence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption; and finally, to triumph over sin, that it reign not in our mortal bodies. This battle have not the carnal men, being destitute of God's Spirit, but do follow and obey sin with greediness, and without repentance, even as the devil and their corrupt lusts do prick them: but the sons of God, as afore is said, do fight against sin, do sob and mourn, when they perceive themselves tempted to iniquity; and if they fall, they rise again with earnest and unfeigned repentance: and these things they do, not by their own power, but the power of our Lord Jesus (without whom they were able to do nothing) worketh in them all that is good.

XIV. *What Works are reputed good before God.*

WE confess and acknowledge, that God hath given to man his holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works as displease and offend his godly Majesty, but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these works are of two sorts; the one is done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours: and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. To have one God; to worship and honour him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to believe the same; to communicate with his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table: to honour father and mother, princes, rulers, and superior powers; to love them, to sup-

port them; yea, to obey their charges (not repugning to the commandment of God); to save the lives of innocents; to repress tyranny; to defend the oppressed; to keep our bodies clean and holy; to live in sobriety and temperance; to deal justly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, to repress the appetite of our neighbour's hurt, are the good works of the second table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those works are commanded by himself. The contrary thereof is sin most odious, which always displeaseth him, and provoketh him to anger; as, not to call upon him alone when we have need; not to hear his word with reverence; to contemn and despise it; to have or to worship idols; to maintain and defend idolatry; lightly to esteem the reverend name of God; to profane, abuse, or contemn the sacraments of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist any that God hath placed in authority (while they pass not over the bounds of their office); to murder, or consent thereunto; to bear hatred, or to suffer innocent blood to be shed, if we may gain-stand it; and finally, the transgressing of any other commandment in the first or second table, we confess and affirm to be sin, by the which God's hot displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankful world. So that good works we affirm to be those only that are done in faith, and at God's commandment, who in his law hath expressed what are the things that please him: and evil works we affirm, not only those that are expressly done against God's commandment, but those also that, in matters of religion, and worshipping of God, have no assurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the prophet Isaiah, and by our Master Christ Jesus, we are taught in these words, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines which are the precepts of men.'

XV. *The Perfection of the Law, and the Imperfection of Man.*

THE law of God we confess and acknowledge most just, most equal, most holy, and most perfect, commanding those things which, being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternal felicity: but our nature is so corrupt, so weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfil the works of the law in perfection; yea, 'If we say we have no sin (even after we are regenerated), we deceive ourselves, and the verity of

‘ God is not in us.’ And therefore it behoveth us to apprehend Christ Jesus with his justice and satisfaction, who is the end and accomplishment of the law to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of the law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points; for God the Father, beholding us in the body of his Son Christ Jesus, accepteth our imperfect obedience, as it were perfect, and covereth our works, which are defiled with many spots, with the justice of his Son. We do not mean, that we are set so at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the law (for that before we have plainly confessed), but this we affirm, that no man on earth (Christ Jesus only excepted) hath given, giveth, or shall give in work, that obedience to the law, which the law requireth; but when we have done all things, we must fall down, and unfeignedly confess, that we are unprofitable servants: and therefore, whosoever boast themselves of the merits of their own works, or put their trust in the works of supererogation, they boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idolatry.

XVI. *Of the Church.*

As we believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe, that from the beginning there hath been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be a church; that is to say, a company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace him by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the only Head of the same church, which also is the body and spouse of Christ Jesus; which church is Catholic, that is, Universal, because it containeth the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion or society with God the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, through the sanctification of his Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called Communion, not of profane persons, but of saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits, *viz.* of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and one baptism; without the which church there is neither life nor eternal felicity: and therefore we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those that affirm, That men that live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed: for as without Christ Jesus there is neither life nor salvation, so shall there none be

participant thereof, but such as the Father hath given unto his Son Christ Jesus, and those in time to come to him, avow his doctrine, and believe in him (we comprehend the children with the faithful parents). This church is invisible, known only to God, who only knoweth whom he hath chosen; and comprehendeth, as well, as is said, the elect that he departed (commonly called the Church Triumphant), as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Satan, or shall live hereafter.

XVII. *The Immortality of the Soul.*

THE elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours; not that they sleep, and come to a certain oblivion (as some fantastic heads do affirm), but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, to which we and all God's elect are subject in this life; and therefore do bear the name of the Church Militant. As on the contrary always, the reprobate and unfaithful departed, have anguish, torment, and pain, that cannot be expressed. So that neither are the one nor the other in such sleep, that they feel no joy or torment, as the parable of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth of Luke, his words to the thief; and these words of the souls crying under the altar, ‘ O Lord! thou art righteous and just, how long shalt thou not revenge our blood upon them? that dwell upon the earth?’ do plainly testify.

XVIII. *Of the Notes by the which the true Church is discerned from the false, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine.*

BECAUSE that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his pestilent synagogue with the title of the Church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true church and members thereof, as Cain did Abel, Ishmael Isaac, Esau Jacob, and the whole priesthood of the Jews Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles after him; it is a thing most requisite, that the true church be discerned from the filthy synagogue, by clear and perfect notes, lest we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The notes, signs, and assured tokens, whereby the immaculate spouse of Christ Jesus is known from the horrible harlot the church malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving any error: for Cain in age and title was preferred

to Abel and Seth; Jerufalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, where alfo were the priests lineally defcended from Aaron; and greater multitudes followed the fcribes, pharifees, and priests, than unfeignedly believed and approved Chrift Jefus and his doctrine: and yet, as we fuppofe, no man of found judgment will grant, that any of the forenamed were the church of God.

The notes therefore of the true church of God, we believe, confefs, and avow, to be, *First*, The true preaching of the word of God, in which God hath revealed himfelf to us, as the writings of the prophets and apoftles do declare. *Secondly*, The right adminiftration of the facraments of Chrift Jefus, which may be annexed to the word and promife of God, to feal and confirm the fame in our hearts. *Laftly*, Ecclefiaftical difcipline uprightly miniftered, as God's word prefcribeth, whereby vice is reffelled, and virtue nourifhed. Wherefoever then thefe former notes are feen, and of any time continue (be the number never fo few, about two or three) there, without all doubt, is the true church of Chrift, who, according to his promife, is in the midft of them; not of that univerfal (of which we have before fpoken), but particular, fuch as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places in which the miniftry was planted by Paul, and were of himfelf named the churches of God; and fuch churches we, the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland, profefors of Chrift Jefus, confefs us to have in our cities, towns, and places reformed: for the doctrine taught in our churches is contained in the written word of God, *viz.* in the books of the Old and New Testaments; in thofe books we mean, which of the ancients have been reputed canonical; in the which we affirm, that all things neceffary to be believed for the falvation of mankind are fufficiently expreffed: the interpretation whereof, we confefs, neither appertaineth unto any private nor public perfon; neither yet to any church, for any pre-eminence or prerogative, perfonal or local, which one hath above another, but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which alfo the Scripture was written. When controverfy then happeneth, for the right understanding of any place or fentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of any abufe within the church of God, we ought not fo much to look what men before us have faid and done, as unto that which the Holy Ghoft uniformly fpeaketh within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that which Chrift Jefus himfelf did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing univerfally granted, That the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of

Unity, is in nothing contrary to himfelf. If then the interpretation, determination, or fentence of any doctör, church, or council, repugn to the plain word of God, written in any other place of Scripture, it is a thing moft certain, that there is not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghoft; fuppofing that councils, realms, and nations, have approved and received the fame: for we dare not receive and admit any interpretation, which directly oppugneth to any principal point of our faith, to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet to the rule of charity.

XIX. *The Authority of the Scriptures.*

AND as we believe and confefs the Scriptures of God fufficient to inftroct and make the man of God perfect, fo do we affirm and avow the authority of the fame to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm therefore, that fuch as alledge the Scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the church, to be blafphemous againft God, and injurious to the true church, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spoufe and Paftor, but taketh not upon her to be miftrefs over the fame.

XX. *Of the General Councils, of their Power, Authority, and Causè of their Convention.*

As we do not rashly condemn that which godly men affembled together in general councils, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us; fo, without juft examination, dare we not receive whatfoever is obruded unto men, under the name of General Councils: for plain it is, that, as they were men, fo have fome of them manifetly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the council proveth the determination and commandment that it giveth, by the plain word of God, fo far do we reverence and embrace the fame: but if men, under the name of a council, pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to make constitutions repugning to the word of God, then utterly we may refufe the fame, as the doctrine of devils, which draweth our fouls from the voice of our only God, to follow the doctrines and constitutions of men. The cause then why general councils convened, was neither to make any perpetual law (which God before had not made), neither yet to forge new articles of our belief, neither to give the word of God authority, much lefs to make that to be his word, or yet the true interpreta-

tion of the same, which was not before by his holy will expressed in his word: but the cause of councils (we mean of such as merited the name of councils) was partly for confutation of heresies, and for giving public confession of their faith to the posterities following; which both they did, by the authority of God's written word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not err, by reason of their general assembly. And this we judge to have been the chief cause of general councils. The other was for good policy and order, to be constituted and observed in the church, in which, as in the house of God, it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order: not that we think that one policy, and one order in ceremonies, can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition, than that they edify the church using the same.

XXI. *Of the Sacraments.*

As the fathers under the law, besides the verity of the sacrifices, had two chief sacraments, *viz.* circumcision and the passover; the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed for God's people; so we acknowledge and confess, that we now, in time of the gospel, have two sacraments only, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used by all those that will be reputed to be members of his body; *viz.* baptism, and the supper or table of the Lord Jesus, called, 'The communion of his body and blood.' And these sacraments (as well of the Old as of the New Testament) were instituted of God, not only to make a visible difference betwixt his people, and those that were without his league, but also to exercise the faith of his children; and, by participation of the same sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society, which the elect have with their Head Christ Jesus. And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs; no, we assuredly believe, that by baptism we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted: and also, that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he cometh the very nourishment and food of our souls.

Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into

his natural blood (as the Papists have perniciously taught, and damnably believed), but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus, in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who, by true faith, carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place, which is betwixt his body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortal in this earth; yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break, is the communion of Christ's body; and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood: so that we confess, and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, so do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them, and they in him: yea, that they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, that as the eternal Godhead hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus (which of the own condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality, so doth Christ Jesus his flesh and blood, eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives; which albeit, we confess, are neither given unto us at that only time, neither yet by the proper power and virtue of the sacraments only; yet we affirm, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, have such conjunction with Christ Jesus as the natural man cannot comprehend; yea, and further, we affirm, That albeit the faithful, oppressed by negligence and manly infirmity, do not profit so much as they would at the very instant action of the supper, yet shall it after bring forth fruit, as lively seed sown in good ground; for the Holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithful of the fruit of that mystical action: but all this, we say, cometh by true faith, which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who only maketh his sacraments effectual unto us: and therefore, whosoever slandereth us, as though we affirmed or believed sacraments to be openly naked and bare signs, do injury unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we must confess, that we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in his natural substance, and betwixt the elements in the sacramental signs: so that we will neither worship the signs, in place of that which is signified by them; neither yet do we despise and

interpret them as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining ourselves diligently before that so we do; because we are assured by the mouth of the apostle, That such as eat of that bread, and drink of that cup unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus.

XXII. *Of the right Administration of the Sacraments.*

THAT sacraments be rightly ministered, we judge two things requisite; the one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the word, or into whose mouths God hath put some sermon of exhortation, they being men of lawful chusing thereto by some church; the other, that they be ministered in such elements, and in such sort, as God hath appointed: else we affirm, that they cease to be right sacraments of Jesus Christ. And therefore it is, that we flee the society with the Papistical church, in participation of their sacraments; *first*, Because their ministers are no ministers of Jesus Christ; yea, which is more horrible, they suffer women, whom the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize. And, *secondly*, because they have so adulterated both the one sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's action abideth in the original purity; for oil, salt, spittle, and such like in baptism, are but mens inventions; adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes, are profanation of Christ's sacraments, and no use of the same: for Christ Jesus said, 'Take and eat,' &c. 'Do ye this in remembrance of me.' By which words and charge, he sanctified bread and wine to be the sacrament of his body and blood, to the end that the one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other, and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blind Papists have done heretofore, who also have committed sacrilege, stealing from the people one part of the sacrament, *viz.* the blessed cup.

Moreover, that the sacraments be rightly used, it is required, that the end and cause why the sacraments were instituted, be understood and observed, as well of the minister as the receivers: for if the opinion be changed in the receiver, the right use ceaseth; which is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices (as also if the teacher teach false doctrine), which were odious and abominable unto God (albeit they were his own ordinances), because

that wicked men used them to another end than God hath ordained. The same affirm we of the sacraments in the Papistical church, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jesus to be adulterated, as well in the external form, as in the end and opinion. What Christ Jesus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three evangelists who speak of the sacrament, and by St. Paul: what the priest doth at his altar, we need not to rehearse. The end and cause of Christ's institution, and why the self-same should be used, is expressed in these words, 'Do ye this in remembrance of me: as oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth (that is, extol, preach, and magnify) the Lord's death till he come.' But to what end, and in what opinion, the priests say their masses, let the words of the same their own doctors and writings witness; *viz.* that they are mediators betwixt Christ and his church, to offer unto God the Father a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead: which doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice, once offered for purification of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce.

XXIII. *To whom Sacraments appertain.*

WE confess and acknowledge, That baptism appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithful, as unto those that are of age and discretion; and so we condemn the error of the Anabaptists, who deny baptism to appertain to children, before that they have faith and understanding. But the supper of the Lord we confess to appertain only to such as have been of the household of faith, and can try and examine themselves, as well in their faith, as in their duties towards their neighbours. Such as eat and drink at that holy table without faith, or being at dissension and division with their brethren, do eat unworthily; and therefore it is, that, in our churches, ministers take public and particular examination of the knowledge and conversation of such, as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus.

XXIV. *Of the Civil Magistrate.*

WE confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, to be destinated and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in

the same (be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magistrates in free cities), to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. So that whosoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the holy state of civil policies, now long established, we affirm the same men not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly to fight against God's express will. We further confess and acknowledge, That such persons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holden in most reverend estimation, because they are the lieutenants of God, in whose session God himself doth sit and judge (yea, even the judges and princes themselves), to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open malefactors. To kings, moreover princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertaineth; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever; as in David, Jehoshaphat, Ezekias, Josias, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cause, may be espied. And therefore we confess and avow, That such as resist the supreme powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge), do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And further, we affirm, That whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel, and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travel in the executing of their office, that the same men deny their help, support, and counsel to God, who, by the presence of his lieutenant, craveth it of them.

XXV. *The Gifts freely given to the Church.*

ALBEIT that the word of God truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, and discipline executed according to the word of God, be the certain and infallible signs of the true church; yet do we not so mean, that every particular person, joined with such a company, be an elect member of Christ Jesus: for we acknowledge and confess, that darnel, cockle, and chaff, may be sown, grow in great abundance, and lie in the midst of the wheat; that is, the reprobate may be joined in the society of the elect, and may externally use with them the benefits of the word and sacraments; but such being but temporal professors, in mouth

but not in heart, do fall back, and continue not to the end; and therefore have they no fruit of Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension. But such as with heart unfeigned believe, and with mouth boldly confess the Lord Jesus, as before we have said, shall most assuredly receive these gifts, *First*, In this life remission of sins, by faith only in Christ's blood, inasmuch, that albeit sin remain and continually abide in these mortal bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christ's justice. *Secondly*, In the general judgment there shall be given to every man and woman resurrection of the flesh: for the sea shall give her dead, the earth those that therein be inclosed; yea, the Eternal, our God, shall stretch out his hand upon the dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substance of the same flesh that every man now bears; to receive, according to their works, glory or punishment: for such as now delight in vanity, cruelty, filthiness, superstition, or idolatry, shall be adjudged to the fire inextinguishable, in the which they shall be tormented for ever, as well in their body, as in their souls, which they give to serve the devil in all abomination; but such as continue in well-doing to the end, boldly professing the Lord Jesus, to whose glorified body all his elect shall be like, when he shall appear again to judgment, and shall render up the kingdom to God his Father, who then shall be, and ever shall remain, All in all things, God blessed for ever; to whom, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

' Arise, O Lord! and let thine enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy holy name: give thy servants strength to speak thy word in boldness, and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge.'

These acts and articles were read in face of parliament, and ratified by the three estates of this realm, at Edinburgh, the 17th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560.

THIS our Confession was publicly read, first in audience of the lords of the articles; and after, in the audience of the whole parliament, where were present, not only such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the forenamed bishops, and some other of the temporal estate, who were commanded, in God's name, to object, if they could say any thing against that doctrine. Some of our ministers

were present, standing upon their feet, ready to have answered, in case any would have defended Papistry, and impugned our affirmatives: but while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed for concurrence in that and other heads.

Our Confession was read every article by itself over again, as they were written in order, and the vote of every man was required accordingly. Of the temporal estate, only gave their votes on the contrary, the earl of Athol, the lords Somervell and Borthwick: and yet, for their dissenting, they produced no better reason, but, We will believe as our fathers believed. The bishops, Papistical we mean, spake nothing. The rest of the whole three estates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine; and the rather, because that fain the bishops would, but durst say nothing on the contrary: for this was the vote of the earl Marshall, It is long since I have had some favour unto the truth, and since that I have had a suspicion of the Papistical religion; but I praise my God, who this day hath fully resolved me in the one and the other: for seeing that the bishops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they should bear to the verity would, as I suppose, have gain said any thing that directly repugneth to the verity of God; seeing, I say, the bishops here present speak nothing in the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it for the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine: and therefore so far as in me lieth, I approve the one, and contemn the other; and do further ask of God, that not only I, but also all my posterity, may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more I must vote, as it were by way of protestation, That if any person ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, that they have no place nor credit; considering that they having long advertisement, and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found, in lawful, free, and quiet parliament, to oppose themselves to that which we profess: and therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I protest he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity, and the glory of the world, than the truth of God, and the salvation of mens souls.

After the voting and ratification of this our Confession by the whole body of the parliament, there were also pronounced two acts; the one against the mass, and the abuse of the sacraments; and the other against the supremacy of the pope; the tenor whereof followeth;

An ACT against the Mass, and the Sayers and Hearers thereof.

IN the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, the said parliament being continued to the 11th of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days, upon the 24th day of the said month of August, the three estates then being present: the which day, for so much as Almighty God, by his most true and blessed word, hath declared the reverence and honour which should be given to him, and by his Son Jesus Christ hath declared the true use of the sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his will and word; by the which it is notorious, and perfectly known, that the sacraments of baptism, and of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, hath been this long time past corrupted by the Papistical church, and by their ministers; and at this present time, notwithstanding the reformation already made according to God's word, yet nevertheless there is some of the same pope's church that stubbornly persevere in their wicked idolatry, saying mass, and baptizing conform to the pope's church, profaning there-through the sacraments aforesaid in quiet secret places, regarding therein neither God nor his word:

Therefore it is decreed and ordained in this present parliament, That no manner of person or persons, in any time coming, administrate any of the sacraments secretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; nor say mass, nor yet hear mass, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrates, within whose jurisdiction such persons happen to be apprehended, for the first fault; banishing out of the realm, for the second fault; and chastising by death, for the third fault. And ordaineth all sheriffs, stewards, bailies, and their deputies, provosts, and bailies of burghs, and other judges within this realm, to make diligent suit and inquisition within their bounds, where any such usurped ministry is used, mass-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying and approving the same; and take, and apprehend them, to the effect that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me,

JACOBUS MACGILL.

The ACT for the abolishing of the Pope, and his usurped Authority in Scotland.

IN the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, and thereafter continued to the 1st day of August next thereafter following, with continuation of days: upon the 24th of the said month of August, the three states then being present, understanding that the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, called the Pope, used in this realm in times past, hath been very hurtful and prejudicial to our sovereigns authority and common-weal of this realm; therefore hath decreed and ordained, That the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction nor authority in this realm in times coming; and that none of our said sovereigns subjects claim, and desire in any time hereafter, title or right by the said bishop of Rome, or his sect, to any thing within this realm, under the pains of baratry, that is to say, proscription, banishment, and never to bruik and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity, within this realm; and the contraveners hereof to be called before the justice, or his deputies, or before the lords of session, and punished therefore, conform to the laws of this realm; and the furnisshers of them, by fines; and purchasurs of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, shall incur the same pains: and that no bishop, nor other prelate, of this realm, use any jurisdiction in time to come, by the said bishop of Rome's authority, under the pain aforesaid.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me,

JACOBUS MACGILL.

These and other things orderly done in lawful and free parliament, we directed to France, to our sovereigns, Sir James Sandilands lord of St. John, with the acts of the said parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promises of their majesties commissioners made to us, as by the contract of peace may evidently appear. But how the said lord of St. John was received and used, we list not to rehearse; but always no ratification brought he unto us: but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did, was rather to shew our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion, which from God hath full power, and needed not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man had need to believe it, if that ever he shall have participation of the

life everlasting. But somewhat must we answer to such as since have whispered, that it was but a pretended parliament, a private convention, and no lawful parliament. Their reasons are, The king and queen were in France; there was neither scepter, sword, nor crown borne, &c. and some principal lords were absent.

We answer, That we rather with the Papists to be quiet, than too curiously to travel in that point; for it may be, while they think to hurt us, they give the queen and her authority a great blow, and yet amend themselves nothing. For in whose default, we pray you, was the queen absent from this realm? We think they will not be so shameless as that they will blame the Protestants thereof. Her person was absent, and that to no small grief of our hearts: but were not the states of her realm assembled in her name? yea, had they not her full power and commission, yea, the commission and commandment of her head the king of France, to convocate that parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawful parliament, even as if our sovereigns had been there in proper persons? If they will limit the power of princes to the places only where their bodily presence is, it will be thought strange; for so not only shall kings be compelled to content them with one realm, but also with one city: for the bodily presence of kings can no more be in divers cities at one instant, than that they can be in divers realms. Hitherto we have understood, that wheresoever the great counsellors of the king, with his power and commission, are assembled, to do any thing at his just commandment, that there is the king's sufficient presence and authority, wheresoever his own body be living at freedom and liberty; which, if the Papists deny, we will find fault with them, and with the princes whom they have abused, that more will annoy them, than any thing that we can lose by the insufficiency of that parliament; which, nevertheless, we are bold to affirm, to have been more lawful and free, than any parliament that they are able to produce these hundred years before it, or yet any that hath ensued since it was (he means until 1566, when this Book was written); for in it the votes of men were free, and given in conscience; in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the misled prince. All things in it concluded are able to abide the trial, and not to be consumed at the proof of the fire; of others the godly may justly call in doubt things determined. To the sword and scepter, nor yet to the absence of some lords, we answer nothing: for our adversaries know well

enough, that the one is rather a pomp, and vain-glorious ceremony, than a substantial point of necessity required to a lawful parliament; and the absence of some, pre-judges not the powers of the present duly assembled, providing that due advertisement be made unto them. But now we return to our history.

The parliament dissolved, consultation was had, how the church might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the Papists was altogether defaced. Commission and charge was given to Mr. John Wiuram sub-prior of St. Andrews, Mr. John Spotifwood, John Willock, Mr. John Douglas rector of St. Andrews, Mr. John Row, and John Knox, to draw in a volume the policy and discipline of the church, as well as they had done the doctrine, which they did, and presented it to the nobility, who did peruse it many days. Some approved it, and willed the same to have been set forth by a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, inasmuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imaginations, was termed in their mockage, Devout imaginations. The cause we have before declared; some were licentious, some had greedily gripped the possessions of the church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat, yea, and that before that ever he was crucified, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the lord Erskine: and no wonder; for besides that he had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts, and more, of that which he unjustly now possesseth. Assuredly some of us have wondered, how men, that profess godliness, could, of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stolen. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers, than were they which had greatest rents of the churches: but in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true; 'Nothing can suffice a wretch.' And again, 'The belly hath no ears.'

Yet the same Book of Discipline was subscribed by a great part of the nobility; *viz.* the duke, the

earl of Arran, the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marthal, Monteith, Morton, Rothes, lord James after earl of Murray, lord Yeaster, Boyd, Ochiltree, master of Maxwell, lord Lindsay elder, and the master after lord; barons Drumlanrig, Lothingwar, Garleifs, Bargany, Mr. Alexander Gordon bishop of Galloway (this bishop of Galloway, as he renounced Popery, so did he Prelacy, witness his subscription of the Book of Discipline, as the rest of the prelates did, who did join to the reformation), Alexander Campbell dean of Murray, with a great number more, subscribed and approved the said Book of Discipline in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of January, the year of our Lord God 1560, by their approbation, in these words:

WE who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, and as is above-mentioned, from the beginning of this Book, think the same good, and conform to God's word in all points, conform to the additions and notes thereto added, and promised to set the same forward at the uttermost of our powers; providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who already have joined themselves to us, enjoy the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes: they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of the word, and ministering of the sacraments.

What the contents of the whole book are, and how that this promise was illuded from time to time, we shall after hear.

Shortly after the said parliament, were sent from the council ambassadors to England, the earls Morton and Glencairn, together with William Maitland of Lethington younger. The chief point of their commission, was, earnestly to crave the constant assistance of the queen's majesty of England, against all foreign invasion and common enemies.

That same time was the castle of Semple besieged and taken, because the lord thereof disobeyed the laws and ordinances of the council in many things, and especially in that, that he would maintain the idolatry of the mass, and also that he beset the way to the earl of Arran, with a great gathering, as he was riding with his accustomed company. The Papists were proud, for they looked for a new army from France the next spring, and thereof was no small appearance, if God had not otherwise provided: for France utterly refused

the confirmation of the peace contracted at Leith, would ratify no part of our parliament, dismissed the lord of St. John, without any proper answer, began to gather new bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for ships. They further sent before them certain practisers (amongst whom the lord Seton, who had departed with the French out of Leith, was one), to raise up new troubles within this realm: and all this came partly of the malice of the house of Guise, who had avowed to revenge the displeasure of their sister, both upon England and Scotland; and partly by instigation of proud Beaton, falsely called Bishop of Glasgow, of Dury abbot of Dunfermline, and Saulles Seton, and Mr. John Sinclair dean of Restalrig, with such others of the French faction, who had openly spoken, That they had refused all portion of Scotland, unless that it were under the government of a Frenchman. ‘Recompense them, O Lord! as thou knowest most expedient for thine own glory, and for the perpetual shame of all traitors to their commonwealth.’

The certain knowledge of all these things came to our ears, whereat many were afraid, and divers suspected that England would not be so forward in times to come, considering that their former experiences were so great. The principal comfort remained with the preachers; for they assured us in God’s name, that God would perform in all perfection that work in our hands, the beginning whereof he had so mightily maintained, because it was not ours, but his own; and therefore exhorted us, that we should constantly proceed to reform all abuses, and to plant the ministry of the church, as by God’s word we might justify it, and then commit the success of all to our God, in whose power the disposition of kingdoms standeth; and so we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give ear to the admonitions of God’s servants: and while that we had scarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to shew some signs of our obedience unto his messengers and holy word, lo! the mighty hand of God from above sent unto us a wonderful and most joyful deliverance: for unhappy Francis, husband to our sovereign, suddenly perished of a rotten ear; but because the death of that young man was not only the cause of joy to us in Scotland, but also by it were the faithful in France delivered as it were from the present death, we think expedient to speak of the same somewhat more largely.

These cruel and conjured enemies of God, and of all godliness, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and their faction, who then at their

own appetite played the tyrants in France, had determined the destruction of all that professed the true knowledge of Jesus Christ within that realm. What tyranny lately before they had used at Amboise, the history of France doth witness. Now in Orleans, in the month of November, convened the king, unhappy Francis, the queen our sovereign, and the queen-mother of the king, the duke of Guise, with all his faction, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde’s brother.

So that great was the confluence of the nobility, but greater was the assembly of the murderers, for there was not a hangman in all France which was not there. The prisons were full of the true servants of God; the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, were constituted prisoners; the sheriff of Orleans, a man fearing God, was taken, and so were many others of the town: briefly, there was none that professed God or godliness within that town, that looked not for the extremity; for the walls and gates were night and day kept with the garrisons of the Guisians, miserable men were daily brought in to suffer judgment, but none was suffered to depart forth but at the devotion of the tyrants.

And so they proceeded till the 10th or 12th of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody counsel in execution; and, for that purpose, conclusion was taken, that the king should depart out of the town, and lie at a certain place; which was done to this intent, that there should no suit be made to the king for the safety of any man’s life, whom they thought worthy of death. And so was the king’s house in Orleans broken up, his beds, coffers, and tapistry sent away, his own boots put on, he sitting at the mass, immediately thereafter to have departed, and so their tyranny to have begun.

When all things, we say, were in this readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, ‘who ever watcheth for the preservation of his own,’ began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution; for as the said king sat at mass, he was suddenly struck with an apoplexy, in that deaf ear that never would hear the truth of God; and so was he carried to a void and empty house, laid upon a palliase, until such time as a canopy was set up unto him, where he lay till the 15th day of December, in the year of God 1560, when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke: and so was the snare broken, and the tyrants disappointed of their cruelty; those that were appointed to

death, raised, as it were, out of their graves; and we, who by our foolishness had made ourselves slaves to strangers, were restored again to the freedom and liberty of a free realm.

' O! that we had hearts deeply to consider what are thy wonderous works, O Lord! that we might praise thee, in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memorial of the same to our posterity, which, alas! we fear shall forget these thy inestimable benefits.'

Some in France, after the sudden death of Francis II. and calling to mind the death of Charles IX. in blood, and the slaughter of Henry II. did remark the tragical ends of these three princes, who had persecuted God's servants so cruelly by their instruments the Guisians; and by their pens, both in prose and verse, did advise all other princes not to authorize any persecution, or wrong done unto God's servants, lest they should have the like end. And indeed some of the following kings of France have found this true, by their unfortunate and unexpected ends.

An Admonition to Kings, set forth by the Godly in France, upon the sudden Death of Francis II.

Ad hujus temporis monarchas protrepticon carmen.

*CONSILIIIS Christum oppugnans, et fraudibus ingens,
Regum ille terror Carlos:*

*Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus, et excors,
Totus repente corrui.*

*Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus uteris
Sitis piorum sanguinem:*

*Ipsè tuo vecors, incipina, cade peremptus
Terra imbruiisti sanguine.*

*Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris
Franciscus infelix puer,*

*Clamantem Christum furda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corrui.*

*Versuti, fatui, surdi, hac spectacula, reges,
Vos sapere vel mori jubent.*

Follows a Scottish Translation of the above.

KYNGE CHARLES, that tyrane terrible,
Withstanding Christ with witt and craft,
As mocking stock most miserable,
Endit at anes ragine and daft.
Then Henrie, through evill company,
Thirthing the blood of godlie men,
With his awin blood scheid suddantlie,
Was maid to wait the end ye ken.

Leist Frances, that unhappie child,

His father's footsteeps following plane,
To Christ crying, deafe ears did yeild,

Ane rotten care then was his baine.
O craftie, deif, and foolish kyngs!

These feirfull judgements gone befor you,
Biddeth you be wyfer in your reignes,
Or schamefull death will sone devour you.

The death of this king made great alteration in France, England, and Scotland: France hoped that the tyranny of the Guisians should no longer reign above them, because God at unawares had broken the staff whereupon they leaned; but, alas! they were deceived: for the simplicity of some was so abused, that, against the laws of the realm, to the queen-mother was committed the government, which listid up as well the duke of Guise, as the cruel cardinal, for a season.

The queen of England, and the council, sent back our ambassadors with answer, That she would not marry hastily, and therefore willed the council of Scotland, and the earl of Arran foresaid, not to depend upon any hope thereof. What motives she had, we omit.

The pride of the Papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that ever had shewn themselves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to speak (amongst whom the old sheriff of Ayr was one), That they perceived God to fight for us. The earl of Arran having suffered repulse in his design to marry the queen of England, he began to fancy unto himself, that the queen of Scotland bore unto him some favour; and so he wrote unto her, and sent for credit a ring, which the said queen, our sovereign, knew well enough. The letter and ring were both presented to the queen, and by her received. Such answer was returned to the said earl, after the which he made no further pursuit in that matter: and yet nevertheless he did bear it heavily in heart, and more heavily than his friends would have wished: for grief he was troubled in his understanding.

The certainty of the death foresaid was signified unto us, both by sea and land. By sea received John Knox letters (who then had great intelligence both with the churches abroad, and some of the court of France), that the king was mortally sick, and could not well escape death. Which letters received, that same day at afternoon he passed to the duke, to his own lodging at the Church of Field, with whom he found the lord James in conference alone: the earl of Arran was in Jedburgh, to

whom he opened such news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort: For, said he, the advertiser hath never deceived me; it is the same gentleman that first gave us knowledge of the slaughter of Henry king of France, and shewed unto them the letter, but would not express the man's name. While they were reasoning in divers purposes, and he comforting them; for while, we say, they three were familiarly communing together, there came a messenger from the lord Gray forth of Berwick, assuring him of the death of the king of France. Which noised abroad, a general convention of the nobility was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 15th day of January following, in the which the Book of Discipline was perused newly over again; for some pretended ignorance, by reason that they had not heard it.

In that assembly was Mr. Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of one of the schools of Aberdeen, a man more subtle and crafty, than either learned or godly, called; who refused to dispute anent his faith, abusing a place of Tertullian, to cloak his ignorance. It was answered unto him, That Tertullian should not prejudge the authority of the Holy Ghost, who, by the mouth of Peter, commandeth us to give reason of our faith to every one that requireth the same of us: it was further answered, That we neither required him, neither yet any man, to dispute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's word, and fully expressed in his holy Scriptures, for all that we believed without controversy: but we required of him, as of the rest of the Papists, that they would suffer their doctrine, constitutions, and ceremonies, to come to trial; and principally, that the mass, and the opinion thereof, by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the square-rule of God's word, and unto the right institution of Jesus Christ, that they might understand, whether that their preachers offended or not, in that, that they affirmed, The action of the mass to be expressly repugning unto the last supper of the Lord Jesus; the sayer of it to commit horrible blasphemy, in usurping unto him the office of Christ; the hearers to commit damnable idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be a derogation, and as it were a disannulling of Christ's death. While the said Mr. Alexander denied, that the priest took upon him Christ's office, to offer for sin, as he alledged, a mass-book was produced, and in the beginning of the canon were these words read, *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro*

peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius ecclesie vivorum et mortuorum, i. e. Holy Trinity, accept this offering, which I, unworthy sinner, offer to thee, the living and true God, for my sins, for the sins of the whole church of the quick and the dead.

Now, said the reasoner, If to offer for the sins of the whole church, was not the office of Christ Jesus, yea, that office that to him only might, and may appertain, let the Scripture judge: and if a vile knave, whom ye call Priest, proudly taketh the same upon him, let your own books witness. The said Mr. Alexander answered, Christ offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but he; but we offer the remembrance. Where-to it was answered, We praise God that ye have denied a sacrifice propitiatory to be in the mass; and yet we offer to prove, that in more than an hundred places of your Papistical doctors this proposition is affirmed, 'The mass is said to be a sacrifice propitiatory.' But the second part, where ye alledge that ye offer Christ in remembrance; we ask first, Unto whom do ye offer him? and next, By what authority are ye assured of well-doing? In God the Father there falleth no oblivion: and if ye will shift and say, That ye offer it not, as God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Christ's merits to his church; we demand of you, What power and commandment have ye so to do? We know that our Master Christ Jesus commanded his apostles to do that which he did, 'in remembrance of him;' but plain it is, 'That Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me,' &c. Here we find a commandment, to take, to eat; to take, and to drink; but to offer Christ's body, either for remembrance or application, we find not: and therefore, we say, To take upon you an office which is not given unto you, is unjust usurpation, and no lawful power. The said Mr. Alexander being more than astonished, would have shifted; but then the lords willed him to answer directly. Where-to he answered, That he was better seen in philosophy than in theology.

Then was commanded Mr. John Lesly (who then was parson of Une, and now abbot of Londons, and after was made bishop of Ross) to answer to the former argument; and he, with great gravity, began to answer, 'If our master hath nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the canon law; and the greatest reason that ever I could find there, is, *Nolumus et*

‘*volumus.*’ And yet we understand, that now he is the only patron of the mass: but it is no marvel, for we understand that he is a priest’s get and bastard; and therefore we should not wonder, albeit that the old trian verse be true, *Patrem sequitur sua proles.* The nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, ‘We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and to the dead, wherefore were all the abbeyes so richly doted and endowed with our temporal lands?’

Thus much we thought good to insert here, because that some Papists are not ashamed now to affirm, That they with their reasons could never be heard, but that all we did, we did by mere force; when that the whole realm knoweth, that we ever required them to speak their judgments freely, not only promising unto them protection and defence, but also that we should subscribe with them, if they by God’s Scriptures could convince us, and by the same word establish their assertions: ‘But who can correct the leavings of such, as in all things shew themselves the sons of the father of all lies? Preserve us, Lord! from that perverse and malicious generation. Amen.’

At this same assembly was the lord James appointed to go to France to the queen our sovereign, and a parliament was appointed to begin the 20th of May following; for at that time was the return of the said lord James looked for, and so was that convention dissolved, without any other thing of importance being concluded. The said lord James prepared him for his journey (for albeit he past in the public affairs, he sustained the charge of his own expences, and yet there never past from this realm in the company of one man so many, and so honest through England to France). Before he departed, he was forewarned, as well of the danger in France, as of the queen’s craft (not that we then suspected her nature, but that we understood the malice of her friends); he was plainly premonished, that if ever he condescended that she should have mass publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cause of God, and exposed the religion even to the uttermost danger that he could do. That she should have mass publicly, he affirmed that he would never consent; but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her? The danger was shewn, and so he departed.

The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, and all other Ministers, at Edinburgh, March 9th, 1560. JOHN KNOX being then Preacher.

FIRST was made a sermon, in which these heads were handled: *First,* The necessity of ministers and superintendants, or overseers. *Secondly,* The crimes and vices that might disqualify them for the ministry. *Thirdly,* The virtues required in them. And, *lastly,* Whether such as by public consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister, maker thereof, that the lords of the secret council had given charge and power to the churches of Lothian, to chuse Mr. John Spottiswood superintendent or overseer; and that sufficient warning was made by public edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Tra- nent, Haddington, and Dunbar; as also, to the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and others, that have, or might claim to have vote in election, to be present that day, and that same hour. And therefore enquiry was made, who were present, and who were absent. After was called the said John, who answering, the minister demanded, If any man knew any crime or offence to the said Mr. John, that might prevent him from being called to that office? and that he demanded thrice. *Secondly,* Question was moved to the whole multitude, If there was any other whom they would put in election with the said Mr. John? The people were asked, If they would have the said Mr. John superintendent or overseer? If they would honour and obey him as Christ’s minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his charge? They answered,

We will; and do promise unto him such obedience as becometh sheep to give unto their pastor, so long as he remaineth faithful in his office.

The answers of the people, and their consent received, the questions were proposed to him that was to be elected.

Question. Seeing that ye hear the thirst and desire of this people, do ye not think yourself bound in conscience before God to support them that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Answer. If any thing were in me able to satisfy their desire, I acknowledge myself bound to obey God, calling by them.

Quest. Do ye seek to be promoted to this office and charge, for any respect of worldly commodity, riches, or glory?

Ans. God knoweth the contrary.

Quest. Believe ye not, that the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, are the only true and most absolute foundation of the univerfal church of Christ Jesus, infomuch that in the same Scriptures are contained all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind?

Ans. I verily believe the same, and do abhor and utterly refuse all doctrine alledged necessary to salvation, that is not expressly contained in the same.

Quest. Is not Christ Jesus Man of man, according to the flesh, viz. the Son of David, the Seed of Abraham, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin his mother, and that he is the only Head and Mediator of his church?

Ans. He is; and without him there is neither salvation to man, nor life to angel.

Quest. Is not the same Lord Jesus the only true God, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, in whom all that shall be saved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?

Ans. I confess and acknowledge him in the unity of his Godhead, to be God above all things, blessed for ever.

Quest. Shall not they whom God in his eternal counsel hath elected, be called to the knowledge of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ? and shall not they who of purpose are called in this life, be justified, and justification and free remission of sins is obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not the glory of the sons of God follow in the general resurrection, when the Son of God shall appear in his glorious majesty?

Ans. This I acknowledge to be the doctrine of the apostles, and the most singular comfort of God's children.

Quest. Will ye not then contain yourself in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not study to promote the same, as well by your life, as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God shall grant unto you, profess, instruct, and maintain the purity of the doctrine contained in the sacred word of God? And to the uttermost of your power, will ye not gain-stand and convince the gain-sayers and teachers of mens inventions?

Ans. That do I promise, in the presence of God, and of his congregation here assembled.

Quest. Know ye not that the excellency of this office, to the which God hath called you, requireth that your conversation and behaviour be such, as that ye may be irreprehensible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?

Ans. I unfeignedly acknowledge, and humbly desire the church of God to pray with me, that my life be not slanderous to the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus.

Quest. Because you are a man compassed with infirmities, will you not charitably, and with lowliness of spirit, receive admonition of your brethren? And if ye shall happen to slide or offend in any point, will ye not be subject to the discipline of the church, as the rest of your brethren?

The answer of the Superintendent, or Minister, to be elected.

I acknowledge myself a man subject to infirmity, and one that hath need of correction and admonition; and therefore I most willingly subject myself to the wholesome discipline of the church, yea, to the discipline of the same church by which I am now called to this office and charge; and here, in God's presence and yours, do promise obedience to all admonitions, secretly or publicly given; unto which, if I be found disobedient, I confess myself most worthy to be rejected, not only from this honour, but also from the society of the faithful, in case of my stubbornness. For the vocation of God to bear charge within his church, maketh not men tyrants, nor lords, but appointeth them servants, watchmen, and pastors to the flock.

Thus ended, question must be asked again of the multitude.

Quest. Require you any further of this your superintendent, or overseer and minister?

If no man answer, let the minister proceed.

Quest. Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Christ Jesus, your overseer and pastor? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the sermon of exhortation with patience; not refusing the wholesome medicine of your souls, although it be bitter and unpleasing to the flesh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his ministry and watching over you, against all such as wickedly would rebel against God and his holy ordinance?

The people answered, We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his ministers to be had in reverence, as his ambassa-

dors, and as men that carefully watch for the salvation of our souls.

Let the Nobility be urged with this :

Ye have heard the duty and profession of this our brother, by your consents appointed to this charge; as also, the duty and obedience which God requireth of us towards him here in his ministry: but because that neither of both are able to perform any thing, without the especial grace of our God in Christ Jesus, who hath promised to be with us present, even to the consummation of the world; with unfeigned hearts let us crave of him his benediction and assistance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his church.

THE PRAYER.

O LORD! to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou art the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, who hast not only loved thy church, but, for the redemption and purification of the same, hast humbled thyself to the ignominious death of the cross, and thereupon hast shed thy most precious and innocent blood, to prepare to thyself a spouse without spot; but also, to retain this most excellent benefit in recent memory, hast appointed in thy church teachers, pastors, and apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonish the same: look upon us mercifully, O Lord! thou that only art King, Teacher, and High Priest to thine own flock; and send unto this our brother, whom in thy name we have charged with the chief care of thy church within the bounds of L. such portion of thy Holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy word, to the instruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errors and damnable superstitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wisdom, whereby the enemies of thy truth may be confounded, the wolves expelled and driven from thy fold, thy sheep may be fed in the wholesome pastures of thy most holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge; finally, that the dregs of superstition and idolatry, which now rest within this realm, being purged and removed, we may all, not only have occasion to glorify thee our only Lord and Saviour, but also daily to grow in godliness and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destruction of the body of sin, and to the restitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which, after our fall and defection, we are renewed by participation of thy Holy Spirit, which by true faith in thee we do profess, as the blessed of

thy Father, of whom the perpetual increase of thy grace we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and only Bishop, we are taught to pray. Our Father, &c.

The prayer ended, the rest of the ministers, if any be, and elders of that church present, in sign of their consent, shall take the elected by the hand. The chief minister shall give the benediction, as followeth:

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath commanded his gospel to be preached, to the comfort of his elect, and hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen thee in all virtue, govern and guide thy ministry, to the praise of his holy name, to the propagation of Christ's kingdom, to the comfort of his church; and finally, to the plain discharge and assurance of thine own conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to whom, with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortation to the Elected.

TAKE heed to thyself, and unto the flock committed to thy charge; feed the same carefully, not as it were by compulsion, but of very love which thou bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and pureness of life, as it becometh the true servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus. Usurp not dominion, nor tyrannical authority, over thy brethren: be not discouraged in adversity, but lay before thyself the example of the prophets, apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, who, in their ministry, sustained contradiction, contempt, persecution, and death: fear not to rebuke the world of sin, justice, and judgment. If any thing succeed prosperously in thy vocation, be not puffed up with pride, neither yet flatter thyself, as that the good success proceedeth from thy virtue, industry, or care; but let ever that sentence of the apostle remain in thine heart, 'What hast thou which thou hast not received? If thou hast received, why gloriest thou?' Comfort the afflicted, support the poor, and exhort others to support them. Be not careful for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increase of his Holy Spirit. And finally, behave thyself in this holy vocation, with such sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy ministry; and so shalt thou shortly obtain the victory,

and shalt receive the crown promised, when the Lord Jesus shall appear in his glory, whose omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us to the end.

Then sing the twenty-third Psalm.

The Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons in the private Kirk of Edinburgh, in the Beginning, when as yet there was no public Face of a Church, nor open Assemblies, but secret and private Conventions in Houses, or in the Fields.

BEFORE that there was any public face of a true religion within this realm, it pleased God, of his great mercy, to illuminate the hearts of many private persons, so that they did perceive and understand the abuses that were in the Papistical church, and thereupon withdrew themselves from participation of their idolatry. And because the Spirit of God will never suffer his own to be idle and void of all religion, men began to exercise themselves in reading of the Scriptures secretly within their own houses; and variety of persons could not be kept in good obedience and honest fame, without overseers, elders, and deacons: and so began that small flock to put themselves in such order, as if Christ Jesus had plainly triumphed in the midst of them, by the power of his gospel. And they did elect some to occupy the supreme place of exhortation and reading, some to be elders and helpers unto them, for the overseeing of the flock: and some to be deacons, for the collection of alms, to be distributed to the poor of their own body. Of this small beginning is that order, which now God, of his great mercy, has given unto us publicly within this realm. Of the principal of them that were known to be men of good conversation and honest fame in the private church, were chosen elders and deacons, to rule with the minister in the public church: which burden they patiently sustained a year and more. And then because they could not (without neglecting of their own private houses) longer wait upon the public charge, they desired that they might be relieved, and that others might be burdened in their room; which was thought a petition reasonable of the whole church. And therefore it was granted unto them, that they should nominate and give up in election such persons as they in their consciences thought most apt and able to serve in that charge; providing that they should nominate double the persons that were sufficient to serve in that charge, to the end, that the whole congrega-

tion might have their free vote in their election. And this order has been ever observed, since that time, in the church of Edinburgh; that is, That the old session, before their departure, nominate 24 in election for elders, of whom 12 are to be chosen; and 32 for deacons, of whom 16 are to be elected: which persons are publicly proclaimed in the audience of the whole church, upon the Sunday forenoon, after sermon; with admonition to the church, that if any man know any notorious crime or cause, that might unable any of these persons to enter in such vocation, that they should notify the same unto the session the next Thursday: or, if any know any persons more able for that charge, they should notify the same unto the session, to the end, that no man, either present or absent (being one of the church), should complain that he was spoiled of his liberty in election. The Sunday following, forenoon, in the end of the sermon, the whole communicants are commanded to be present in the afternoon, to give their votes as they will answer before God, to such as they esteem most able to bear the charge of the church with the ministers. The votes of all being received, the scrolls of all are delivered to any of the ministers, who keeps the same secret from the sight of all men till the next Thursday; and then in the session he produces them, that the votes may be counted, where the greatest number of votes, without respect of persons, have the first place in the eldership, and so proceeding till the number of 12 be complete: so that if a poor man exceeds the rich man in votes, he precedes him in place; and is called the first, second, or third elder, even as the votes answer. And this same is observed in the election of deacons.

The Friday after that judgment is taken, what persons are elected for elders and deacons to serve for that year, the minister, after his sermon, reads the same names publicly, and gives commandment openly, that such persons be present the next Sunday at the forenoon sermon, in the place to be appointed for them to accept that charge, that God, by plurality of votes, had laid upon them. Who being convened, the minister, after sermon, reads the names publicly, the absent (if any be) are noted, and these who are present are admonished to consider the dignity of that vocation, whereunto God has called them; the duty that they owe to the people; the danger that lies upon them, if they be found negligent in their vocation: and, finally, the duty of the people towards the persons elected. Which being done, this prayer is read:

The Prayer in the Election of the Elders.

O ETERNAL and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, of thy infinite goodness and mercy, has chosen to thyself a church of the lost seed of Adam, which thou hast ever ruled by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; and yet not the less, hast always used the ministry of men, as well in preaching of thy word, and administration of thy sacraments, as in guiding of thy flock, and providing for the poor within the same, as in the law, prophets, and in thy glorious gospel, we have witnesses: which order, O Lord! thou, of thy mercy, has now restored unto us again, after that the public face of the church has been deformed by the tyranny of that Roman Antichrist. Grant unto us, O heavenly Father! hearts thankful for the benefits which we have received, and give unto these our brethren, elected unto these charges within thy church, such abundance of thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found vigilant and faithful in that vocation, whereunto thou of thy mercy hast called them. And albeit, O Lord! these small beginnings are contemned of the proud world, yet, O Lord! do thou for thy own mercies sake, bless the same in such sort that thy godly name may be glorified; superstition and idolatry may be rooted out, and virtue may be planted, not only in this generation, but also in the posterity to come. Amen. Grant us this, merciful Father, for Christ Jesus, thy Son's sake, in whose name we call unto thee, as he has taught us, saying, Our Father, &c.

And so after the rehearal of the Belief, after the which shall be sung this portion of the 103d Psalm, ver. 19. 'The heavens high are,' and so forth to the end of that psalm. After the which shall this short admonition be given to the elected.

Magnify God, who has of his mercy called you to rule within his church: be thankful in your vocation: shew yourselves zealous to promote verity: fear not the faces of the wicked, but rebuke their wickedness: be merciful to the poor, and support them to the uttermost of your power; and so shall ye receive the benediction of God, present and everlasting. God save the king's majesty, and give unto him the Spirit of sanctification in his young age: bless his regent, and such as assist him in upright counsel, and either fruitfully convert, or suddenly confound, the enemies of true religion, and of this afflicted commonwealth. Amen.

As the servants of God uprightly travelled to have vice punished, and virtue planted, so did the devil ever stir up some in the contrary of both. There was a law made against fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other should be carted through the towns, and so banished, till that their repentance was offered and received; and albeit this was not the severity of God's law, especially against adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to the malefactors, whereat the wicked did wonderously storm. It chanced, that one Sanderson, a slesher or butcher, was deprehended to have put away his lawful life (under colour that he was lawfully parted, after the manner of the Papistical religion), and had taken to him another in his house. The complaint and slander proposed to the church, and trial taken, that he was not married with the second woman, neither that he was able to prove, that he was divorced by any order of the law from the first; he was committed to the hands of the magistrates, who, according to the laws, commanded him to be carted. But the rascal multitude, inflamed by some ungodly craftsmen, made insurrection, broke the cart, boasted and threatened the officers, and took away the malefactor: this was the beginning of farther evils, as we shall after hear.

In this mean time, while lord James, we say, was in France, there came an ambassador from France, suborned, no doubt, with all craft that might trouble the state of religion. His demands were, *First*, That the league betwixt us and England should be broken. *Secondly*, That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland should be renewed. *Thirdly*, And that the bishops and churchmen should be restored in their former places, and be suffered to intromit with their livings. The council delayed answer, until the parliament appointed in May. In the mean time the Papists of Scotland practised with him. The earls of Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, and others, intended to have taken Edinburgh before the said parliament. The whole bishops assembled, and held council in Stirling. Some whispering there was, that the duke and the bishop of St. Andrews were too familiar; and some feared, that the authority of the queen should have been usurped, by reason of her absence, and that the duke was the second person; for thereat had some of his pressed immediately after the death of the king of France. The Protestants thereof advertised, prevented them, and came to Edinburgh. The earl of Arran stood constant with his brethren; there were some that

carefully and painfully travelled, that nothing prejudicial to the queen's authority should be done in the absence of the lord James, to whom the queen hath recompensed evil for good service. Mr. James Macgill in that point did both stoutly and truly; for John Knox and he were then fallen into familiarity, by reason that the said Mr. James had embraced the religion, and professed it publicly.

The Papists and bishops, disappointed of their principal enterprise, did yet cause disturbance; for the rascal multitude were stirred up to make a Robin Hood, which enormity was of many years left off, and condemned by statute and act of parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would disobey and trouble the town, especially upon the night: whereat the bailies offended, took from them some swords, and an ensign; which was the occasion that they that same night made a mutiny, kept the gates of the town, and intended to have pursued some men within their own houses; but that, upon the restitution of their swords and ensign, was staid: and yet they ceased not to molest, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as divers countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening some with further injuries: wherewith the magistrates of the town highly offended, took more diligent heed to such as resorted to the town, and so apprehended one of the principal in that riot, named Balon, a shoe-maker, whom they put to an assize; and being convicted (he could not be absolved, for he was the chief man that spoiled John Moubray of ten crowns of the sun), they thought to have executed judgment upon him, and so erected a gibbet beneath the cross. But (whether it came by paction with the provost, and some other, or by instigation of the craftsmen, who ever have been bent too much to maintain such vanity and riotousness, we fully know not) suddenly there did arise a tumult, the tolbooth was broken up, and not only the said Balon, who before was condemned, was violently taken forth, but also all other malefactors were set at freedom; the gibbet was pulled down, and despitefully broken. And thereafter, as the provost, and some of the council, assembled to the clerk's chamber for consultation, the whole rascal multitude banded together, with some known and honest craftsmen, and intended invasion on the said chamber; which perceived, the provost, and such as were in his company, past to the tolbooth, not suspecting that they would have been so enraged, to make new pursuit, after that they had obtained their intent:

but they were suddenly deceived; for from the Castle-hill they came with violence, and with stones, guns, and such other weapons as they had, began to assault the said tolbooth, ran at the door of it, till that partly by stones cast from above, and partly by a pistol shot by Robert Norwell, which hurt one Tweedie, they were repulled from the door, but yet ceased they not to cast and shoot in at the windows, threatening death to all that were therein: and, in very deed, the malice of the craftsmen, who were suspected to be the occasion of that tumult, bore no good-will to divers of those that were with the provost.

The arguments that the craftsmen were the cause of that uproar, besides the first disorder, in taking Sanderfon from the execution of punishment, are two: The former, Archibald Dewar, Patrick Shangzie, with other six deacons, came to John Knox, and willed him to solicit the provost and the town to delay the execution. Who did answer, That he had so oft solicited in their favours, that his own conscience accused him, that they used his labours for no other end, but to be a patron to their impiety; for he had before made intercession for William Harlaw, John Priddel, and others, that were convicted of the former tumult. They proudly said, That if it was not staid, both he and the bailies should repent it. Who answered, He would not hurt his conscience for the fear of any man; and so they departed, and the tumult, as is said, immediately thereafter did arise. The second argument is, The tumult continued from two at afternoon, till after eight at night. The craftsmen were required to assemble themselves together for deliverance of the provost; but they past to their four-hours penny, or afternoon's pint, and, in their jesting, said, 'They will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.' And so, contrary to the oath which they had made, they denied their assistance, counsel, and comfort to the provost and bailies; which are arguments very probable, that the said tumult rose by their procurement. The end thereof was, that the provost and bailies were compelled to give their hand-writs, that they should never pursue any of those that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf; and this was proclaimed at the cross, after nine of the clock at night, and so was that trouble quieted: but the nobility vowed, that they would not spare it, nor forget it; and so a great number of that faction were absent from the town, till the arrival of the queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicated, and

were admitted to no participation of the sacraments, until such time as they satisfied the magistrates, and made humble suit unto the church.

Of the death of the queen regent, we have before spoken; but of her burial was nothing heard. And it may appear, that such matters are unworthy of remembrance, and if all things should be rightly weighed, we shall perceive God's just judgments, how secret soever that they be. Before, we heard the barbarous inhumanity that was used at Leith by the French, who exposed the naked carcases of the slain as it were in a spectacle, despising God. We have heard that the queen regent rejoiced at the sight, but her joy was suddenly turned into sorrow, as we have heard. The question was moved of her burial: the preachers boldly gainstood, 'That any superstitious rites should be used within that realm, which God of his mercy began to repugn;' and so conclusion was taken, that her burial should be deferred till farther advertisement; and so was she wrapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the castle, from the 9th of June, until the 19th of October, when she by pioneers was carried to a ship, and so conveyed to France: what pomp was used there, we neither heard, nor yet regard; but in it we see, that she that delighted that others lay without burial, got it neither so soon as she herself (if she had been of the council in her life) would have required it; neither yet so honourable in this realm, as sometimes she looked for. 'As men do, so they receive.'

The Papiſts, a little before the parliament, resorted in divers bands to the town, and began to brag, as that they would have defaced the Protestants; which thing perceived, the brethren assembled, and went in such companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the bishops and their bands forsook the causeway or street. The brethren understanding what the Papiſts meant, convened in council, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of May, the year of God 1561; and, after consultation, concluded, That an humble supplication should be presented unto the lords of the secret council, and unto the whole assembly that then was convened; in the which should these subsequent heads be required, and a law to pass thereupon:

1. That idolatry, and all monuments thereof, should be suppressed throughout the whole realm: that the sayers, hearers, maintainers, and haunters of the mass, should be punished according to the act of parliament, as is said.

2. That special and certain provision be made for the maintenance of the superintendants, ministers, exhorters, and readers: that superintendants and ministers should be planted where none were: that punishment should be appointed for such as disobeyed, or contemned the superintendants in their function.

3. That punishment may be appointed for the abusers of the sacraments, and for the contemners of the same.

4. That no letters of session, or warrant from the judge, be given to answer, or pay to any person their tenths, without especial provision, that the parishioners retain so much in their own hands, as is appointed for the maintenance of the ministry; and that all such as are else given, be called in and discharged; and likewise, that no sheriffs give precepts to that effect.

5. That neither the lords of session, nor any other judges, proceed upon such precepts or warnings, past at the instance of them that of late have obtained feus of vicarages, and parsons manſes, and church-yards; and that six acres (if so much there be of the glebe) be always reserved to the minister, according to the appointment of the Book of Discipline.

6. That no letters of session, nor other warrants, take place, till the stipends contained in the Book of Discipline, for maintenance of the ministers, be first consigned in the hands, at the least of the principal of the parishioners.

7. That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute within this realm, the pope's bulls.

The tenor of the Supplication was this:

PLEASE your honours, and the wisdoms of such as are presently convened with you in council, to understand. That by many arguments we perceive, what the pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist within this realm pretendeth, viz. That they would of new erect their idolatry, take upon them empire above our conscience, and so to command us, the true subjects of this realm, and such as God of his mercy hath (under our sovereign) subjected unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honestly craveth, and conscience moveth us, to make the very secrets of our hearts patent to your honours in that behalf, which is this, 'That before ever those tyrants and dumb dogs have empire above us, and above such as God hath subjected unto us, that we the barons and gen-

‘ clemen, professing Christ Jesus within this realm, are fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever we have received of God in temporal things.’ Most humbly therefore beseeching your honours, That such order may be taken, that we have not occasion to take again the sword of just defence into our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given victory both to your honours and us) resigned over into your hands; to the end that God’s gospel may be publicly preached within this realm, the true ministers thereof reasonably maintained, idolatry suppressed, and the committers thereof punished, according to the laws of God and man; in doing whereof, your honours shall find us not only obedient unto you in all things lawful, but also ready, at all times, to bring under order and obedience such as would rebel against your just authority, which, in absence of our sovereign, we acknowledge to be in your hands. Beseeching your honours, with upright judgment and indifference, to look upon these our few articles, and by these our brethren to signify unto us such answer again, as may declare your honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after some danger sustained) in his mercy hath called you: and let these enemies of God assure themselves, That if your honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debtors unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papists be yet once again assured, That their pride and idolatry we will not suffer.

Directed from the assembly of the church, the 28th of May 1561, and sent by these brethren, the master of Lindsay, the laird of Lochingvar, the laird of Pharniberst, the laird of Whittingham, Thomas Menzies provost of Aberdeen, and George Lowel burghers of Dundee.

Upon the which request and articles, the lords and council aforesaid made an act and ordinance, answering to every head of the foresaid articles; and commanded letters to be answered thereupon, which divers ministers raised and copied, as in the books of secret council is yet to be found.

And thus got Satan the second fall, after that he had begun to trouble the state of religion, once established by law. His first assault was by the rascal multitude opposing themselves to the punishment of vice; the second was the bishops and

their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed; and yet he in the end prospered worse than ye have heard. In this mean time returned from France the lord James, who, beside his great expences, and the loss of a box wherein was a secret purse, escaped a desperate danger in Paris: for at his returning from our sovereign (who then was with the cardinal of Lorraine her uncle, in Rheims), understood of the Papists in Paris, they had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to have beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company as they walked in the streets: whereof the said lord James advertised by the Rhinegrave, by reason of old familiarity, which was betwixt them in Scotland, he took purpose suddenly, and in good order, to depart from Paris, as he did the second day after that he arrived there; and yet could not he depart so secretly, but that the Papists had their privy ambushes: for, upon the new-decayed Pont of Change, they had prepared a procession, which met the said lord and his company even in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accustomed reverence to them and their idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a quarrel; and so, as one part passed by, without moving of hats to any thing that was there, they had suborned some to cry Huguenots, and to cast stones: but God disappointed their enterprise; for the said Rhinegrave, with other gentlemen, being with lord James, rebuked the foolish multitude, and over-rode some of the foremost, and so the rest were dispersed, and he and his company safely escaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while that yet the lords and assembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little astonishment of the wicked: for from the queen our sovereign he brought letters to the lords, praying them to entertain quietness, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the contract of peace which was made at Leith, till her own home-coming; and to suffer the religion, publicly established, to go forward, &c. Whereupon the said lords gave answer to the French ambassador, a negative to every one of his petitions.

Answer of the Lords to the French Ambassador.

And first, THAT France had not deserved at their hands, that either they or their posterity should enter with them again in any league or confederacy, offensive or defensive; seeing that so

traiterously and cruelly they had persecuted them, their realm, and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

Secondly, That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly shame, as, without offence committed, to break the league, which in God's name they had made with them, whom he hath made instruments to set Scotland at freedom from the tyranny of the French, at least of the Guisians, and of their faction.

And *lastly*, That such as they called bishops and churchmen, they knew neither for pastors of the church, neither yet for any just possessors of the patrimony thereof; but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle-bellies; and therefore, as Scotland hath forsaken the pope, and Papistry, so could not they be debtors to his foresworn vassals.

With these answers departed the said ambassador; and the lords of the secret council made an act, That all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed: and for that purpose was directed to the west the earl of Arran, having joined with him the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, together with the Protestants of the west, who burnt Paisley (the bishop of St. Andrews, who was abbot thereof, narrowly escaped), cast down Failfurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Cofraguel. The lord James was appointed to the north, where he made such reformation as nothing contented the earl of Huntly, and yet seemed he to approve all things: and thus God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon him, that all the world might see his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies; yea, most to confound them, when that they promised to themselves victory without resistance. O that we would rightly consider the wonderous works of the Lord our God!

In the treaty of peace contracted at Leith, there were contained certain heads that required ratification of both queens. The queen of England, according to her promise, subscription, and seal, without any delay performed the same, and sent it to our sovereign, by her appointed officers. But our sovereign (whether because her own crafty nature thereto moved her, or that her uncle's chief counsellors so would, we know not) with many delays frustrated the expectation of the queen of England, as by the copy of a letter, sent from the ambassador of England to his sovereign, we may understand.

The Ambassador's Letter.

MADAM,

I SENT Sommer to the queen of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the same day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your majesty's hearty commendations, and declared unto her your majesty's gladness for her recovery from her late sickness, whose want of health, as it was grievous unto your majesty, so, I told her, did you congratulate, and greatly rejoice of the good terms of health she was in for the present. After these offices of civility, I put her in remembrance again what had passed from the beginning, in the matter of your majesty's demand of ratification, according to the tenor of the said treaty, as well by me at the first, as afterward by my lord of Bedford, at his being here, and also followed since again by me in open audience, and by my letter to her being in Lorraine; adding hereto your majesty's further commandment, and re-charge to me again, presently to renew the same demand, as before had been done.

At Paris the 23d of
June 1561.

The said Queen made Answer as followeth:

MONSIEUR L' AMBASSADOR,

I THANK the queen, my good sister, for this gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recovery; and though I be not yet in perfect health, yet, I thank God, I feel myself in a very good case, and in way of a full recovery. And for answer to your demand, said she, of my ratification, I do remember all these things that you have recited unto me; and I would the queen, my good sister, should think that I do defer the positive answer in this matter, and performing thereof, until such time as I might have had the advice of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I trust shall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly: and though this matter, said she, doth touch me principally, yet doth it also touch the nobles and states of my realm too; and therefore it shall be meet that I use their advices therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved, that I should do any thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I should proceed in this matter of myself without their advices. I do intend, said she, to send monsieur d' Osel to the queen your mistress, my good sister,

who shall declare that unto her from me, that I trust shall satisfy her; by whom I will give her to understand of my journey into Scotland. I mean to embark at Calais. The king of France hath lent me certain galleys and ships to convey me home, and I intend to require of my good sister those favours that princes use to do in such cases. And though the terms wherein we have stood heretofore have been somewhat hard, yet I trust, that from henceforth we shall accord together as cousins and good neighbours. I mean, said she, to retire all the Frenchmen forth of Scotland, who had given jealousy to the queen my sister, and discontent to my subjects, so as I will leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties; trusting the queen my good sister will do the like, and that from henceforth none of my disobedient subjects, if there be any such, shall find aid or support at her hands.

I answered, That I was not desirous to fall into the discourse how these hard terms first began, nor by what means they were nourished, because therein I must charge some party with injury and peril offered to the queen my mistress, which was the very ground of these matters: but I was well assured, there could be no better occasion offered to put the former unkindness in forgetfulness, than by ratifying the treaty of peace; for that should repay all injuries past. And, madam, said I, where it pleased you to suspend and delay the ratification, until you have the advices of the nobles and states of your realm, the queen my mistress doth nothing doubt of their conformity in this matter, because the treaty was made by their consents.

The queen answered, Yea, by some of them, but not by all: it will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of: but of this I assure you, monsieur l'Ambassador, said she, I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen my good sister, and will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed. I answered, Madam, the queen my mistress, you may be assured, will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. Then, said she, I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to subjects. 'This we may answer her, It appertaineth to subjects to worship God

' as he hath commanded, and to suppress idolatry, ' by whomsoever it be erected or maintained.' You know, said she, there is much ado in my realm about matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion unto me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and especially in matters of religion, which I fear, said she, my subjects shall take in hand. (Answer for the part of Scotland, ' And if so they ' had done, they had escaped God's heavy indignation, which hath been felt, and still hangeth ' over this realm, for the idolatry, and other abominations committed in the same, which shall ' not cease till that it be suppressed.') I answered, Madam, your realm is in no other case at this day, than all other realms through Christendom are, the proof whereof you see verified in this realm; and you see what great difficulty it is to give order in this matter, though the king of France and all his council be very desirous thereunto. Religion is of the greatest force that may be; you have been long out of your own realm, so as the contrary religion to yours hath won the upper-hand, and the greatest part of your realm: your mother was a woman of great experience, of deep dissimulation and policy, as they term it now a-days, and kept that realm in quietness, till she began to constrain mens consciences; and as you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects, so it may please you to consider, the matter is as intolerable to them to be constrained by you, in matters of conscience; for the duty due to God cannot be given to any other, without offence of his Majesty. Why, said she, God doth command his subjects to be obedient to their princes, and commandeth princes to read his law, and govern thereby themselves, and the people committed to their charges. Answer; Yea, madam, said I, in those things that be not against his commandments.

Well, said she, I will be plain with you, the religion that I profess, I take to be most acceptable to God; and indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and especially in matters of religion (the Turk is as constant in his Alcoran, as the Pope and his sect are in his Constitutions). I have been brought up, said she, in this religion; and who might credit me in any thing, if I should shew myself light in this case? and though I be young, and not well learned, yet

I have heard this matter oft disputed by my uncle the cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion. 'Neither yet did the high priest, when Christ Jesus did reason in his presence. But what was the cardinal compelled to confess at Poytie?'

Madam, said I, if you will judge well in that matter, you must be conversant in the Scriptures, which are the touch-stone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure you are so partially affected to your uncle's arguments, that you could not indifferently consider the other party: yet this, I assure you, madam, said I, your uncle the cardinal, in conference with me about these matters, hath confessed, that there be great errors and abuses come into the church, and great disorder in the priests and clergy, insomuch that he desired and wished that there might be a reformation of the one, and of the other. I have often heard him say the like, said she. Then I said, Well, I trust God will inspire all you that be princes, that there may be some good order taken in this matter, so as there may be one unity in religion through all Christendom. God grant, said she, but, for my part, you may perceive, I am none of those that will change my religion every year.

And, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me. I will send monsieur d'Ofel, said she, to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing in England. I pray you so order yourself in this matter, betwixt the queen my good sister and me, that there may be perfect and assured amity betwixt us; for I know, said she, ministers may do much good and harm. I told her, I would faithfully and truly make declaration of all that she said unto me unto your majesty, and trusted that she would so satisfy your majesty by monsieur d'Ofel in all things, as I should hereafter have no more occasion to treat with her of any thing, but of the increase of amity, of which there should be no want on your behalf. This is the effect of the queen of Scotland's answer to your majesty's demand of her said ratification, and of my negotiation with her at this time.

These advertisements somewhat exasperated the queen of England, and not altogether without cause; for the arms of England were before usurped by our sovereign, and by her husband Francis;

and Elifabeth queen of England was, of the Guisians, reputed little better than a bastard. It was appointed that this title should be renewed; but hereof had our ill-counselled and misled queen no pleasure, and especially after that her husband was dead; for, thought she, the shew of England shall allure many suitors to me. The Guisians, and the Papists of both realms, did not a little animate her in that pursuit, the effect whereof will sooner appear than the godly of England would desire. Queen Elifabeth, we say, offended with the former answer, wrote unto the nobility and states of Scotland, in form as followeth:

The Queen of England's Letter to the States of Scotland.

RIGHT trusty, and right entirely beloved cousins, we greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath always been, since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God, straight and direct towards the advancement of his honour and truth in religion; and consequently, to procure peace, and maintain concord, betwixt both these realms of England and Scotland; so also our outward acts have well declared the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours, who have tasted and proved in these our friendship and earnest good-will, more than we think any of your ancestors have ever received from hence; yea, more than a great number of yourselves could well have hoped for of us, all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoice of, and so may ye be glad, That where in the beginning of the troubles in that country, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousy, or rather the malice of divers, both in that realm and in other countries, was such, both to deprive us in yielding; and you in requiring our aid, that we were noted to have meant the surprize of that realm, by depriving of your sovereign the queen of her crown; and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour the like, and either to prefer some other to the crown, or else to make of that monarchy a commonwealth; matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea, the whole course and process of the action, on both our parts, have manifested, both to the slanderous, and to all others, That nothing was more meant and prosecuted, than to establish your sovereign the queen, our cousin and sister, in her state and crown, the possession whereof was in the hands of strangers. And although no words could then well

satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds declare, that no other thing was fought, but the restitution of that realm to the ancient liberty, and as it were to redeem it from captivity. Of these our purposes and deeds, there remaineth, among other arguments, good testimony by a solemn treaty and accord made the last year at Edinburgh, by commissioners sent from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing under both our hands, and the great seals of both our realms, in such manner as other princes our progenitors have always used; by which treaty and accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep peace and amity betwixt ourselves, our countries and subjects. And in the same also a good accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the ministers of the late French king, your sovereign's husband, and you the states of that realm, for the alteration of laws and customs of that country, attempted by them. Upon which accord, there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your sovereign's state, quietness to yourselves, and a better peace betwixt both realms, than ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth, we know not (we can, for she in her conceit thinketh herself queen of both), That your sovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse counsel, whereof we are most sorry, being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her bond with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the great seal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the states of the same, to ratify the said treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh such dilatory answers thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, That it is fit for us to require of you: for although she hath always answered, since the death of her husband, That in this matter she would first understand the minds of certain of you, before that she would make answer; and so having now of long time suspended our expectation in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference both by messengers, and by some of yourselves, being with her; yet she still delayed it, alledging to our ambassador in France (who said that this treaty was made by your consents), it was not by consent of you all, and so would have us to forbear, until she shall return into that her country. And now, seeing

this her answer depended, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all understand, that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister your queen, in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtful state: while strangers possessed her realm, we staid it from danger: and now, having promised to keep good peace with her, and with you her subjects, we have observed it, and shall be sorry, if either she or you shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange, that your queen hath no better advice: and therefore, we do require you all, being the states of that realm, upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer, whereunto we may trust. And if you shall think meet she shall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careles to see the peace kept, as ye shall give us cause; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And, on the other side, if you continue all in one mind, to have the peace inviolably kept, and shall so by your advice procure the queen to ratify it, we also plainly promise you, that we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good terms as now it is; and, in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duly sought and promoted in both realms, the queen your sovereign shall enjoy her state with your surety, and yourselves possess that which you have with tranquillity, to the increase of your families and posterity, which, by the frequent wars heretofore, your ancestors never had long in one state. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what mind you be, especially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the peace betwixt both the realms perpetually kept; and if you shall forbear any longer to advertise us, ye shall give us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. *From, &c.*

These letters received and perused, albeit the states could not be convened, yet did the council, and some others also in particular, return answers with reasonable diligence. The tenor of our Letter was this:

MADAM,

PLEASE your majesty, that with judgment we have considered your majesty's letters; and, albeit the whole states could not suddenly be assembled, yet we thought expedient to signify somewhat of our minds unto your majesty. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of that peace lately contracted betwixt these two realms. By what motives our sovereign delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell; but of us (of us, we say, madam, that have protested fidelity in our promise) her majesty had none. Your majesty cannot be ignorant, that in this realm there are many enemies; and further, That our sovereign hath counsellors, whose judgments she in all such causes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to speak and write of our sovereign, but also to judge and think; and yet your majesty may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majesty's contentment: for, God is witness, that our chief care in this earth, next to the glory of God, is, That constant peace may remain betwixt these two realms; whereof your majesty and realm shall have sure experience, so long as our counsel or votes may stop the contrary. The benefit that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddenly bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your majesty rather to be persuaded of us, that we to our powers will study

to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus, with lawful and humble commendation of our service, we commit your majesty to the protection of the Omnipotent.

At Edinburgh, the 16th
day of July 1561.

There were some others that answered some of the ministers of England somewhat more sharply, and willed them not to accuse nor threaten so sharply, till that they were able to convict such as had promised fidelity of some evident crime, which although they were able to lay to the charge of some, yet respect would be had to such as long had declared themselves constant procurers of quietness and peace. The sudden arrival of the queen made great alteration, even in the council, as after we will hear. In this mean time, the Papists, by furnishing, troubled what they might, their posts, letters, and complaints, being, from day to day, directed to the pope, some to the cardinal of Lorraine, and some to our queen. The principal of those couriers were, Mr. Steven Wilson, Mr. John Lesly, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Mr. James Throgmorton, and others, such as lived by the traffic of that Roman Antichrist.

The preachers vehemently exhorted us to establish the Book of Discipline, by an act and public law; affirming, That if they suffered things to hang in suspense, when God had given unto them sufficient power in their hand, they should after sob for it, but should not get it.

THE END OF BOOK THIRD.

BOOK FOURTH.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

S C O T L A N D.

IN the former Books, gentle Reader, you may clearly see, how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked days, as well as in the ages that have passed before us, the promises that are made to the servants of God, by the prophet Isaiah, in these words, 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength: they shall mount up with wings as eagles: they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.' This promise, we say, such as Satan hath not utterly blinded, may see performed in us, the professors of Christ Jesus, within this realm of Scotland, with no less evidence than it was in any age that ever passed before us. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to any good end so great an enterprise? our very enemies can bear witness. And yet in how great purity God did establish amongst us his true religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies? To what confusion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public transgressors of God's commandments, within short time brought, the public orders of the church, yet by the mercy of God preserved,

and the punishment executed against malefactors, can testify unto the world. For, as touching the administration of the sacraments used in our churches, we are bold to affirm, That there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater purity; yea, we can speak the truth, whomsoever we offend, there is none (no realm I mean) that hath them in the like purity; for all others, how sincere that ever the doctrine be that by some is taught, retain in their churches, and in the ministers thereof, some footsteps of Antichrist, and dregs of Popery; but we (all praise to God alone) have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that man of sin. And this we acknowledge to be the strength given to us of God, because we esteem not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but understanding our own wisdom to be mere foolishness before our God, laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by himself.

In this point could never our enemies cause us to faint, for our first petition was, 'That the reverend face of the first, primitive, and apostolic church should be reduced again to the eyes

‘and knowledge of men.’ And, in that point, we say, our God hath strengthened us, till that the work was finished, as the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of vice, yea, and of the abolishing of all such things as might nourish impiety within the realm, the acts and statutes of the principal towns reformed, will yet testify: for what adulterer, what fornicator, what known mass-monger, or pestilent Papist, durst have been seen in public, within any reformed town within this realm, before that the queen arrived? And this victory to his word, and terror to all filthy livers, did God work by such as yet live, and remain witnesses (whether they will or not) of the aforesaid works of God.

We say, our God suffered none of these, whom he first called to the battle, to perish or to fall, while that he made them victors of their enemies: for even as God suffered none of those whom he called from Egypt, to perish in the Red-Sea, how fearful soever the danger appeared; so suffered he none of us to be oppressed, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that more Pharaohs than one were drowned, and we set at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us, and our posterity understand, that such as follow the conducting of God, cannot perish, albeit they walked in the very shadow of death. But from whence, alas! comes this miserable dispersion of God’s people within this realm this day, in May 1561? And what is the cause that now the just are compelled to keep silence, good men are banished, murderers, and such as are known unworthy of common society (if justice were put in execution), bear the whole government and sway within this realm?

We answer, Because that suddenly the most part of us declined from the purity of God’s word, and began to follow the world, and so again shuke hands with the devil, and with idolatry, as in the Fourth Book we will hear.

For while that Papists were so confounded, that none within the realm durst more avow the hearing or saying of mass, than the thieves of Niddisdale durst avow stealing, in the presence of any upright judge; now are Protestants found, who are not ashamed at tables, and other open places, to ask, ‘Why may not these men have their mass, and the form of their religion? What can that hurt us or our religion?’ And from these two, *Why* and *What*, at last sprang out this affirmative, ‘The queen’s mass and her priests will we maintain; this hand and this rapier shall fight in their defence, &c.’

The inconveniences were shown both by tongue and pen: but the advertisers were judged to be men of unquiet spirits; their credit was defaced at the hands of such as before were not ashamed to have used their counsel in matters of greater importance, than to have refused the mass.

But then, my lord, my master may not be thus used; he hath the honour to be the queen’s brother, and therefore we will that all men shall understand, that he must tender her as his sister; and whosoever will counsel him to displease her, or the least that pertains unto her, shall not find him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged, that would so counsel him, &c. These and the like reasons took such deep root in flesh and blood, and were (as yet, alas! they are) preferred to God, and to his messengers, rebuking vice and vanity, that from thence have all our miseries proceeded.

For as before, so even yet, although the ministers be set to beg, the guard and the men of war must be served; though the blood of the ministers be spilt, yet it is the queen’s servants that did it; although mass be multiplied in all quarters of the realm, who can stop the queen’s subjects to live in the queen’s religion? although innocent men be imprisoned, it is the queen’s pleasure: so she is offended at such men, although, under pretence of justice, innocents be murdered: the lords shall weep, but the queen’s mind must be satisfied; nobles of the realm, barons, and counsellors, are banished, their estates disposed of, and their lives most unjustly pursued. The queen hath lost her trusty servant David, he was dear unto her; and therefore, for her honour’s sake, she must show rigour to revenge his death. And yet further, albeit that some knew that she hath plainly purposed to wreck and undo the religion within this realm, that to that Roman Antichrist she hath made her promise, and that from him she hath taken moneys to uphold his pomp within this realm; yet will they let the people understand, that the queen will establish religion, and provide all things orderly, if she were once delivered.

If such dealing, which is too common amongst Protestants, be not to prefer flesh and blood to God, to his truth, to religion, and to the oppressed liberty of the realm, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in some places are present, that were before threatened; the rest approaches; and yet, Who from the heart crieth, ‘I have offended, the Lord knows? In thee only is the trust of the oppressed; for vain is the help of man.’ But now we return to our history.

The 19th day of August 1561, betwixt seven and eight o'clock before noon, arrived Mary queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys out of France: in her company (besides her gentlewomen, called the Maries) were her uncles, the duke Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis d'Albuff. There accompanied her also d'Anville, son to the constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of the heavens, at the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, *viz.* sorrow, dolor, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heavens, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue: for, besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of buts; the sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but, alas! the most part were blind.

At the sound of the cannon, which the galleys shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the queen: the Protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed; because the palace of Holyrood-house was not thoroughly put in order (for her coming was more sudden than many looked for), she remained in Leith, till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the abbey, met her the rebels, the craftsmen, of whom we spake before, *viz.* those that had violated the acts of the magistrates, and had besieged the provost; but because she was sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in spite of their religion, they were easily pardoned.

Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber-window: the melody, as she alledged, she liked well; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her from all quarters; and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when that preparations began to be made for that idol the mass to be said in the chapel; which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldened, and men began openly to speak, 'Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.' The lord Lind-

say, then but master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close or yard, 'The idolatrous priests should die the death, according to God's law.' One that carried in the candle was much afraid; but then began flesh and blood fully to shew itself. There durst no Papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper: but the lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel-door: his best excuse was, that he would stop all Scottmen to enter into the mass; but it was, and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have entry to trouble the priest; who, after mass was ended, was committed to the protection of lord John of Coldingham, and lord Robert of Holyrood-house, who then were Protestants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord: betwixt them was the priest conveyed to his chamber. And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again; which understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old Duntobors, and others that had long served in the court, and hoped to have no remission of sins, but by virtue of the mass, cried, They would away to France without delay, they could not live without the mass; the same affirmed the queen's uncles: and would to God that they all, together with the mass, had taken good-night of the realm for ever; for so had Scotland been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God, that hath stricken, and yet will strike for idolatry.

The council assembled, disputation was had of the next remedy: politic heads were sent unto the gentlemen, with these and the like persuasions; 'Why, alas! will you chase our sovereign from us? She will immediately return to her galleys, and what then shall all realms say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? I doubt not but she will leave it. If we were not assured that she might be won, we should also be as great enemies to the mass as ye can be. Her uncles will depart, and then shall we rule all at our pleasure. Would not we be as sorry to hurt the religion as any of you would be?' With these and the like persuasions, we say, was the fervency of the brethren quenched. And an act was framed, the tenor whereof followeth;

Apud Edinburg, 25 Augusti 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majesty hath understood the great inconveniences through the division, presently standing in this realm, for the difference in matters of religion, which her majesty is most desirous to see pacified by any good order, to the honour of God, and tranquillity of her realm, and means to take the same by advice of her estates, so soon as conveniently may be, to their serious consideration. And lest that her majesty's godly resolutions therein may be greatly hindered, in case any tumult and sedition be raised amongst the lieges, if any alteration or innovation be pressed, or attempted, before that good order may be established; wherefore, for the eschewing of the said inconveniences, her majesty ordains letters to be directed, to charge all and sundry her lieges, by open proclamation at the market-crofs of Edinburg, and other places needful, that they, and every one of them, contain themselves in all quietness, keep peace and civil society amongst themselves in the mean time, till the estates of the realm may be assembled, and that her majesty have taken a final order by their advice and public consent, which her majesty hopes shall be to the contentment of all the law-biding. That none of them should take in hand, privately or openly, any alteration or innovation of the state of religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which her majesty found publicly and universally standing at her majesty's arrival in this her realm, under pain of death. With certification, that if any subject of the realm shall come in the contrary thereof, he shall be esteemed and holden a seditious person, and raiser of tumult; and the same pain shall be executed upon him with all rigour, to the example of others. And her majesty, with the advice of the lords of the secret council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them take in hand to molest or trouble any of her majesty's domestic servants, or persons whatsoever come forth of France in her company at this time, in word, deed, or countenance, for any cause whatsoever, either within her palace, or without, or make any assault or invasion upon any of them, under whatsoever colour or pretence, under the said pain of death; albeit that her majesty be sufficiently persuaded, that her good and loving subjects would do the same, for the reverence they bear to her person and acts, notwithstanding no such commandment were published.

This act and proclamation penned, and put in form by such as before professed Christ Jesus (for in the council then had Papists neither power nor voice), it was publicly proclaimed at the market-crofs of Edinburg, upon Monday the day aforesaid. No man reclaimed nor made repugnance to it, except the earl of Arran only, who in open audience of the herald protested, 'That he dissented, that any protection or defence should be made to the queen's domestics, or to any that came from France, to offend God's majesty, and to violate the laws of the realm, more than any other subjects: for God's law had pronounced death to the idolater; and the laws of the realm had appointed punishment for the sayers and hearers of the mass; which, said he, I here protest, be universally observed; and that none be exempted, until such time as a law, also publicly made, and as consonant to the law of God, have disannulled the former.' Hereupon he took documents and acts, as the tenor of this his protestation witnesseth:

IN so far as by this proclamation it is understood to the church of God, and members thereof, that the queen is minded that the true religion and worship of God already established, proceed forward, that it may daily increase; unto the parliament, that order then may be taken for extirpation of all idolatry out of this realm: we render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God, for her majesty's good mind, earnestly praying that it may be increased in her majesty, to the honour and glory of his name, and weal of his church within this realm. And as touching the molestation of her highness's servants, we suppose, that none dare be so bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawful business: and as for us, we have learned at our Master Christ's school, To keep peace with all men. And therefore, for our part; we will promise that obedience unto her majesty, as is our duty, that none of her servants shall be troubled, molested, or once touched, by the church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawful business. But since that God hath said, That the idolaters shall die the death; we protest solemnly, in the presence of God, and in the ears of all the people that hear this proclamation, and especially in the presence of you, lion-herald, and the rest of your colleagues, maker of this proclamation, that if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, especially say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which we

are loth should be in her highness's company), in that case, that this proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor be not a safeguard nor girth to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God than is the other: but that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, where-ever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our protestation we desire you to notify unto her, and give her the copy hereof, lest her highness should suspect an uproar, if we should all come and present the same.

At Edinburgh, the day
and year aforesaid.

This boldness did somewhat exasperate the queen, and such as favoured her in that point. As the lords (then called the Congregation) repaired to the town, at the first coming they shew themselves wonderfully offended, that the mass was permitted; so that every man as he came, accused them that were before him; but after they had remained a certain space, they were as quiet as were the former. Which perceived, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell of Kinzeanleugh, said unto the lord Ochiltree, My lord, now you 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 you shall become as temperate as the rest: for I have been here now five days, and at the first I heard very many say, 'Let us hang the priest;' but after that they had been twice or thrice in the abbey, all that fervency past. I think there be some enchantment, whereby men are bewitched: and in very deed so it came to pass; for the queen's fair words upon the one part, ever still crying, 'Conscience, conscience, it is a forething to constrain the conscience; and the subtle persuasions of her supposts (we mean, even of those who were judged most fervent amongst us), upon the other part, blinded all men, and put them in opinion, she will be content to hear the preaching, and so no doubt but she may be won. And thus of all it was concluded, to suffer her for a time.

The next Sunday, John Knox inveighing against idolatry, shewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the same: and added, That one mass (there were no more suffered at first) was more fearful unto him than if

ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion; for, said he, in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him, whereof heretofore we have had experience: but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt but both God's amiable presence, and comfortable defence, will leave us; and what shall then become of us? Alas! I fear that experience will teach us, to the grief of many. At these words the guiders of the court mocked, and plainly spake, that such fear was no point of their faith; it was besides his text, and was a very untimely admonition. But we heard the said John Knox, in the audience of these same men, recite the same words again in the midst of troubles; and, in the audience of many, asked of God mercy, that he was not more vehement and upright, in the suppressing of that idol in the beginning; for, said he, albeit I spake that which offended some (which this day they see and feel to be true), yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not only given unto me knowledge and tongue, to make the impiety of that idol known unto the realm, but he hath given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto: but so careful was I, said he, of that common tranquillity, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that, in secret conference with dearest and zealous men, I travelled rather to mitigate, yea, to slacken, that fervency that God had kindled in others, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work; wherein I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart do ask of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay, to have suppressed that idol in the beginning. These and many other words did many hear him speak in public, in the month of December 1565, when such as, at the queen's arrival, only maintained the mass, were exiled the realm, summoned upon treason, and decreet of forfeiture intended against them. But to return from whence we have digressed.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or of the queen's own desire, we know not, but the queen spake with John Knox, and had long reasoned with him, none being present, except the Lord James, and two gentlemen who stood in the one end of the room. The sum of their reasoning was this: The queen accused him, That he had

raised a part of her subjects against her mother and herself; that he had written a book against her just authority (she meant the *Treatise against the Regiment of Women*), which she had, and would cause the most learned in Europe to write against it; that he was the cause of great sedition, and great slaughter in England; and that it was said to her, that all that he did was by necromancy. To the which the said John answered; Madam, it may please your majesty patiently to hear my simple answers: and first, said he, if to teach the word of God in sincerity, if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their princes, then cannot I be excused; for it hath pleased God of his mercy, to make me one, amongst many, to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the Papistical religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny, of that Roman Antichrist: but, madam, if the true knowledge of God, and his right worshipping, be the chief cause which must move men to obey their just princes from their heart (as it is most certain that they are), wherein can I be reprehended? I think, and am surely persuaded, that your majesty hath had, and presently hath, as unfeigned obedience of such as profess Christ Jesus within this realm, as ever your father or progenitors had of those that were called bishops. And touching that book that seemeth so highly to offend your majesty, it is most certain, that if I wrote it, I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it. I hear that an Englishman hath written against it; but I have not read him: if he hath sufficiently confuted my reasons, and established his contrary propositions, with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess mine error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think, myself alone more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it.

You think, said she, that I have no just authority. Please your majesty, said he, that learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published, both with pen and tongue, notwithstanding they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have bore patiently with the error and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato the philosopher wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in the which he condemns many things that were maintained in the world,

and required many things to have been reformed; and yet notwithstanding he lived under such politics as then were universally received, without further troubling any state: even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of good conscience, I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconveniences in the government of a woman, that which they approve, shall I not further disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content, and shall live under your majesty, as Paul was to live under the Roman emperor: and my hope is, that so long as ye desire not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I, nor that book, shall either hurt you, or your authority; for in very deed, madam, that book was written most especially against that wicked Mary of England.

But, said she, you speak of women in general: Most true it is, madam, said the other; and yet it plainly appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your majesty, never to raise trouble for that which to this day hath not troubled your majesty, neither in person, nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were holden stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured, that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved, in public or in private. Now, madam, said he, If I had intended to trouble your state, because you are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I can do now, when your own presence is within the realm.

But now, madam, shortly to answer to the other two accusations, I heartily praise my God; through Jesus Christ, that Satan, the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, than such as the very world itself knoweth to be most false and vain. For in England I was resident only the space of five years; the places were, Berwick, where I abode two years; so long in Newcastle; and a year in London. Now, madam, if in any of these places, during the time that I was there, any man shall be able to prove, that there was either battle, sedition, or mutiny, I shall confess, that I myself was the malefactor, and shedder of the blood. I am not ashamed further to affirm, That God so blessed my weak labours then in Berwick (wherein then commonly used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrels that used to arise

among foldiers), there was as great quietness all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh.

And where they slander me of magic, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden of God, I have witnesses (besides mine own conscience) all the congregations that ever heard me, what I spake, both against such acts, and against those that use such impiety: but seeing the wicked of the world said, That my Master the Lord Jesus was possessed with Beelzebub, I must patiently bear; albeit that I, wretched sinner, be unjustly accused, of those that never delighted in the verity.

But yet, said she, you have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow: and how can that doctrine be of God? seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their princes. Madam, said he, as right religion took neither original nor antiquity from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone, so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetite of their princes; for oft it is that princes are the most ignorant of all others, in God's true religion; as we may read in the histories, as well before the death of Christ Jesus, as after. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long subjects, I pray you, madam, what religion should there have been in the world? Or, if all men, in the days of the apostles, should have been of the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion should have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel, and his fellows, were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and unto Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion, neither of the one, nor of the other; for the three children said, 'We make it known to thee, O king! that we will not worship thy gods.' And Daniel did pray publicly unto his God, against the express commandment of the king: and so, madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yea, said she, none of these men raised their sword against their princes. Yet madam, said he, ye cannot deny but they resisted; for those that obey not the commandments given, in some sort resist. But yet, said she, they resisted not by the sword. God, said he, madam, had not given them the power and the means. Think you, said she, that subjects, having power, may resist their princes? If princes do exceed their bounds, said he, madam, and do against that wherefore they should be obey-

ed, there is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power: for there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience, to be given to kings and princes, than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother; but so it is, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children: now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapon 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? O, think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have staid their father from committing wickedness. It is even so, said he, madam, with princes that would murder the children of God, that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience; because that it agreeth with the word of God.

At these words the queen stood as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour; her countenance altered, so that the lord James began to entreat her, and to demand, What hath offended you, madam? At length she said, Well, then I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; and shall do what they list, and not what I command; and so must I be subject unto them, and not they to me. God forbid, answered he, that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do whatsoever please them; but my travel is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not, said he, madam, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God; for it is he that subjects the people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them: yea, God craves of kings, that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to the church, and commands queens to be nourishers unto his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God, and to his troubled church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth; for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.

Yea, said she, but ye are not the church that I will nourish: I will defend the church of Rome; for I think it is the true church of God.

Your will, said he, madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot;

for that church is altogether polluted with all kind of spiritual fornication, as well in doctrine, as in manners; yea, madam, I offer myself further to prove, That the church of the Jews, who crucified Jesus Christ, when that they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as the church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which the apostles taught and planted. My conscience, said she, is not so. Conscience, madam, said he, requires knowledge, and I fear that of right knowledge you have but little. But, said she, I have both heard and read. So, madam, said he, did the Jews that crucified Christ Jesus, read both the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted, after their manner. Have ye heard, said he, any teach, but such as the pope and his cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own state. You interpret the Scriptures, said she, in one manner, and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge? Believe, said he, God, that plainly speaketh in his word; and further than the word teacheth you, ye shall neither believe the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places; so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as obstinately will remain ignorant.

And now, madam, said he, to take one of the chief points, which this day are in controversy betwixt the Papists and us, for example: The Papists alledge, and boldly have affirmed, That the mass is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirm, That the mass, as it is now used, is nothing but the invention of man; and therefore it is an abomination before God, and no sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, madam, who shall judge betwixt us two, thus contending? It is not reason, that either of the persons be further believed, than they are able to prove by unsuspected witnessing: let them lay down the book of God, and by the plain words prove their affirmatives, and we shall give unto them the plea granted. But so long as they are bold to affirm, and yet do prove nothing, we must say, That, albeit all the world believe them, yet believe they not God;

but do receive the lies of men for the truth of God. What our Master Christ Jesus did, we know by his evangelists: what the priests do at the mass, the world seeth. Now, doth not the word of God plainly assure us, That Christ Jesus neither said, nor yet commanded mass to be said at his last supper, seeing that no such thing as the mass is made mention of within the whole Scriptures? You are over hard for me, said the queen; but if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you. Madam, said the other, would to God that the most learned Papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your majesty, to sustain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end: for then I doubt not, madam, but that you should hear the vanity of the Papistical religion, and what small ground it hath within the word of God. Well, said she, ye may perchance get that sooner than you believe. Assuredly, said the other, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know that they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and sword, and their own laws be judges. So say you, said the queen. And I believe it hath been to this day, said he; for how oft have the Papists, in this and in other realms, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for judges: and therefore I must yet say again, That they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judges and party; and when you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to be deceived in that point. And with this the queen was called unto dinner; for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said unto her, I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland (if it be the pleasure of God) as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel.

Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were divers opinions: the Papists grudged, and feared that which they needed not; the godly, thinking at least that she would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were utterly deceived; for she continued in her massing, and despised, and quickly mocked all exhortation.

John Knox, being by some of his intimates demanded what he thought of the queen, said, If

there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her, to the church and state.

When the whole nobility were convened, the lords of privy council were chosen, where were appointed the duke, the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, Marshal, Bothwell, lord Erskine, lord James, after earl of Murray. Of these were certain appointed to wait upon the court in course: but that order continued not long. Duke d'Anville returned with the galleys to France. The queen entered in her progress; and, in the month of September, travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, St. Johnston, Dundee, St. Andrews; all which parts she polluted with the idolatrous mass: fire followed the court very commonly in that journey; the towns made presents to the queen liberally, and thereby were the French enriched.

About the beginning of October she returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed she was received in the castle; whereat preparations were made for her entry into the town, in farces, in masking, and other prodigalities: fain would our fools have counterfeited France. Whatsoever might set forth her glory, that she heard, and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered unto her by a pretty boy, descending, as it were, from a cloud: the verses of her own praise she heard, and smiled; but when the Bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began to frown; for shame she could not refuse it, but she did no better, for she gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the realm, *viz.* to Arthur Erskine. Edinburgh, since that day, hath reaped as it sowed: it gave her some taste of its prodigality; and, because the liquor was sweet, she hath licked of that box oftener than twice since. All men know what we mean; the queen cannot lack, and the subjects have.

In Edinburgh it hath been an ancient and laudable custom, That the provost, bailies, and council, after their election, which used to be at Michaelmas, caused publicly proclaim the statutes and ordinances of the town; and therefore Archibald Douglas provost, Edward Hope, Adam Fullerton, &c. bailies, caused proclaim, according to the former statutes of the town, 'That no adulterer, no fornicator, no noted drunkard, no mass-monger, no obstinate Papist that corrupted the people, such as priests, friars, and others of that sort, should be found within forty-one hours

'thereafter, under the pains contained in the statutes.' Which blown in the queen's ears, there began pride and maliciousness to shew itself; for, without further considering the cause, was the provost and bailies charged to ward in the castle, and immediately was commandment given, that another provost and bailies should be elected.

Some gainstood for a while the new election, alledging, that the provost and bailies, whom they had chosen, and to whom they had given their oath, had committed no offence; therefore, that justly they might not be deprived. But while charge was doubled upon charge, and no man found to oppose himself to impiety, the missed queen's letter and wicked will is obeyed, as just law. And so was Mr. Thomas McCally chosen provost for the other; the man, no doubt, was both discreet, and sufficient for that charge, but the deposition of the other was against all law. God be merciful to some of our own: for they were not all blameless, that the queen's unreasonable will was so far obeyed.

A contrary proclamation was publicly made, 'That the town should be patent to all the queen's lieges;' and so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion; and so got the devil freedom again, where that before he durst not have been seen in day-light upon the common streets. 'Lord, deliver us from this bondage of sin.'

The devil finding his reins loose, ran forward in his course, and the queen (evil men abusing her name and authority) took upon her greater boldness, than she and Balaam's bleating priests durst have attempted before; for upon All-hallow-day they bended up their mass with all mischievous solemnity. The ministers thereat offended, in plain and public place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon would ensue. The nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties: but affection caused men to call that in doubt, wherein oft before they seemed most resolute; *viz.* 'Whether that the subjects might have a hand to suppress the idolatry of their prince?' And upon this question convened in the house of Mr. James Macgill, the lord James, earl of Morton, the earl of Marshal, secretary Lethington, the justice-clerk, and the foresaid Mr. James, clerk of the register; who all reasoned for the part of the queen, affirming, 'That the subjects might not take her mass lawfully from her?' in the contrary judgment

were the principal ministers, Mr. John Row, Mr. George Hay, Mr. Robert Hamilton, and John Knox. The reasons of both parties we will omit, because they will be explained after, where the said question, and others concerning the obedience due to princes, were long reasoned in open assembly; the conclusion of that first reasoning was, 'That the question should be formed, and letters directed to Geneva for the resolution of that church,' wherein John Knox offered his labour. But secretary Lethington, alledging, that there stood much in the information, said, 'That he should write;' but that was only to put off time, as the truth declared itself. The queen's party urged, 'That the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, as they pleased.' The ministers both affirmed and voted the contrary; adding, 'That her liberty should be their thralldom, ere it be long.' But neither could reason, nor threatening, move the affections of such as were creeping into credit; and so did the votes of the lords prevail against the ministers.

For the punishment of theft and robbery, which had increased upon the borders, and in the south, from the queen's arrival, was the lord James made lieutenant. Some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsel that Saul made David captain against the Philistines; but God assisted and bowed the hearts of men, both to fear and obey him; yea, the lord Bothwell himself at that time assisted him (but he had remission for Liddisdale); sharp execution was made in Edinburgh, for twenty-eight of one clan, and others, were hanged at that justice-court: bribes, or solicitation, saved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended; and therefore God prospered him in that his integrity. That same time the lord James spake with the lord Gray of England at Kelso, for good rule to be kept on both the borders; and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the queen, upon a night, took a fright in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the clofe, and as if the palace had been inclosed about; whether it proceeded of her own womanly fancy, or if men put her in fear, for displeasure of the earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the electing of the guard, we know not: but the fear was so great, that the town was called to the watch; lord Robert of Holyrood-house, and John of Coldingham, kept the watch by course. Scouts were set forth, and centinels, upon pain of death, were commanded to keep their stations; and yet

they feared where there was no fear, neither yet could ever any appearance or suspicion of such things be tried. Shortly after the returning of the lord James, there came from the queen of England Sir Peter Mewts, with commission, to require the ratification of the peace made at Leith. Her answer was, even such as we have heard before; That she behoved to advise, and then she should answer. In presence of her council she kept herself grave; for under the mourning-weed and apparel she could dissemble in full perfection: but how soon that ever the French people had her alone, they told her, That since she came to Scotland, she saw nothing there but gravity, which repugned altogether to her breeding, for she was brought up in jovialty; so termed she her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The general assembly of the church approached, holden in December, after the queen's arrival, in the which began the rulers of the court to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and began to strive and grudge, that any thing should be consulted upon without their advices. Mr. John Wood, who before had shewed himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving of his counsel in all doubtful matters, refused to assist the assembly again; whereof many did wonder. The courtiers drew unto them some of the lords, and would not convene with their brethren, as before they were accustomed, but kept themselves in the abbey. The principal commissioners of the church, the superintendants, and some ministers, past unto them, where they were assembled in the abbot's lodging within Holyrood-house. Both the parties began to open their griefs: the lords complained, That the ministers drew the gentlemen into secret council, without their knowledge: the ministers denied that they had done any thing in secret, otherwise than the common order commanded them; and accused the lords (the flatterers of the queen we mean), that they kept not the convention with their brethren, considering that they knew the order, and that the same was appointed by their own advice, as the Book of Discipline, subscribed with the most part of their own hands, would witness: some began to deny, That ever they knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline; and called also in doubt, Whether it was expedient, that such assemblies should be or not; for gladly would the queen and her secret council have had all assemblies of the godly discharged. The reasoning was sharp and quick on either side. The queen's faction alledged, That

it gave suspicion to princes, that subjects should assemble themselves, and keep conventions without their knowledge. It was answered, That without knowledge of the princes the church did nothing; for the princes perfectly understood, that within this realm was a reformed church, and that they had their orders and appointed times of convention; and so, without knowledge of the princes, they did nothing. Yea, said Lethington, the queen knew, and knoweth well enough; but the question is, Whether that the queen alloweth such convention. It was answered, If the liberty of the church 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 gospel. That affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. Well, said the other, time will try the truth. But to my former words, this I will add; 'Take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the gospel; for without assemblies, how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept?' It is not to be supposed, that all ministers shall be so perfect but that they shall need admonition, as well concerning manners as doctrine; as it may be, that some be so stiff-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the simple: as also, it may be, that fault may be found with ministers without just offence committed; and if order be not taken both with the complainer, and with the persons complained upon, it cannot be avoided, but that many grievous offences shall arise; for remedy whereof, of necessity it is, that general assemblies must be; in which the judgments and gravity of many may concur, to correct or repress the follies or errors of a few. Hereunto consented the most part, as well of the nobility as of the barons, and willed the reasoners for the queen to be sent to her majesty, if that she stood in suspicion of any thing that was to be handled in their assemblies, that it would please her majesty to send such as she would appoint, to hear whatsoever was propounded, or reasoned.

Hereafter was the Book of Discipline proposed, and desired to have been ratified by the queen's majesty; but it was stopped, and the question demanded, How many of those that subscribed to that book would be subject unto it? It was answered, All the godly. Will the duke? said Lethington. If he will not, answered the Lord Ochiltree, I would that he were scraped out, not only of that book, but also out of our number and company; for what purpose shall labour be taken to put the church in order, and to what end shall men sub-

scribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promise? Lethington answered, Many subscribe there *in fide parentum*, as children are baptized. One, *viz.* John Knox, answered, Albeit ye think that scoff proper, yet, as it is most untrue, so it is most improper: that book was read in public audience, and, for the space of divers days, the heads thereof were reasoned on, as all that here sit know well enough, and yourselves cannot deny; so that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not. Stand content, said one, that book will not be obtained. Let God, said the other, require the lack and want, which this poor commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same.

The barons, perceiving that the Book of Discipline was refused, presented unto the council certain articles, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, their churches to be planted with true ministers, and some certain propositions to be made for them, according to equity and conscience: for unto that time the most part of the ministers had lived upon the benevolence of men; for many had into their own hands the profits that the bishops and others of that sect had before abused, and so some part was bestowed upon the ministers.

But then the bishops began to grip again to that which most unjustly they called their own (for the earl of Arran was discharged of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by virtue of a faculty and commission, he had intruded and meddled; and so were many others); therefore the barons required, That order might be taken for the ministers, or else they would no more cause rents to be paid unto any, that formerly belonged to the churchmen, nor suffer any thing to be collected for the use of any whatsoever, after the queen's arrival, than that they did before; for they verily supposed, that the queen's majesty would keep promise made to them, which was, Not to alter their religion, which could not remain without ministers, and ministers could not live without provision; and therefore, they heartily desired the council to provide some convenient order in that behalf. This somewhat moved the queen's flatterers; for the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands; and so began they to practise how they might please the queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful: and so devised they, That the churchmen should have intromission and meddling with two parts of their benefices, and that the third part should be gather-

ed by such men as thereto should be appointed for such uses; as in their subsequent acts are more fully expressed:

Apud Edinburgh, vicefimo Decembris 1561.

THE which day; forasmuch as the queen's majesty, by the advice of the lords of her secret council, foreseeing the imminent troubles, which apparently threaten to arise amongst the lieges of this realm, for matters of religion; to stay the same, and stum all incommodities that might thereupon ensue, having intercommunicated and spoken with a part of the clergy, or estate ecclesiastical, with whom then, reasoning being had, it was thought good and expedient by her highness, That a general assembly should be appointed the 15th day of December instant, whereto the rest of the estates might have appeared; and, by the advice of lawyers, one reasonable overture be made, and order taken, for staying of the approaching trouble, and quieting of all the country: which assembly, being by her majesty appointed, and fundry days of council kept, and the said ecclesiastical estates oft-times required, That the said order might be taken, and overture made, for staying of the trouble, and quieting of the country.

Last of all, in presence of the queen's majesty, and lords of the council aforesaid, and others of the nobility of this realm, compared John archbishop of St. Andrews, Patrick bishop of Murray, Henry bishop of Ross, and Robert bishop of Dunkeld; and for themselves respectively offered unto the queen's majesty, to be content with two parts of the rents of their benefices, and the third part to be employed, as her majesty thought expedient. And because the certainty thereof was not known, nor yet what sums of money would sustain the ministry, and the ministers of God's word within this realm; neither yet how much was necessary to support the queen's majesty above her own rents, for the common affairs of the country: therefore it is ordained, concluded, and determined by the queen's majesty, and the lords of the council aforesaid, and others of the nobility present, That if the fourth part of the whole benefices within this realm, may be sufficient to sustain the ministers throughout this whole realm, and support the queen's majesty, to maintain and set forward the common affairs of the country; failing thereof, the third part of the said profits, and more, if it be found sufficient for the effect aforesaid, to be taken up yearly in time coming; that a general

order may be taken therewith, and so much thereof to be employed to the queen's majesty's use, for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country; and so much thereof to the ministers, and maintenance of the ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight and discretion of the queen's majesty, and council aforesaid; and the exerecense and overplus to be assigned to the old possessors.

And to the effect that the rents and yearly profits of the whole benefices within this realm may be clearly known to the queen's majesty and council aforesaid, it is statuted and ordained, 'That the whole rentals of the benefices of this realm be produced before her majesty and lords aforesaid, at the time under-written; that is to say, The rentals of the benefices on this side of the water, before the 24th of January next coming; and those beyond the water, the 10th of February next thereafter: and ordains letters to be directed to the sheriffs in that part, to pass, charge, and require, all and fundry archbishops, bishops, commendators, abbots, priors, on this side of the water, personally to be apprehended, and failing thereof, at their dwelling-places, or at the parish-churches where they should remain, cathedral-churches or abbeys; and all archdeacons, deans, chanters, sub-chanters, provosts, parsons, and vicars, and other beneficed men whatsoever, their chamberlains and factors, personally, or at their dwelling-places, or at the parish-churches where they should remain, To exhibit and produce before the queen's majesty and lords aforesaid, before the said 24th day of January next coming, the just and true rentals of the values and rents of their benefices, to the effect aforesaid: and to charge the prelates, and the other beneficed men, on the other side of the water, in manner aforesaid, to exhibit and produce the just and true rentals of their benefices before the queen's majesty and lords aforesaid, the said 10th of February, to the effect aforesaid; with certification to them, That if any fail to appear, the queen's majesty and council's wills are, That they should be proceeded against herein as the matter requires.

And likewise to charge the whole superintendants, ministers, elders, and deacons, of the principal towns and shires of this realm, to give in before the queen's majesty and lords of the council aforesaid, before the said 24th of January next coming, a formal and sufficient roll and memorial, of what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustain the ministry, and whole ministers of this realm,

that her majesty, and lords of the council aforesaid, may rightly and diligently weigh and consider, what necessary support is required, to be taken yearly of the fruits of the said benefices (by her majesty's own yearly rent), to entertain and set forward the common affairs of this realm, against the said 24th day of January next coming, that then it may be proceeded in the said matter, all parties satisfied, and the whole country and lieges thereof set in quietness.

Apud Linlithgow, 24 Januarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majesty, with the advice of the lords of her secret council, directed her letters, commanding all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and all other beneficed men, their factors, farmers, and tacksmen, to appear before her highness and lords aforesaid at Edinburgh, or where it should happen them to be for the time, so many as dwell upon this side of the water, before the 24th day of January instant; and them that dwell beyond the water, the 10th of February next coming; that the just value of their benefices might be known; so that hereafter her highness may take order for the maintenance of the ministry of the church, and the public business of the realm. And because the queen's majesty is presently busied with other affairs, and may not herself attend upon the receipt of the said rent, therefore her highness hath given and granted, and by these presents gives and grants, full power and commission to Mr. James Macgill of Rankellornether, clerk of the register, Sir John Ballenden of Auchinneul knight, justice-clerk, to the secretary of state, treasurer, advocate of the crown, and laird of Pittarro, to call before them within the city of Edinburgh, all and sundry prelates and beneficed men, which are charged by virtue of the said letters, now presently being in Edinburgh, or shall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their factors or farmers, and there enquire of them the rentals of their benefices, and receive the same from them, to the effect aforesaid. And likewise, that the said commissioners cause warn all superintendants, overseers, ministers, elders, and deacons, to give unto them the names of all the ministers of this realm, that the just calculation being made, and considered by the said commissioners, of the value of the said benefices, they may report the same unto the queen's majesty, that her highness may take order herein, according to the just tenor of the first ordinance made thereupon.

Apud Edinburgh, 12 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as by the statute and ordinance made by the queen's majesty, and lords of the secret council, and her highness's letters directed thereupon, all and sundry archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. and other beneficed men, were charged to produce the rentals of their benefices before her majesty and lords aforesaid, in manner following; that is to say, the said beneficed men dwelling on this side of the water, before the four-and-twentieth of January last past; and on the other side of the water, before the tenth of February instant; to the effect that order might be taken therein, conform to the ordinance; with certification to them, that if they failed, the queen's majesty and council aforesaid, would take order therein, as the same ordinance bears. Notwithstanding of the which, the queen's majesty and council, and others appointed for receiving of the said rentals, have continually, since the said 24th of January aforesaid, waited upon the receiving of them; yet a very small number of them have produced their rentals, thereby not only contemning her majesty's ordinance, and proclamation aforesaid, but also herself and her authority, as they were princes and not subjects, expressly against equity, reason, and justice: for remedy whereof, the queen's majesty ordains, with advice of the lords of her secret council, that factors, chamberlains, or stewards, be appointed to intromit, gather, uplift, and receive, to our sovereign lady's use, all and sundry mails, tithes, farms, rents, revenues, emoluments, fruits, profits, and duties, of whatsoever benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced, conform to the said ordinance. And if any rentals already produced, bear not the just value, but are fraudulently made, to intromit and uptake as much of the profits and fruits of the said benefices, as are omitted forth of the said rentals; and the in-givers of the rentals, and possessors of the benefices thereof, shall never have action to claim, crave, or receive from the tenants and occupiers, further than is contained in the same rentals already produced by them; and the tenants and possessors shall be holden to pay no more than is contained in the same rentals already produced, as aforesaid. And the said chamberlains and factors, to be appointed by the queen's majesty, shall have sufficient power to intromit and uptake the fruits and profits aforesaid, in such fulness, as if special letters of factory and chamber-

laincy were granted to them thereupon. And ordains the lords of the session to direct forth letters, at the said factors and chamberlains instance, either of horning or pointing, as shall be thought expedient, for causing of them to be answered of fruits of the said benefices, to be forthcoming to the queen's majesty's behalf and use, till further order be taken therein.

Apud Edinburgb, 15 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majesty, by the advice of the lords of her secret council, and divers others of the nobility had before, upon the 22d day of December last past, ordained, That if the fourth part of the fruits and rents of all the benefices within this realm, were not sufficient for the support of her majesty's present wants, and the particular charges under-written, necessary to be borne for the weal of the country; then the third of the said fruits, more or less, should be taken up to the effect aforesaid: and ordained letters to be directed, charging all and fundry beneficed men, on this side of the water, to produce their rentals, before the 24th day of January last past: and the 10th of February instant was prefixed by the said letters, for the bringing in all rentals of the benefices beyond the water; with certification, to those who produced not the said rentals, at the days aforesaid respectively, the queen's majesty and her council would provide remedy: according to which certification, her highness, with advice of her council aforesaid, hath ordained, That they who have not produced their rentals whole and full, intromission shall be had of their fruits, by them whom her majesty shall direct thereto; and who have not given their just rentals, whatsoever part omitted forth of their said rentals, shall be intromitted in like manner.

And further, having consulted rightly, and diligently advised, upon the common affairs and necessities concerning the queen's majesty, and charges to be borne for the common-weal of the realm, and sustentation and maintenance of the preachers and readers, conform to the said ordinance before made thereupon, hath ordained and declared the whole third part of all benefices, of which rentals are produced, to be taken up by the person or persons to be nominated by her majesty; and to begin upon this last crop in the year of God 1561, the same to be employed to the effect aforesaid; together with the whole fruits of the benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced; and

also, all that is omitted out of the rentals produced: and that order be directed by the queen's majesty to the lords of the session, that the old possessors may be answered of the remanent fruits of the said benefices; providing, that the third part aforesaid be fully and wholly taken up by the persons to be deputed to the taking thereof: and this order to continue and stand till further order be taken by the queen's majesty, with the advice of the estates.

Moreover, her highness, with the advice of the council aforesaid, hath statuted and ordained, That annuals, mails, and duties, within free burghs, or other towns of this realm, as well pertaining to chaplainries, prebendaries, as to friars, together with the rents of the friars lands, where-ever they be, setting and disposing thereupon, be intromitted with, and taken by such as her majesty shall depute thereto; for employing of the same by her highness to hospitals, schools, and other godly uses, as shall seem best to her highness, with advice of her council. And knowing that nothing is more commodious for the foresaid hospitality, than the places of friars that are yet undemolished; and also to the entertainment of schools, colleges, and other uses aforesaid; ordains the provost and bailies of Aberdeen, Elgin of Murray, Inverness, Glasgow, and other burghs of this realm, where the same are not demolished, to entertain and uphold the said friars places, standing in the said towns, upon the common-good thereof, and to use the same to the common-weal and service of the said towns, until the queen's majesty be further advised, and take final order in such things; notwithstanding of any gift, title, or entries, given to whatsoever persons, of the said places, with their yards and orchards, and other pertinents, by our sovereign lady before.

The lords of secret council that were present at the voting and making of the foresaid acts, were, James duke of Chattelaraunt, George earl of Huntly, Archibald earl of Argyle, William earl of Marshall, John earl of Athol, William earl of Montrose, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, James commendator of St. Andrews, John lord Erskine, the treasurer, the justice-clerk, the secretary, and comptroller.

After the first act, the earl of Huntly said jestingly, 'Good day, my lords of the two parts.' The whole rentals being gathered, the sum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to, &c.

The ministers, even in the beginning of public sermons, opposed themselves to such corruption; for they foresaw the purposes of the devil, and clearly understood the but whereat the queen and her flatterers shot; and so, in the chair of Edinburgh, John Knox said, 'Well, if the end of this order, pretended to be taken for maintenance of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me; for I am assured, that the Spirit of God is not the author of it; for first I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil.'

Well, said he, bear witness to me, that this day I said it, Ere it be long, the devil shall have three parts of the third; and judge you then what God's portion will be. This was an unfavourable saying in the ears of many; some were not ashamed to affirm, 'That the ministers being sustained, the queen will not get at the year's end to buy her a pair of new shoes.' And this was secretary Lethington.

There were appointed to modify the ministers stipends, the earl of Argyle, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, justice clerk, and clerk of the register. The laird of Pittarro was appointed to pay the ministers stipends, according to their modification. Who would have thought, that when Joseph ruled Egypt, that his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks unto their families? Men would rather have thought, that Pharaoh's pose, treasure, and girdles, should rather have been diminished, than that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starve for hunger.

But so busy and circumspect were the modifiers (because it was a new office, the term itself also be new), that the ministers should not be over-wanton, that a hundred merks was sufficient to a single man, being a common minister; three hundred merks was the highest that was appointed to any, except the superintendants, and a few others: shortly, whether it was the ingratitude of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the queen, we know not; but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens (as their complaints in all assemblies do witness), that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing that was appointed, so fain would the comptroller have played the good valet, and have satisfied the queen, or else his own profit in every point, that he got this proverb, 'The good laird of Pittarro was an earnest professor of Christ,

'but the muckle devil receive the comptroller, for he and his collectors are become greedy factors.' To put an end to this unpleasing matter, when the brethren complained of their poverty, it was disdainfully answered by some, 'There are many lairds that have not so much to spend.' When men did reason, 'That the vocation of ministers craved of them books, quietness, study, and travel, to edify the church of Christ Jesus, when many lairds were waiting upon their worldly business; and therefore that the stipends of ministers, who had no other industry but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified according to the living of other common men, who might and did daily augment the rents by some other industry: when such reasons were laid before them, they got no other answer, but 'The queen can spare no greater sums.' Oft was it cried out in their ears, 'O happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were no hell nor heaven!' for to the servants of the devil, these dumb dogs and horrid bishops, to one of those idle bellies, I say, ten thousand was not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the gospel, a hundred will suffice. How can that be sustained?

One day, in reasoning of this matter, the secretary broke out into a passion, and said, 'The ministers have thus much paid unto them by the year; Who ever yet said to the queen, Grand mercies for it? Was there ever a minister that gave thanks to God for her majesty's liberality towards him? One smiled, and answered, Assuredly, I think, that such as receive any thing *gratis* of the queen, are unthankful, if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and mind; but whether the ministers be of that rank, or not, I greatly doubt: *gratis*, I am sure, they receive nothing; and whether they receive any at all from the queen, wise men may reason: I am assured, that neither third, nor two parts, ever appertained to any of her predecessors within this realm these thousand years last past; neither yet have the queen's flatterers better title to that which she usurps, be it in giving to others, or taking it to herself, than the soldiers who crucified Jesus Christ, had to divide his garments amongst them: and if the truth may be spoken, she hath not so good title as they had, for such spoil ought to be the reward of such men: and, in that point, the soldiers were more gentle than the queen's flatterers; for they parted not the garments of our Saviour, till that he himself was hung upon the cross; but her flatterers do part the spoil, whilst that Christ is yet preach-

ing amongst you. But the wisdom of our God maketh trial of us by this means, knowing well enough what the court faction hath purposed to do: let the Papists, who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten abbeyes and feu-lands, thank the queen, and sing *Placebo Domino*, the poor preachers will not yet flatter for feeding of their bellies. These words were judged proud and intolerable, and engendered no small displeasure to the speaker.

This we put in memory, that the posterity to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph; but because some of ourselves delighted more in darkness than light, God hath restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage; yea, the greatest flatterers have not escaped so free as they supposed; yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worse than the first. ‘Be merciful unto us, O Lord! and deal not with us according to our deservings, but look thou to the equity of the cause which thou hast put in our hands, and suffer not iniquity to oppress thy truth, for thy own name’s sake, O Lord!’

In this mean while, *viz.* in February 1561, was lord James first made earl of Murray, and then married one Agnes Keith, daughter to the earl Marthal. The marriage was public in the church of Edinburgh; at the blessing of the marriage, they both got an admonition to behave themselves moderately in all things; for, said the preacher to him, the church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; in the which, if hereafter you shall be found fainter than you have been formerly, it will be said, That your wife hath changed your nature. The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly: there began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since. Mr. Randolph, agent for the queen of England, was then, and some time after, in no small esteem with our queen; for his mistress’s sake she did drink to him in a cup of gold, which he possessed with great joy, more for the favour of the giver, than of the gift and value thereof, and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two queens, whereof Lethington, secretary Cecil, and Mr. Randolph, were ministers, were of great weight, as we will after hear.

This winter the earl of Bothwel, the marquis d’Albuff, and lord John of Coldingham, raised a riot in Edinburgh, disordered the whole town, broke Cuthbert Ramsay’s gates and doors, searched his house for his daughter-in-law, Alison Craigie:

and this was done in despite of the earl of Arran, who was suspected to have been in love with the said Alison. The horror of this fact, and the verity of it, greatly moved all godly hearts; the assembly, and also the nobility, for the most part were in the town; and so they concluded to crave justice; which they did, as by this subsequent supplication doth appear:

To the Queen’s Majesty, and her secret Council, her Highness’s faithful and obedient Subjects, the Professors of Christ Jesus’s holy Gospel, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

THE fear of God conceived of his holy word; the natural and unfeigned love we bear unto your majesty; the duty which we owe to the quietness of our country; and the terrible threatenings which our God pronounceth against every realm and city, in the which horrible crimes are openly committed, and then by the committers obstinately defended; compel us, a great part of your subjects, humbly to crave of your majesty upright and true judgment against such persons as have done what in them lay to kindle God’s wrath against this whole realm. The impiety by them committed is so heinous, and so horrible, that as it is a fact most vile and rare to be heard of within this realm, and principally within the bowels of this city, so should we think ourselves guilty of the same, if negligently, or yet for worldly fear, we pass it over with silence: and therefore your majesty may not think that we require any thing (while that we crave open malefactors condignly to be punished), but that which God hath commanded us to crave, and also hath commanded your majesty to give to every one of your subjects; for by this link hath God knit together the prince and people, that as he commands honour, fear, and obedience, to be given to the powers established by him; so doth he in express words command and declare what the prince oweth unto the subjects, *viz.* That as he is the minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be taken on evil-doers, and for the defence of peaceable and quiet men, so ought he to draw the sword without partiality, so oft as in God’s name he is required thereto. Seeing so it is, madam, that this crime, so recently committed, and that in the eyes of the whole realm now publicly assembled, is so heinous; for who heretofore hath heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and doors under silence of night broken, houses ripped or searched, and that with hostility, seeking a woman, as ap-

peareth, to oppress her. Seeing, we say, that this crime is so heinous, that all godly men fear, not only God's displeasure to fall upon you and your whole realm, but also that such licentiousness breed contempt, and in the end sedition, if remedy in time be not provided, which in our judgment is impossible, if severe punishment be not executed for the crime committed; therefore we most humbly beseech your majesty, that, all affection set aside, you declare yourself so upright in this case, that ye may give evident demonstration to all your subjects, that the fear of God, joined with the love of common tranquillity, hath principal seat in your majesty's heart. This further, madam, in conscience we speak, That, as your majesty, in God's name, doth crave of us obedience, which to render, in all things lawful, we are most willing; so, in the same name, do we, the whole professors of Christ's gospel within this your majesty's realm, crave of you and your council sharp punishment of this crime: and, for performance thereof, that without delay the principal actors of this heinous crime, and the persuaders of this public villainy, may be called before the chief justice of this realm, to suffer an assize, and to be punished according to the laws of the same. Your majesty's answer most humbly we beseech.

These supplications were presented by divers gentlemen. The flatterers of the court at first stormed, and asked, Who durst avow it? To whom the matter, after lord Lindsay, answered, A thousand gentlemen within Edinburgh. Others were ashamed to oppose themselves thereto in public; but they suborned the queen to give a gentle answer, until such time as the convention was dissolved; and so she did: and then, in fair words, she alledged, That her uncle was a stranger, and that he had a young company with him; but that she should give such orders unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they should have no occasion to complain; and so eluded she the just petition of her subjects. And no wonder; For how shall she punish in Scotland that vice, which in France she did see so free from punishment? and which kings and cardinals use most commonly; as the mask and dancing of Orleans can witness; wherein virgins and mens wives were made common to king Henry, Charles, the cardinal, and to their courtiers and pages, as common women in brothels are unto their companions.

The manner was thus: At the entry of king Henry of France into the town of Orleans, the ma-

trons, virgins, and mens wives, were commanded to present themselves in the king's palace to dance: and they obeyed; for commonly the French nation is not very hard to be entreated to vanity. After fiddling and slinging, and when the cardinal of Lorraine had espied his prey, he said to the king, *Sire, le premiere est a vous, et fault que je soy le second*; that is, 'Sir, the first choice is yours, and 'I must be the second.' And so the king got the pre-eminence, having his first election; but, because cardinals are companions to kings, the cardinal had the next. And thereafter the torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himself the best he might.

What cry there was of husbands for their wives, and wives for their husbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, of virgins for their friends, or for some honest men to defend their chastity, Orleans will remember, more kings days than one.

This horrible villainy, a fruit of the cardinal's good catholic religion, we shortly touch, to let the world understand, what subjects may look for of such magistrates; for such pastime to them is jollity. It had been good for our queen, that she had been brought up in better company; both for her credit, and for the course of her life: and it may be, that her excellent natural endowments had been better employed for her reputation and happiness, than they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of those that wished her truly well. But punishment of that enormity, and fearful attempt, we could get none; yea, more and more they presumed to do violence, and frequented nightly masking; and we began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the duke's friends began to assemble in the night-time, on the causeway or street. The abbot of Kilwinning, who then was joined to the church, was the principal man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithful, and amongst others came Andrew Stuart lord Ochiltree, a man rather born to make peace, than to brag upon the causeway: he demanded the quarrel, and being informed of the former enormity, said, 'Nay, such impiety shall not be suffered, so long as God shall assist us: the victory that God hath in his own mercy given us, we will by his grace maintain.'

And so he commanded his son Andrew Stuart, then master, and his servants, to put themselves in order, and to bring forth their spears and long weapons; and so did others. The word came to the earl Bothwell and his, that the Hamiltons were upon the street: vows were made, that the

Hamiltons should be driven not only out of the town, but also out of the country. Lord John of Coldingham had married the earl Bothwell's sister (a sufficient woman for such a man); alliance drew lord Robert, and so they joined both with the earl Bothwel. But the stoutness of the marquis le Beuf (d' Albufi they call him) is most to be commended; for, in his chamber in the abbey, he started to an halbert, and ten men were scarcely able to hold him that night: the danger was betwixt the Cross and Throne, and so he was a long quarter of a mile from the shot and skenting of bolts. The master of Maxwell, after lord Herries, gave declaration to the earl of Bothwel, that if he stirred forth of his lodging, he, and all that would assist him, should resist him in the face; whose words did somewhat beat down that blast. The earls of Murray and Huntly, being in the abbey, where the marquis was, came with their companies sent from the queen, to stay that tumult, as they did; for Bothwel and his were commanded, under pain of treason, to keep their lodgings.

It was whispered by many, That the earl of Murray's displeasure was as much sought, as any hatred that the Hamiltons did bear against the earl of Bothwel, or yet he against them. And in very deed, either had the duke very false servants, or else, by Huntly and the Hamiltons, the earl of Murray's death was conspired more than once; the suspicion whereof burst forth so far, that upon a day the said earl being on horseback, to have come to the sermon, was charged, by one of the duke's own servants, to turn and abide with the queen: the fame whereof spread over all: what ground it had, we cannot say; but shortly after, the duke, and some of the lords, remained at Glasgow; their conclusion was not known. The earl of Arran came to Edinburgh, where the earl Bothwel lay. The queen, and the court, went to Fife, and remained sometimes in St. Andrews, and sometimes in Falkland.

The earl Bothwel, by means of James Barron burghers, and then merchant in Edinburgh, desired to speak with John Knox secretly, which the said John gladly granted, and spake with him upon a night, first in the said James's lodging, and after in his own study: the sum of all their conference and communication was, The said lord lamented his inordinate life; and especially, that he was provoked, by the enticements of the queen regent, to do that which he sore repented, as well against the laird of Ormiston, whose blood was spilt, albeit not by his fault: but his chief grief was, that

he had misbehaved himself towards the earl of Arran, whose favour he was most willing to redeem, if possible it were that so he might: For, said he, if I might have my lord Arran's favour, I would always wait upon the court, with a page and a few servants, to spare my expence; whereas, now I am compelled to keep, for my own safety, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my estate that is left. To which the said John answered, My lord, would to God that in me were counsel and judgment, that might comfort and relieve you; for albeit that to this hour it hath not happened to me to speak with your lordship face to face, yet have I borne a good mind to your house, and have been sorry from my heart for the trouble that I have heard you to be involved in: for, my lord, my great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards, and this is a part of the obligation of our Scots kindness: but this is not the chief; but as God hath made me his public messenger of glad tidings, so it is my earnest desire that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, so long as there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am sorry that you have given occasion unto men to be offended with you; but more sorrowful, that you have offended the majesty of God, wherefore he often punisheth the other sins of man: and therefore my counsel is, That you begin at God, with whom, if you enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he shall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences; and as for me, if you will continue in godliness, your lordship shall command me as boldly as any that serves your lordship. The said lord desired him, that he would try the earl of Arran's mind, if he would be content to accept him in his favour; which he promised to do.

And so earnestly he travelled in that matter, that it was once brought to such an end, as all the faithful praised God for such agreement: the greatest stay stood upon the satisfaction of the laird of Ormiston, who, beside his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the communing pursued by the said earl Bothwel, and his son Mr. Alexander Cockburn was taken by him, and carried by him to Berwick, but courteously enough sent back again. That new trouble so greatly displeased John Knox, that he almost gave over further travelling for amity: but yet, upon excuse of the said earl, and upon declaration of his mind, he re-entered into labour; and so

brought it to pass, that the laird of Ormiston referred his satisfaction, in all things, to the judgment of the earls of Arran and Murray, to whom the said earl submitted himself on that head: and thereupon delivered his hand-writing; and so was conveyed, by certain of his friends, to the lodging of the Kirk of Field, where the earl of Arran was with his friends, and the said John Knox with him, to bear witness and testification of the end of the agreement.

As the earl of Bothwel entered the chamber, and would have done those honours that friends had appointed (Mr. Gavin Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, and the laird of Rickarton, were the chief friends that communed), the said earl of Arran gently past unto him, embraced him, and said, 'If the heart be upright, few ceremonies will serve, and content me.' The said John Knox, in audience of them both, and of their friends, said, 'Now, my lords, God hath brought you together by the labour of simple men, in respect of such as would have travelled therein: I know my labours are already taken in evil part, but because I have the testimony of a good conscience before God, that whatsoever I have done, it is in his fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquillity of this realm: seeing therefore that my conscience beareth witness to me what I have fought, and do continually seek, I the more patiently bear the misreports and wrong judgments of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desire you who are the friends, to study that amity may increase, all former offences being forgot.' The friends of either party embraced each other; and the two earls departed to a window, and talked by themselves a reasonable space. And thereafter the earl of Bothwel departed for that night, and upon the next day, in the morning, returned with some of his honest friends, and came to the sermon with the said earl, wherewith many rejoiced. But God had another work to do than the eyes of men could espy.

The Thursday next they dined together; and thereafter the said earl of Bothwel, and Mr. Gavin Hamilton, rode to the duke, who then was in Kinneil. What communication was betwixt them, is not certainly known, but by the report which the said earl of Arran made to the queen, and unto the earl of Murray, by his writings: for upon the third day after their reconciliation, the sermon being ended, the said earl of Arran came to the house of the said John Knox, and brought with him Mr. Richard Strang and Alexander Guthry,

to whom he opened the grief of his mind, before that John Knox was called; for he was busy, as commonly he used to be after his sermon, in directing of writings: which ended, the said earl called the three together, and said, 'I am treasonably betrayed,' and with these words began to weep. John Knox demanded, My lord, who hath betrayed you? One Judas or other, said he: I know it is but my life that is fought; I regard it not. The other said, My lord, I understand no such dark manner of speech: if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plainly. Well, said he, I take you three to witness, that I open this unto you, and I will write it unto the queen: an act of treason is laid to my charge. The earl Bothwel hath shown to me in council, that he shall take the queen, and put her into my hands, in the castle of Dunbarton; and that he shall slay the earl of Murray, Lethington, and others, that now misguide her, and so shall he and I rule all. But I know this is devised to accuse me of treason, for I know he will inform the queen of it: but I take you to witness, that I open it here unto you; and I will immediately write to the queen's majesty, and unto my brother the earl of Murray.

John Knox demanded, Did you consent, my lord, to any part of that treason? He answered, No. Then, said he, in my judgment, his words, although they were spoken, can never be treason to you; for the performance of the fact depends upon your will, whereunto, you say, ye have dissented; and so shall that purpose vanish and die of itself, unless you awake it: for it is not to be supposed, that he will accuse you of that which he himself hath devised, and whereunto you would not consent. Oh! said he, you understand not what craft is used against me: it is treason to conceal treason. My lord, said he, treason must import consent and determination, which I hear on neither of your parts: and therefore, my lord, in my judgment, it will be more sure, and more honourable unto you, to depend upon your innocence, and to abide the unjust accusation of any other (if any follow thereof, as I think there shall not), than to accuse, especially after so late reconciliation. I know, said he, that he will offer the combat unto me, but that would not be suffered in France; but I will do that which I have purposed.

And so he departed, and took with him to his lodging the said Mr. Alexander Guthry, and Mr. Richard Strang, from whence was written and indited a letter to the queen's majesty, according

to the same purpose; which letter was directed with all diligence unto her majesty, who then was in Falkland. The earl himself rode after to Kinneil, to his father the duke; but how he was used, we have but the common report. But from thence he wrote a letter, with his own hand, in cyphers, to the earl of Murray, complaining of his rigorous handling and treatment, by his own father and friends; and affirmed further, That he feared his life, in case he got not sudden rescue. But there he remained not, for he broke the chamber wherein he was put, and with great toil passed to Stirling, and from thence was conveyed to the Hall-yards, where he was kept, till that the earl of Murray came unto him, and conveyed him to the queen, then being in Falkland, who then was sufficiently instructed in the whole matter; and, upon suspicion conceived, had caused to apprehend Mr. Gavin Hamilton and the earl Bothwel aforesaid, who, knowing nothing of the former advertisements, came to Falkland, which augmented the former suspicion.

But yet the letters of John Knox made all things to be used more circumspectly; for he did plainly forewarn the earl of Murray, that he espied the earl of Arran to be stricken with a frenzy, and therefore willed not over great credit to be given unto his words and inventions: and, as he advertised, so it came to pass, for within a few days his sickness increased; he talked of wonderous signs that he saw in heaven; he alledged that he was bewitched; he would have been in the queen's bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, he behaved himself so foolishly in all things, that his frenzy could not be hid.

And yet were the earl Bothwel and Mr. Gavin abbot of Kilwinning kept in the castle of St. Andrews, and convened before the council, with the earl of Arran, who ever stood firm, that the earl of Bothwel proposed to him such things as he advertised the queen's majesty of; but stiffly denied, that his father, the said abbot, or his friends, knew any thing thereof, either yet that they intended any violence against him; but alledged, that he was enchanted so to think and write. Whereat the queen, highly offended, committed him to prison, with the other two, first in the castle of St. Andrews, and thereafter caused them to be conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh. James Stuart of Cardonneal, called captain James, was spoke against, for the rigorous treatment that he gave to the said earl in his sickness, being appointed keeper unto him.

To consult upon these accusations, the whole council was assembled at St. Andrews, the 18th of April 1562: in which it was concluded, That, in consideration of the former suspicion, the duke should render to the queen the castle of Dunbarton; the custody whereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawful succession should be seen of the queen's body: but will prevailed against reason and promise, and so was the castle delivered to captain Aulruther, as having power from the queen and council to receive it.

Things ordered in Fife, the queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began much to grow hot, for her friends began to triumph in France: the certainty hereof came to the ears of John Knox; for there were some that then told him from time to time the state of things; and, amongst others, he was assured, that the queen had danced excessively till after midnight, because that she had received letters, that persecution was begun again in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tails, and to trouble the whole realm of France. Upon occasion whereof, from this text, 'And now understand, O ye kings! and be learned, ye judges of the earth,' he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared: the report hereof made unto the queen, the said John Knox was sent for: Mr. Alexander Cockburn, who before had been his scholar, and was very familiar with him, was the messenger who gave him some knowledge, both of the report and of the reporters.

The queen was in her bed-chamber, and with her (besides the ladies and common servants) were the lord James, the earl of Morton, secretary Lethington, and some of the guard that had made the report. He was accused as one that had irreverently spoken of the queen, and had travelled to bring her into the people's hatred and contempt; and that he had exceeded the bounds of his text: and upon these three heads made the queen a long oration. Whereunto the said John answered as followeth: 'Madam, This is oftentimes the just recompence which God gives the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not but that it came to the ears of Herod, that our Master Jesus Christ called him a fox; but they told him not

‘ how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent, as he had lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of an harlot’s daughter. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words, and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please your majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies: but such pleasure (if your majesty takes any in such persons) will turn to your everlasting displeasure: for, madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the Spirit of God, yea of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake.’

And because you have heard their report, please your majesty to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve (it was even upon the next day after that the sermon was made). My text, said he, madam, was this, ‘ And now, O kings! understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.’ After, madam, said he, that I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour whereunto God hath placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God’s lieutenants: I demanded this question, But, oh! alas! what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme Judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? That the complaint of Solomon is this day most true, *viz.* ‘ That violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here in this earth:’ for whilst that murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, What shall we say but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent who are oppressed? And how can it otherwise be? For princes will not understand, they will not be learned, as God commands them: but God’s law they despise, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand: for in fiddling and singing they are more exercised, than in reading and hearing God’s most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt the youth) are more precious in their eyes, than men of wisdom and gravity, who, by wholesome admonitions, may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we all are born, but in princes take

deep root and strength by wicked education. And of dancing, madam, I said, That albeit in Scriptures I found no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad, and in a frenzy, than of sober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided. The *former*, That the principal vocation of those that use that exercise, be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing. *Secondly*, That they dance not as the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God’s people: for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers (and that will be to drink in hell, unless they speedily repent); so shall God turn their mirth into sudden sorrow; for God will not always afflict his people, neither will he always wink at the tyranny of tyrants. If any, madam, said he, will say that I spake more, let him publicly accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them. Many that stood by did bear witness with him, that he had recited the very words that publicly he spake.

The queen looked about to some of the reporters, and said, ‘ Your words are sharp enough, as you have spoken them; but yet they were told me in another manner. I know, said she, that my uncles and you are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, to have no good opinion of them; but if you hear any thing of myself that you dislike, come to myself, and tell me, and I shall hear.’ Madam, said he, I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ, and for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am assured, that their enterprizes shall have no better success than others have had, that before them have done as they do now. But as to your own person, madam, I would be glad to do all that I could to your majesty’s contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my vocation: I am called, madam, to a public function within the church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and sins of all: I am not appointed to come to every man in particular, to shew him his offence, for that labour would be endless: if your majesty pleaseth to frequent the public sermons, then I doubt not but that you shall fully understand both what I like and dislike, as well in your majesty, as in all others: or if your majesty will assign unto me a certain day and hour, when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine

which is proposed in public to the church of this realm, I will most gladly wait upon your majesty's pleasure, time, and place; but to come to wait at your chamber-door, or elsewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my mind in your majesty's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereto God hath called me, suffer it; for albeit at your majesty's commandment I am here now, yet I cannot tell what other men will judge of me, that at this time of the day I am absent from my book, and waiting at the court. You will not always, said she, be at your book, and so turned her back: and the said John departed, with a reasonable merry countenance; wherewith some Papists offended, said, 'He is not afraid;' which heard by him, he answered, 'Why should the pleasant face of a lady fright me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been frightened above measure;' and so left her the queen and the court for that time.

In the mean time the negotiation was great betwixt the queen of England and our sovereign: letters, couriers, and posts, ran frequent: great report there was of the interview and meeting at York, and some preparation was made therefore in both the realms; but that failed upon the part of England, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in France, as was alluded, which caused the queen of England, and the council attend upon the south parts of England, for avoiding of inconveniences.

That summer came there an ambassador from the king of Sweden, requiring marriage of our sovereign to his master the king: his entertainment was honourable; but his petitions were not liked by the queen; for as yet she could not resolve to be wife to the king of Sweden, having been lately queen of France; and yet she refused not one far inferior to a virtuous king.

The earl of Lennox and his wife were committed to the tower of London, for trafficking with Papists: the young laird of Barr was a stickler in that business, and was apprehended with some letters, which was the cause of his and their trouble.

The earl of Murray made a private journey to Hawick, upon the fair-day thereof, and apprehended fifty thieves, of which number were seventeen drowned, others were executed in Jedburgh; the principal were brought to Edinburgh, and there suffered, according to their merits, upon the Burrow-muir.

The queen was not content with the prosperity and success that God gave to the earl of Murray in all his enterprises; for she hated his upright dealing, and the image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time she could not well have been served without him.

The assembly of the church at midsummer, the 24th day of June 1562, approached, in which were many notable heads handled, concerning good order to be kept in the church; for the Papists, and the idolatry of the queen, began to trouble the former good order: some ministers, such as Mr. John Sharp, had left their charges, and entered into other vocations, more profitable for the belly; against whom were acts made, although to this day they have not put them in execution.

The tenor of the Supplication, read in open audience, and approved by the whole assembly, to be presented to the queen's majesty, was this:

To the Queen's Majesty, and the most honourable Privy Council,

The Superintendants and Ministers of the Gospel of Christ Jesus within this Realm, together with the Commissioners of the whole Churches, desire Grace and Peace, from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

HAVING in mind that fearful sentence, pronounced by the Eternal God, against the watchmen, that see the sword of God's punishment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the princes and rulers, that they may repent; we cannot but signify unto your highness, and to your council, That the state of this realm is such for this present, that, unless redress and remedy be shortly provided, God's hand cannot long spare in his anger, to strike the head and the tail; the disobedient prince, and sinful people: for, as God is unchangeable and true, so must he punish, in these our days, the grievous sins which before, we read, he hath punished in all ages, after that he hath long called for repentance, and none is shown. And that your majesty and council may understand what are the things we desire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we know assuredly to be the fountain and spring of all other evils that now abound in this realm, *viz.* That idol and base service of God, the mass, the fountain (we call it) of all impiety; not only because many take boldness to sin, by reason of that opinion which they have conceived of that idol, *viz.* That by virtue of

it they get remission of their sins: but also, because that under this colour of the mafs, are whores, adulterers, drunkards, blasphemers of God, of his holy sacraments, and fuch other manifest malefactors, maintained and defended: for let any mafs-fayer, or earnest maintainer thereof, be deprehended in any of the fore-named crimes, no execution can be had; for all is done in hatred of his religion: and fo are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloaked and defended by that wicked idol. But fupposing that the mafs were the occasion of no fuch evils, yet in itself it is fo odious in God's prefence, that we cannot ceafe with all earnestness to defire the removing of the same, as well from yourself, as from all others within this realm; taking heaven and earth, yea, and your own confcience to record, that the obftinate maintenance of that idol fhall, in the end, be to you destruction of foul and body, if you do not repent.

If your majesty demand, Why we are now more earnest than we have been heretofore? We answer, (our former filence nowife excused), Because we find ourselves frustrated of our hope and expectation; which was, That, in procefs of time, your majesty's heart fhould have been mollified, fo far, as ye would have heard the public doctrine taught within this realm; by the which our farther hope was, That God's Holy Spirit fhould fo have moved your heart, that you would have fuffered your religion (which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity) to be tried by the true touch-stone, the written word of God; and that your majesty, finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the same, fhould have given that glory unto God, that you would have preferred his truth to your own pre-conceived vain opinion, of what antiquity foever it hath been; whereof we in part now discharged, can no longer keep filence, unless we would make ourselves criminal before God of your blood, perishing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admonish you of the danger to come.

The fecond thing that we require, is punishment of horrible vices, fuch as adultery, fornication, open whoredom, blasphemy, contempt of God, of his word and sacraments; which in this realm do even fo abound, that fin is reputed to be no fin. And therefore, as we fee the present signs of God's wrath now manifestly appear, fo do we forewarn, that he will strike ere it be long, if his law, without punishment, be permitted thus manifestly to be contemned. If any object, That punishments cannot be commanded to be executed

without a parliament; we answer, That the eternal God, in his parliament, hath pronounced death to be the punishment of adultery, and for blasphemy; whose act, if ye put not in execution (feeing that kings are but his lieutenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death) as he will repute you, and all others that foster vice, patrons of impiety, fo will he not fail to punish you, for neglecting the execution of his judgments.

Our third request is concerning the poor, who are of three sorts: the poor labourers of the ground; the poor desolate beggars, orphans, widows, and strangers; and the poor ministers of Christ Jesus's holy gospel; who are fo cruelly used by this last pretended order taken for sustentation of ministers, that their latter misery far furmounteth the former; for now the poor labourers of the ground are fo oppressed by the cruelty of those that pay their hire, that they for the most part encroach upon the poor, in whatsoever they pay unto the queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a sustentation to be provided of the tenth, they are fo despised, that it is a wonder that the fun giveth heat and light to the earth, where God's name is fo frequently called upon, and no mercy (according to his commandment) fhown to his creatures. And also for the ministers, their livings are fo appointed, that the most part fhall live but a beggar's life; and all cometh of that impiety, that the idle bellies of Christ's enemies must be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your majesty and honours our confcience, which is this, That neither by the law of God, neither yet by any just law of man, is due unto them, who now most cruelly do exact of the poor and rich the two parts of their benefices, as they call them: and therefore we most humbly require, That some other order may be taken with them, that they be not fet up again to have empire above the people of God; for we fear, that fuch usurpation of their former state will be neither in the end pleasant to themselves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that tyranny. If any think that a competent living is to be assigned to them, we oppose it not, provided that the labourers of the ground be not oppressed, the poor be not utterly neglected, and the ministers of the word fo hardly used, as now they are. And finally, That those idle bellies, who by law can crave nothing, fhall confefs, that they receive their sustentation and maintenance, not of debt, but of benevolence. Our humble request is therefore, That in every parish some part of the tithes may be

assigned to the sustentation and maintenance of the poor within the same; and likewise, that some public relief may be provided for the poor within burghs; that collectors may be appointed to gather; and that strict account may be taken, as well of their receipts, as of their disbursements. The further consideration to be had of our ministers, we in some part remit to your wisdoms, and to their particular complaints.

Our fourth petition is, for the manse-yards and glebes justly appertaining to the ministers, without which it is impossible for them quietly to serve their charges; and therefore we desire that order be taken without delay.

Our fifth, concerns the disobedience of certain wicked persons, who not only trouble, and have troubled ministers in their functions, but also disobey the superintendants in their visitation: whereof we humbly crave remedy; which we do not so much for any fear that we and our ministers have of the Papists, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquillity. For this we cannot hide from your majesty and council, That if the Papists think to triumph where they may, and to do what they list, where there is not a party able to resist them, that some will think, that the godly must begin where they left; who heretofore have borne all things patiently, in hope that the laws should have bridled the wicked; whereof if they be frustrated (albeit that nothing is more odious to them than tumults, and domestic discord), yet will men attempt the uttermost, before that in their own eyes they behold the house of God demolished, which, with travel and danger, God hath within this realm erected by them.

Sixthly, We desire, That such as have received remission of their thirds, be compelled to sustain the ministers within their bounds; or else we forewarn your majesty and council, that we fear that the people shall retain the whole in their hands, until such time as their ministers be sufficiently provided.

Seventhly, We desire the churches to be repaired, according to an act set forth by the lords of the secret council, before your majesty's arrival into this country: that judges be appointed to hear the causes of divorcement; for the church can no longer sustain that burden, because there is no punishment for the offenders: that sayers and hearers of mass, prophaners of the sacraments, such as have entered into benefices by the pope's bulls, and such other transgressors of the law made at your majesty's arrival within this realm, may be

severely punished; otherwise men will think there is no truth meant in making of such laws.

Eighthly, We most humbly desire of your majesty and your honourable council, a positive answer to every one of these heads before-written, that the same being known, we may somewhat satisfy such as are grievously offended at manifest iniquity now maintained; at oppression, under pretext of law, done against the poor; and at the rebellious disobedience of many wicked persons, against God's word, and holy ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, fo rule your hearts, and direct your majesty and council's judgments, by the illumination of his Holy Spirit, that you may answer so, as your offences may be absolved in the presence of that righteous Judge, the Lord Jesus: and then we doubt not but yourselves shall find felicity, and this poor realm, that hath long been oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquillity and rest, with the true knowledge of God.

These things read in public assembly, as is said, were approved of all; and some wished that more sharpness had been used, because that the time fo required. But the minions of the court, and secretary Lethington above others, could not abide such hard speaking; for who ever saw it written to a prince, 'That God would strike the head and the tail: That, if Papists did what they list, men would begin where they left?' but above all others, that was most offensive, that the queen was accused, as that she would raise up Papists and Papistry again; to put that in the people's heads, was no less than treason: yea, oath was made, that she never meant such thing. To whom it was answered, That the prophet Isaiah used such manner of speaking; and there was no doubt but that he was well acquainted in the court; for it was supposed that he was of the king's stock: but howsoever it was, his words make it manifest that he spoke to the court and the courtiers, to judges, ladies, princes, and priests; and yet, saith he, 'The Lord shall cut away the head and the tail,' &c. And so, said the first writer, I find that such a phrase was once used before us; and if this offend you, that we say, 'Men must begin where they left, in case the Papists do as they do,' we would desire you to teach us, not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do, when our ministers are stricken, our superintendants disobeyed, and a plain rebellion decreed against all good order. Complain, said Lethington. To

whom? said the other. To the queen, said he. How long shall we do so? said the other. Till that you get remedy, said the justice-clerk: give me their names, and I shall give you letters. If the sheep, said one, complain to the wolf, that the wolf's whelps have devoured their lambs, the complainer may stand in danger, but the offender, we fear, shall have leave to hunt after his prey. Such comparisons, said Lethington, are very unfavoury; for I am assured, that the queen will neither erect nor maintain Papistry. Let your assurance, said the other, serve yourself, but it cannot assure us: for her manifest proceedings speak the contrary. After such cautious reasoning on both sides, the plurality concluded, That the supplication, as it was conceived, should be presented, unless that the secretary would make one more agreeable to the present necessity: he promised to keep the substance of ours, but he would use other terms, and ask things in a more gentle manner. The first writer answered, That he served the church at their commandment, and was contented, that, in what he dictated, men should use the liberty that best pleased them; provided that he was not compelled to subscribe to the flattery of such, as more regarded the persons of men, than the simple truth of God: and so was this former supplication given to be reformed, as Lethington's wisdom thought best. And in very deed he framed it so, that when it was delivered by the superintendants of Lothian and Fife, and when the queen had read somewhat of it, she said, Here are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are; and so for our painted oratory, we were termed Flatterers and Dissblers; but for that session, the church received no other answer.

Shortly after the convention of the church, chanced that unhappy pursuit, which John Gordon, laird of Finlater, made upon the lord Ogilvie, who was much hurt: the occasion was for certain lands and rights, which old Finlater had resigned to that lord, which he was pursuing at law, and was in appearance obtaining his purpose: whereat the said John and his servants were offended, and therefore made the said pursuit, upon a Saturday night, betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the said lord were either not with him, or else not willing to fight that night; for they took strokes, but gave few that left marks.

The said John was taken and put into the tolbooth, where he remained certain days, and then broke the prison: some judged, at his father's commandment; for he was making preparation for

the queen's coming to the north, as we will after hear.

The interview and meeting of the two queens delayed till the next year, our sovereign resolving to visit the north, departed from Stirling in the month of August. Whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the Papists in the south, and the earl of Huntly and his Papists in the north, or (to speak more plainly) betwixt the queen herself and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm; but the suspicions were wonderful vehement, that there was no good-will borne to the earl of Murray, nor yet to such as depended upon him at that time. The history we shall faithfully declare, and so leave the judgment free to the Readers.

That John Gordon broke the prison, we have already heard, who immediately repaired to his father George earl of Huntly; and understanding the queen's coming, made great provision in Strathbogie, and in other parts, as it were to receive the queen. At Aberdeen the queen and court remained certain days, to deliberate upon the affairs of the country; where some began to smell, that the earl of Huntly was privately gathering men, as hereafter shall be declared.

Whilst things were so working in the north, the earl of Bothwel broke his prison, and came forth of the castle of Edinburgh, the twenty-eight day of August; some say he broke the sashes of the window, others whispered that he got easy passage by the gates: one thing is certain, *viz.* The queen was little offended at his escaping. There passed with him a servant of the captain's, named James Porterfield. The said earl shewed himself not very much afraid, for his common residence was in Lothian. The bishop of St. Andrews, and the abbot of Crofranel, kept secret convention that same time in Paisley, to whom resorted divers Papists; yea, the said bishop spoke to the duke, unto whom also came the lord Gordon from the earl of Huntly, requiring him, To stir his hands in the south, as he should do in the north; and so it should not be Knox's crying and preaching that should stay that purpose. The bishop, be he never so close, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table said, The queen is gone into the north, belike to seek disobedience: she may perchance find the thing she seeks. It was constantly affirmed, That the earl of Bothwel and the said lord Gordon spoke together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

That same year, and at the same time, were appointed commissioners, by the general assembly: to Carrick and Cunningham, Mr. George Hay, who, with great profit, preached the space of a month in all the churches of Carrick; to Kyle, and to the parts of Galloway, was appointed John Knox, who, beside the doctrine of the gospel shewn to the common people, forewarned some of the nobility and barons of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing shortly to follow; and exhorted them to put themselves in such order, as that they might be able to serve the authority, and yet not to suffer the enemies of God's truth to have the upper hand. Whereupon a great part of the barons and gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, professing the true doctrine of the gospel, assembled at Ayr, and, after the exhortation made, and conference had, subscribed this bond; the tenor whereof followeth:

WE whose names are under-written, do promise, in the presence of God, and in the presence of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that we, and every one of us, shall, and will maintain the preaching of his holy gospel, now of his mercy offered and granted unto this realm; and also will maintain the ministers of the same against all persons, power, and authority, that will oppose themselves to the doctrine proposed, and by us received. And further, with the same solemnity, we protest and promise, That every one of us shall assist another, yea, and the whole body of the Protestants within this realm, in all lawful and just occasions, against all persons; so that whosoever shall hurt, molest, or trouble any of our bodies, shall be reputed enemies to the whole, except that the offender will be content to submit himself to the government of the church, now established amongst us. And this we do, as we desire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and accounted worthy of credit and honesty in the presence of the godly. At the burgh of Ayr, the 4th day of September, in the year of God 1562. Subscribed by all these with their hands, as followeth:

The earl Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, Fairfurd, Matthew Campbell of Loawdon knight, Allan lord Cathcart, Caprington elder and younger, Cunningham-head, Rowallan, Waterston, Craigie, Leswarris, Auchenbarvie, Middleton, Mr. Michael Wallace provost of Ayr, with forty more of the honestest burghesses of that town. The master of Boyd, Gathgirth, Bar, Carnel, Dregborn, Hestled, Skeldon, Wolfson, Carstand, Fergusbill, Polquhain,

Stair, Barskyning, Kinzeanleugh, with a hundred more gentlemen of worth. John Dunbar of Blantyre, Carleton, and his brother, Halvrig, Kers, Kirkmichael, Dalrymple, Crofclays, Horleugh, Carbiston, Kelwood, Ternganeth, &c.

These things done at Ayr, the said John passed to Niddisdale and Galloway, where, in conference with the master of Maxwell, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated with him such things as he feared; who, by his motion, wrote to the earl of Bothwell, to behave himself as it became a faithful subject, and to keep quietness in the places committed to his charge, and so would his crime of breaking the ward be more easily pardoned. John Knox wrote unto the duke, and earnestly exhorted him, neither to give ear to the bishop his bastard-brother, nor yet to the persuasions of the earl of Huntly; for, if he did, he assured him, that he and his house should come to sudden ruin. By which means was the south parts kept in reasonable quietness, during the time that the troubles were a-brewing in the north; and yet the bishop and the abbot of Corfrainel did what in them lay to have raised some trouble; for, besides the fearful reports that they spread abroad, sometimes that the queen was taken, sometimes that the earl of Murray and all his were slain, and sometimes that the queen had given herself to the earl of Huntly: besides such reports, the bishop, to break the country of Kyle, where quietness then was greatest, raised the Crawfords against the Reids, for the payment of the bishop's Pasch-fines; but that was pacified by the labour of indifferent men, who favoured peace. The abbot of Corfrainel required disputation of John Knox, for maintenance of the mass, which was granted unto him; and the dispute held in Maybole three days: the abbot had the advantage that he required, *viz.* He took in hand to prove, That Melchizedec offered bread and wine unto God, which was the ground that the mass was built upon to be a sacrifice, &c. But, in the work of three days, there could no proof be produced for Melchizedec's oblation, as in the disputation (which was afterwards printed) clearly may appear. The Papists looked for a revolt, and therefore they would make some brag of reasoning: the abbot further presented himself to the pulpit, but the voice of Mr. George Hay so frightened him, that after once he was wearied of that exercise.

After that the queen was somewhat satisfied of hunting, and other pastimes, she came to Aber-

deen, where the earl of Huntly met her, and his lady, with no small train, who remained in court, and was supposed to have the greatest credit; departed with the queen to Buchan, met her again at Rothemay, looking that she should have passed with him to Strathbogie: but in the journey certain word came to her, that John Gordon had broken promise, in not re-entering in ward; for his father the earl had promised, that he should enter again within the castle of Stirling, and there abide the queen's pleasure: but whether with his father's knowledge and consent, or without the same, we know not; but he refused to enter; which so offended the queen, that she would not go to Strathbogie, but passed through Strathlaw to Inverness, where the castle thereof was denied unto her: the captain was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief; for so had John Gordon promised: but being thereof frustrated, the castle was rendered, and the captain, called Gordon, was executed upon the place; the rest were condemned, and the hands of some bound, but escaped.

This was the beginning of further trouble; for the earl of Huntly thereat offended, began to assemble his folks, and threatened that he would be revenged: but always his wife bore a fair countenance to the queen; and it is verily supposed, that no other harm than the queen herself could easily have stood content with, was meant unto her own person. But the whole matter lay upon the earl of Murray, secretary Lethington, and the laird of Pittarro; yet the queen began to be afraid, and, by proclamation, caused to warn Stirlingshire, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, charging all substantial men, to be in Aberdeen the fifth day of October, there to remain the space of twenty days. In her return from Inverness, she required the castle of Finlater, which was likewise denied, and so was Auchindown, which more enraged the queen. The earl of Huntly was charged to deliver the said house, under pain of treason: to shew some obedience, he caused the keys of both to be presented by his servant Mr. Thomas Keir: but before had the queen sent young captain Stuart, son to James (who was neither stout, happy, nor true), with six score of soldiers, to lie about the place of Finlater: they lodged in Cullen, not far distant from the said place. But upon a night, John Gordon came with a company of horsemen, took the captain, slew several of the soldiers, and disarmed the rest.

This fact done, as the queen alledged, under trust, so inflamed her, that all hope of reconcilia-

tion was past; and so the earl of Huntly was charged, under the pain of putting him to the horn, to present himself and the said John before the queen and council within six days; which charge he disobeyed, and so was denounced a rebel. Whether it was law or not, we dispute little thereof; but it was a preparative to others, that after were served with the same measure: he was fought at his place of Strathbogie, but escaped. The evil increased; for the earl assembled his folks out of all parts of the north: he marched forwards towards Aberdeen, and, upon the 22d of October 1562, came to the loch of Skene.

His army was judged to be seven or eight hundred men; the queen's army, both in number and manhood, far surmounting his: and yet he took no fear; for he was assured of the most part of them which were with the queen, as the issue did witness. Within the town they stood in great fear, and therefore it was concluded, that they should essay the uttermost upon the fields. The Forbeses, Hays, and Leslies, took the van-guard, and promised to fight with the said earl, without any other help. They passed forth of the town before ten o'clock in the morning; they put themselves in array, but they approached not the enemy, till that the earl of Murray and his company were come to the fields, and that was after two in the afternoon; for he was appointed with his company only to have beheld the battle: but all things turned out otherwise than the most part of men supposed.

The earl of Huntly was, the night before, determined to have retired himself and his company; but that morning he could not be awaked before it was ten o'clock; and when he was upon his feet, his spirits failed him, by reason of his corpulency; so that for a long time he could do nothing rightly. Some of his friends, fearing the danger, left him. When he looked upon both the companies, he said, 'This great company, that approacheth nearest to us, will do us no harm; they are our friends: I only fear that small company that stands on the hill-side; they are our enemies: but we are enough for them, if God be with us.' And when he had thus spoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his prayer in this form:

O Lord! I have been a blood-thirsty man, and by my means hath much innocent blood been spilt: but wilt thou give me victory this day, and I shall serve thee all the days of my life.

Note and observe, good Reader, he confessed that he had been a blood-thirsty man, and that he had been the cause of the shedding of much innocent blood, but yet he would have had victory; and what was that else, but to have had power to have shed more? and then would he have satisfied God for altogether: wherein is expressed the nature of hypocrites, who neither fear nor love God further than present danger or profit persuadeth. But to our history.

The Lillies, Hays, and Forbeses, espying the earl of Murray and his to have lighted upon their feet, came forward against the earl of Huntly and his, who stood in Correthieburn (some call it Parabank); but ere they approached near the space of the shot of an arrow, they cast from them their spears and long weapons, and fled directly in the face of the earl of Murray and his company: the danger espied, the Lord of Pittarro (a man both stout, and of a ready wit), with the master, after lord Lindsay, and tutor of Pitcur, said, ‘Let us cast down spears to the fore-
‘ most, and let them not come in amongst us; for
‘ there is no doubt but this flying is but treache-
‘ ry?’ and so they did; so that they that fled kept themselves apart from the small number that were mauling upon foot in order. The earl of Huntly seeing the van-guard fly, said unto his company,
‘ Our friends are honest men, they have kept
‘ promise; let us now encounter the rest:’ and so he and his, as sure of victory, marched forward. The secretary, in few words, made an earnest prayer; and willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude: and, in the end, concluded thus; ‘O Lord! thou that rulest the heavens and
‘ the earth, look upon thy servants, whose blood
‘ this day is most unjustly fought, and, to man’s
‘ judgment, are sold and betrayed. Our refuge is
‘ now unto thee, and our hope is in thee: judge
‘ thou, O Lord! this day betwixt us and the earl
‘ of Huntly, and the rest of our enemies; if ever
‘ we have unjustly fought his or their destruction
‘ and blood, let us fall by the sword. And, O
‘ Lord! as thou knowest our innocence, maintain
‘ thou and preserve us, for thy great mercies sake.’

Shortly after the speaking of these and the like words, the former ranks joined; for Huntly’s company made great haste: they were repuled by the master of Lindsay, and the companies of Lile and Angus: some of them that had fled, returned, and followed the earl of Murray, but gave no stroke, till that Huntly’s company gave back. In

the front there were slain about eighteen, or twenty-four men; and in the flying there fell near an hundred. There were taken an hundred, and the rest were spared: the earl himself was taken alive; his two sons, John aforesaid, and Adam Gordon, were taken with him. The earl, immediately after being taken, departed this life without any wound, or yet appearance of any stroke, whereof death might have ensued; and because it was late, he was cast upon a pair of creels, and so was carried to Aberdeen, and laid in the tolbooth thereof, that the answer which his wife’s witches had given might be fulfilled; who all affirmed (as the most part say), that same night he should be in the town of Aberdeen, without any wound upon his body. When his lady got knowledge thereof, she blamed her principal witch, called Janet; but she stoutly defended herself (as the devil can do), and affirmed, that she gave a true answer, albeit she spake not all the truth; for she knew that he should be there dead; but that could not profit my lady. She was angry and sorry for a season; but the devil, the maids, and witches, had great credit with her.

The earl of Murray sent a message unto the queen, of the marvellous victory; and humbly prayed her to shew that obedience to God, as publicly to convene with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She frowned both at the message and at the request, and scarcely would give a good word, or show a blithe and merry countenance to any that she knew earnest favourers of the earl of Murray, whose prosperity was very venom to her boldened heart: for many days she bore no better countenance; wherby it might have been easily espied, that she rejoiced not greatly for the success of that matter: and albeit she caused to execute John Gordon, and divers others, yet it was the destruction of others that she fought.

Upon the day after the discomfiture, the lady Forbes, a woman both wise and fearing God, came, amongst many others, to visit the corpse of the said earl; and seeing him lying upon the cold stones, having only upon him a doublet of canvas, a pair of Scots gray hose, and covered with an arras work, she said, ‘What stability shall we judge
‘ to be in this world? There lieth he that yester-
‘ day, in the morning, was esteemed the wisest,
‘ the richest, and a man of the greatest power that
‘ was within Scotland.’ And in very deed she lied not; for, in man’s opinion, under a prince, there was not such a one these three hundred years

in this realm produced: but felicity and worldly wisdom so blinded him, that in the end he perished in them, as shall all those that despise God, and trust in themselves.

John Gordon, at his death, confessed many horrible things, devised by his father, by his brother, and by himself. There were letters found in the earl's pocket, that disclosed the treason of the earl of Sutherland, and of divers others. Mr. Thomas Keir, who before was the counsellor of the said earl, disclosed whatsoever he understood might hurt the Gordons and their friends, and so was the treason plainly disclosed; which was, that the earl of Murray, with certain others, should have been murdered in Strathbogie; the queen should have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the said earl of Huntly. These things, we say, revealed, the queen left the north, and came to Dundee, St. Johnston, Stirling, and then to Edinburgh: the earl of Huntly's body was carried about in a boat, and laid without burial in the abbey of Holyrood-house, till the day of his forfeiture, as after shall be declared. The duke apprehended the lord Gordon, his son-in-law, because that the queen had strictly commanded him so to do, if he repaired within his bounds. Before he delivered him, the earl of Murray laboured, at the queen's hands, for the safety of his life, which hardly was granted; and so was he delivered within the castle of Edinburgh, the twenty-eight day of November 1562, where he remained till the eight of February, when he was put to an assize, accused and convicted of treason; but was restored again, first to the castle aforesaid, and afterwards was transported to Dunbar, where he remained prisoner till the month of August, in the year of God 1565, as we will after hear.

In the mean time the troubles were hot in France, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two queens was great; Lethington was directed with large commission, both to the queen of England, and to the Guisians.

The marriage of our queen was in all mens mouths; some would have the Infant of Spain, some the Emperor's brother, some lord Robert Dudley, some duke Denemours, and some truly guessed at the lord Darnley.

What Lethington's credit was, we know not; but shortly after there began much to be talked of the earl of Lennox, and of his son the lord Darnley. It was said, That Lethington spoke to the lady Margaret Douglas; and that Robert Melvil received a horse for the secretary's use, from the

earl of Lennox, or from his wife. However it was, Mr. Fouiler, servant to the said earl, came with letters to the queen, by which licence was permitted to the earl of Lennox to come to Scotland, to travel in his lawful business. That same day the queen's licence was granted, the secretary said, 'This day I have taken upon me the deadly hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and have done unto them no less displeasure than if I had cut their throats.' The earl Bothwell, who before had broken ward, fearing apprehension or taking, prepared to pass to France; but by a storm was driven into England, where he was staid, and was offered to have been rendered by the queen of England: but our queen's answer was, 'That he was no rebel, and therefore she requested, that he should have liberty to pass whether he pleased.' And thereto Lethington helped not a little, for he travelled to have friends in every faction of the court; and so obtained the said earl licence to pass to France.

The winter after the death of the earl of Huntly, the court remained for the most part at Edinburgh. The preachers were wonderous vehement in reprehension of all manner of vice, which then began to abound; and especially avarice, oppression of the poor, excess, riotous cheer, banqueting, immoderate dancing, and whoredom, that thereof ensues. Whereat the courtiers began to storm and to pick quarrels against the preachers, alledging, that all their preaching was turned to railing: whereunto one of them gave answer as followeth; It comes to our ears, that we are called railers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not ashamed, seeing that the most worthy servants of God, that before us have travelled in this vocation, have so been styled: but unto you do I say, That the same God, who from the beginning hath punished the contempt of his word, and hath poured forth his vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you; yea, he shall not spare you before the eyes of this same wicked generation, for the pleasure whereof ye despise all wholesome admonition: have you not seen greater than any of you sitting where presently you sit, pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices, were rebuked? Was not this his common talk? When these knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace. Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face, That God should revenge that his blasphemy, even in the eyes of such as were witnesses to his iniquity?

Then was the earl of Huntly accused by you, as the maintainer of idolatry, and only hinderer of all good order; him hath God punished, even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his judgments: but what amendment can be espied in you? idolatry was never in greater quiet; virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt; vice was never more bold, nor punishment less feared. And yet, who guides the queen and court? Who but the Protestants. O horrible slanderers of God, and of his holy gospel! Better it were unto you plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, than thus to expose his blessed gospel to mockery: if God punisheth not you, that this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the Spirit of righteous judgment guides me not.

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not only of the courtiers, but also of divers others, against the speaker, who was John Knox; for such as are in credit never want flatterers. 'Their brethren of the court were irreverently handled.' What was that but to raise the hearts of the people against them? They did what they could: such speaking would cause them to do less. And this was the fruit that the preachers gathered of their just reprehensions.

The general assembly of the church, held on the 25th of December 1562, approached, in which great complaints were made, that churches wanted ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends; that wicked men were permitted to be school-masters, and so to infect the youth: among whom one Mr. Robert Cuming, school-master in Aberbrothwick, was complained against by the laird of Dun, and sentence pronounced against him. It was further complained, That idolatry was erected in divers parts of the realm: for redress whereof, some thought best, that a new supplication should be presented to the queen; others demanded, what answer was received of the former? The superintendent of Lothian confessed the delivery of it; but, said he, I received no answer. It was answered for the part of the queen (for her supposits were ever there), That it was well known to the whole realm what troubles had occurred since the last assembly; and therefore, that they should not wonder, albeit that the queen had not answered; but betwixt that and the parliament, which was appointed to be in May, they doubted not but such order should be taken, as all men should have occasion to be contented with. This satisfied, for that time, the whole assembly. And this was

the practice of the queen and her council, with fair words, to put off time, as before we have said.

The assembly notwithstanding proceeded forward in establishing of such order, as vice might be punished, and virtue might be maintained. And because there was a great slander risen upon Paul Messian, of whom mention is made in the Second Book of the History, commission and charge was given unto John Knox minister of Edinburgh, and unto certain of the elders of the church of Edinburgh, to pass to the town of Jedburgh, where the slander was raised, and to be found: the third of January next, was the trial to be taken of the slander raised, and to hear the articles and complaint of the said Paul; and, after the trial, to report the truth to the session of the church of Edinburgh, to whom, with the assistance of the superintendent of Lothian, commission was given to discern therein. The trial and examination of that crime was difficult; the slander was universal in that town and country: the servant-woman of the said Paul had, betwixt that and Christmas, left his house, and born a child: no father to it could she find; but alledged herself to have been oppressed late in an evening. The said Paul constantly affirmed himself innocent, and would have given his public purgation; but because his accusers had taken on them to prove their accusation, that was denied. Many witnesses were produced, of whom some deposed so clearly, that the commissioners suspected that they had been suborned; and therefore they required to have inspection of the place where some said they saw, and some said they heard them, in the very act of iniquity. The fight and consideration of the place augmented greatly the suspicion: but one thing was most suspicious of all other, for the wife of the said Paul, an ancient matron, was absent from him the space of eight or nine weeks in Dundee; which time, or at least a great part thereof, the suspected woman and he lay nightly in one house, without other company than a child of six or seven years of age. The judges, notwithstanding these suspicious, having a good opinion of the honesty and godliness of the man, travelled what they could, conscience not hurt, to purge him of the slander: but God, who would not that such a villainy should be cloaked and concealed within his kirk, otherwise had decreed; for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the town, having no mind of such matters, who being produced by the accusers, as one that was privy to the fact, and knew the verity of

all circumstances; his witness, we say, which could not be suspected, being produced, made the matter so plain and clear, that all suspicion was removed: for he it was that conveyed the woman away; he it was that caused the child to be baptized, alledging it to be his own; he it was that carried frequent messages betwixt them, and from Paul carried money and clothes several times. How soon soever the said Paul saw that man produced as witness, he withdrew himself, and left the town, by that means plainly taking upon him the crime; and so the commissioners, with full information, returned to Dundee, and notified the same unto the kirk, who caused publicly to summon the said Paul, to hear the sentence pronounced; who not appearing, in the end, for his odious crime and contumacy, was publicly excommunicated, and was deprived of all functions within the kirk of Scotland, and so left the realm.

For two causes we insert this horrible fact, and the order kept in punishing the same: the former, to forewarn such as travel in that vocation, that, according to the admonition of the apostles, ‘Such as stand, take heed lest they fall.’ No man, in the beginning of the gospel, was judged more fervent and more upright, and yet we have heard how far Satan prevailed against him; God grant that we may hear of his repentance. Neither yet should this fall do any thing to prejudge the authority of the doctrine which he taught; for the doctrine of God hath its authority of no creature, but hath the assurance of God himself, how weak or imperfect soever the instruments be, by whom it pleaseth God to publish the same. The treason of Judas, the adultery of David, and denial of Peter, did derogate nothing from the glory of Christ’s gospel, nor yet the doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a reprobate, and the other to be instruments in whom mercy must surmount judgment. The other cause is, that the world may see what difference there is betwixt the uprightness of the kirk of God, and the corruption that reigns in the synagogue of Satan, the Papistical rabble; for how many of that sort have been, and still remain, openly known whoremongers, adulterers, violators of virgins, yea, and committers of such abominations as we will not name? and yet are they called and permitted to be bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes themselves: for what sins can disqualify the sworn servants of simony, and of their father the devil? for brag what they will of Christ, of Peter, and of Paul, their lives and conversation bear witness to

whom they belong. But we return to our history, of things done in court.

Amongst the minions of the court, there was one named monsieur Chattelet, a Frenchman, who at that time passed all others in credit with the queen, in dancing of the Purpouse; so term they that dance, in which man and woman talk secretly: wise men would judge such fashions not agreeable to the gravity of honest women. In this dance the queen chose Chattelet, and Chattelet took the queen, for he had the best dress. All this winter Chattelet was so familiar with the queen, that the nobility, being by this means stopped from having so free access as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended. At length Chattelet conveyed himself privately under the queen’s bed; but being espied, was commanded away: the report arising, the queen called the earl of Murray, and bursting forth into a womanly affection, charged him, ‘That, as he loved her, he should slay Chattelet, and let him never speak a word.’ The other, at the first, made promise so to do; but after calling to mind the judgment of God, pronounced against the shedders of innocent blood, and also that none should die without the testimony of two or three witnesses, returned, and fell upon his knees before the queen, and said, ‘Madam, I beseech your majesty, cause me not to take the blood of this man upon me; your majesty hath used him so familiarly before, that you have offended all your nobility; and now if he shall be secretly slain at your own commandment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of justice, and let him suffer by law, according to his deserving.’ Oh! said the queen, you shall not let him speak. I shall do, said he, madam, what in me lieth, to give your majesty content.

Poor Chattelet was brought back from Kinghorn to St. Andrews, examined, put to an alliance, and so beheaded the 22d day of February, anno 1562. He begged licence to write to France the cause of his death, which, said he, in his tongue was, *Pour estre trouvé en lieu trop suspect*; that is, ‘Because I was found in a place too much suspected.’ At the place of execution, when he saw that there was no remedy but death, he made a godly confession; and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was justly repaid unto him: but, in the end, he concluded, looking unto the heavens, with these words, ‘O cruel dame!’ What that complaint imported, I leave it to conjecture. And

fo received Chattelet the reward of his dancing; for he lost his head, that his tongue should not utter the secrets of our queen. ' Deliver us, O Lord! ' from the rage of so inordinate a court.'

The year of God 1563, there was an universal dearth in Scotland; but in the north, where (the harvest before) the queen had been, there was a great famine, of which many died in that country: the wheat, the bear or barley, the meal, the oats, beef, mutton, &c. were exceedingly dear and scarce; yea, all things appertaining to the sustentation of man, three times, and more, exceeded their accustomed prices. And so did God, according to the threatening of the law, punish the idolatry of our wicked rulers, and our ingratitude, that suffered them to defile the land with that abomination again, that God so potently had purged by the power of his word: for the vicious feasting and excessive banqueting used in city and country, wherefoever the profane court repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth. But, alas! who looked to the true cause of our calamity?

Lethington was absent, as before we have heard, in the queen's affairs: The Papists at that Pasch, *annz* 1563, in divers parts of the realm, had erected that idol the mass; amongst whom the bishop of St. Andrews, the prior of Quhithorn, with divers others of that faction, would avow it. Besides the first proclamation, there had letters past in the contrary, with certification of death to the contravener.

The brethren universally offended, and espying that the queen by proclamation did but delude them, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish for example of others; and so some priests in the weil country were apprehended: intimation made unto others, as to the abbot of Colraguel, the parson of Sanquhair, and such, that they should neither complain to the queen nor council, but should execute the punishment that God hath appointed to idolaters in his law, by such means as they might, where-ever they should be apprehended.

The queen stormed at such freedom of speaking, but she could not amend it; for the Spirit of God, of boldness, and of wisdom, had not left the most part of such as God had made instruments in the beginning: they were of one mind to maintain the truth, and to suppress idolatry. Particularities had not divided them; and therefore could not the devil, working in the court, and in Papists,

do then what they would: and therefore the court began to invent a new craft. The queen sent for John Knox, when she lay at Lochleven: she dealt with him earnestly two hours before supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the west, not to put hand to punish men for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them. The other perceiving her craft, willed her majesty to punish malefactors according to the laws, and he durit promise quietness upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland; but if her majesty thought to elude the laws, he said, He feared some would let the Papists understand, that without punishment they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's majesty. Will ye, said she, allow, that they shall take my sword in their hand?

The sword of justice, said he, madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for one end; which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked, and oppressing the innocent, they that, in the fear of God, execute judgment, where God hath commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not; neither yet sin they, that bridle kings from striking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, albeit that king Ahab was present: Phinchas was no magistrate, and yet feared he not to strike Zimri and Cozbi, in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your majesty may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished, the vice and crimes that God commands to be punished: for power, by act of parliament, is given to all judges within their own bounds, to search the mass-mongers, or hearers of the same, and to punish them according to the law: and therefore it shall be profitable to your majesty to consider, what is the thing your majesty's subjects look to receive of your majesty, and what it is you ought to do unto them, by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God; ye are bound to keep laws unto them: ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against evil doers. Now, madam, if ye shall deny your duty unto them, who especially crave, that ye punish malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye shall not. Herewith she, being somewhat offended, past to her supper.

The said John left her, and informed the earl of Murray of the whole reasoning, and so departed, of final purpose to have returned to Edinburgh, without any further communication with the queen; but next day, before sun-rising, were two directed (Walter Melvil was one) to him, commanding him not to depart till he had spoken with the queen's majesty; which he did, meeting her at the hawking, west of Kierros. Whether it was the night's sleep, or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast, that made her to forget the former anger, wife men may doubt: but thereof the never said a word, but spoke of divers other purposes; such as the offering of a ring to her by the lord Ruthven, whom, she said, I cannot love, for I know him to use enchantment; and yet he is one of my privy council. Whom blameth your majesty, said the other, thereof? Lethington, said she, was the whole cause. That man is absent for this present, said he, madam, and therefore I will speak nothing in that behalf.

I understand, said the queen, that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a superintendant, to be established in those countries. Yes, said he, those quarters have great need, and some of the gentlemen so require. But I hear, said she, that the bishop of Caithness would be superintendant. He is one, said the other, madam, that is put in election. If ye knew him, said she, as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk. What he hath been, said he, madam, I never knew, nor yet will I enquire; for, in time of darkness, what could we do but grope and go wrong, even as darkness carried us? but if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me: and yet, said he, madam, I am assured, God will not suffer his church to be so far deceived, as that an unworthy man shall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon, to decide betwixt the two. Well, said she, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man. Therein was not the queen deceived; for he had corrupted the most part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but also to elect him: which perceived by the said John, commissioner, he delayed the election, and left it with the master of Maxwell. Mr. Robert Pont was put in election (with the foresaid bishop), to the end that his doctrine and conversation might be the better tried of those that had not known him before; and so was this bishop frustrated of his purpose for that time;

and yet was he at that time the man that was most familiar with the said John, in his house, and at table.

But now to the former conference: when the queen had long talked with John Knox, and he being oft willing to take his leave, she said, I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this realm, to open unto you, and I must have your help in it. She began to make a long discourse of her sister, the lady Argyle, how that she was not so circumspèct in all things as she wished her to be; and yet, said she, my lord, her husband, whom I love, useth her not in many things so honestly, and so godly, as I think ye yourself would require. Madam, said he, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put such an end to it (and that was before your majesty's arrival), that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content; and the herself promised before her friends, that she would never complain to any creature, till that I should first understand the controversy by her own mouth, or else by an assured messenger: I now have heard nothing on her part, and therefore I think there is nothing but concord. Well, said the queen, it is worse than ye believe; but do this much for my sake, as once again to bring them into unity; and if she behave not herself so as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me; but in any wise, said she, let my lord know, that I have requested you in this matter; for I would be very sorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now, said she, as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required; I shall cause to summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice. I am assured then, said he, that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which, to your majesty, is more profitable than all the pope's power can be. And thus they departed.

This conference we have inserted, to let the world see how deeply Mary queen of Scotland can dissemble, and how that she could cause men to think that she bare no indignation for any controversy in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and destruction, as shortly after did appear. John Knox departed, and prepared himself for his appointed journey to Dumfries. And from Glasgow, according to the queen's commandment, he wrote this Letter to the earl of Argyle; the tenor whercof follows:

The Lord cometh, and shall not tarry.

MY LORD,

AFTER commendation of my service unto your lordship: if I had known of your lordship's sudden departing, the last time it chanced me to see and speak with you, I had opened unto you some of my grief; but supposing that your lordship should have remained still with the queen, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that, which now my conscience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour towards your wife is very offensive unto many godly; her complaint is grievous, that ye altogether withdraw your conversation from her: if so, ye have great need to look well to your own state; for albeit that ye, within yourself, felt no more repugnancy, than any flesh this day on the earth, yet, by promise made before God, are ye debtor unto her in all due benevolence; but if that ye burn on the one side, albeit ye do no worse, and sile in your default on the other, ye are not only mansworn before God, but also doth what in you lieth, to kindle against yourself his wrath and heavy displeasure. The words are sharp; and, God is witness, in dolour of heart I write them: but because they are true, and pronounced by God himself, I dare not but admonish you, perceiving you as it were sleeping in sin. The proud stubbornness, whereof your lordship oft complained, will nothing excuse you before God; for if ye be not able to convict her of any crime, ye ought to bear with her imperfections, as that ye would she should bear with you likewise. In the bowels of Christ Jesus, I exhort you, my lord, to have respect for your own salvation, and not to abuse the lenity and long-suffering of God; for that is a fearful treasure that ye heap up upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and ye obstinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that ye abtract your comfort and company from your lawful wife. I write nothing in defence of her misbehaviour towards your lordship in any sort; but, I say, if ye be not able to convict her of any crime committed since your last reconciliation, which was in my presence, that ye can never be excused before God, of this rude and strange usage of your wife. And if by you such impiety be committed, as is reported, then, before God, and unto your own conscience, I say, That every moment of that filthy pleasure shall turn to you into a year's displeasure; yea, it shall be the occasion and cause of everlasting damnation, unless

speedily ye repent; and repent ye cannot, except ye desist from that impiety. Call to mind, my lord, that the servant knowing his master's will, and doing the contrary, shall be plagued with many plagues. Sin, my lord, is sweet in drinking; but in digesting, more bitter than the gall. The Eternal move your heart earnestly to consider, how fearful a thing it is, ever to have God to be enemy. In the end, I pray your lordship not to be absent from Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, for such causes as I will not write. This much only I warn your lordship, that it will not be profitable for the common quietness of this realm, that the Papists brag, and justice be mocked that day. And thus I cease further to trouble your lordship, whom God assist.

In haste, from Glasgow, the
7th of May 1563.

*Your lordship's to command in godliness,
Sic subscribitur,*

JOHN KNOX.

This letter was not well accepted of the said earl, and yet did he utter no part of his displeasure in public; but contrarily, shewed himself most familiar with the said John Knox: he kept the diet, and sat in judgment himself, where the bishop and the rest of the Papists were accused, as after follows.

The summonses were directed against the mass-mongers with expedition, in the strictest form. The day was appointed, the 19th of May, a day only before the parliament. Of the pope's knights compeared, the bishop of St. Andrews, the prior of Quhithorn, the parson of Sanquhair, William Hamilton of Cambuskenneth, John Gordon of Barfkuch, with divers others. The Protestants convened to crave for justice. The queen asked counsel of the bishop of Ross, and of the old laird of Lethington (for the younger was absent, and so the Protestants had fewer friends), who affirmed, that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience; and so were preparations made for their accusations. The bishop, and his band of the exempted fort, made it nice to enter before the earl of Argyle, who sat in judgment; but at last he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man (who now sleeps in the Lord), Robert Norwell, instead of the bishop's cross, bore before him a steel hammer; whereat the bishop and his band were not a little offended, because the bishop's privileges were not then current in Scot-

land (which day God grant our posterity may see of longer continuance than we possessed it). The bishop and his fellows, after much ado, and long delay, came in the queen's will, and were committed to ward, some to one place, and some to another: the lady Erikine got the bishops for her part. All this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the Protestants, that they should not press the queen with any other thing concerning the matters of religion.

At that parliament, which began within two days thereafter, she obtained of the Protestants whatsoever she desired; for this was the reason of many, We see what the queen hath done, the like of this was never heard of within this realm; we will bear with the queen, we doubt not but all shall be well. Others were of contrary judgment, and foretold things which after came to pass; *viz.* that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the queen, as soon as ever the parliament was past, should set the Papists at freedom; and therefore willed the nobility not to be abused. But because many had their private business to be handled at that parliament, the common cause was the less regarded.

The earl of Huntly, whose corpse had been unburied till the time it was brought to the tolbooth, was accused, and his arms rent off; himself, the earl of Sutherland, and eleven barons and earls, bearing the surname of Gordon, were that day forfeited. The lady Huntly craftily protested, and asked the support of a man of law, or counsellor.

Such pride of women, as was seen at that parliament, was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the queen rode to the tolbooth: the first day she made a painted oration; and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, *Vox Diana*, The voice of a goddess (for it could not be *Dei*), and not of a woman. God save that sweet face. Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly? &c.

These things were disliked by the preachers: they spake boldly against the superfluities of their clothes, and against the rest of their vanity, which, they affirmed, should provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm; and especially against those that maintained them, in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented, for order to be taken for apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was winked at.

The earldom of Murray needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified, that concerned the help of friends and servants, and therefore they might not urge the queen; for if they did so, she would hold no parliament: and what then should become of them that had meddled with the slaughter of the earl of Huntly? Let that parliament pass over, and when the queen shall ask any thing of the nobility, as she must do, before her marriage, then shall religion be the first thing that shall be established. It was answered, That the poets and painters erred not altogether, that feigned and painted Occasion with a bald hind-head; for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered again. The matter was so warmly disputed betwixt the earl of Murray, and some others of the court, and John Knox, that familiarly, after that time, they spake not together for 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. He made unto him a discourse of their first acquaintance; in what estate he was, when that first they spoke together in London; how God had promoted him, and that above man's judgment; and, in the end, made this conclusion, But seeing that I perceive myself frustrated of my expectation, which was, that ye should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your own commodity, I commit you to your wit, and to the conducting of those who can better please you. I praise my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credit and authority with your sovereign. If so ye long continue, none shall be more glad than I shall be; but if after this ye decay, as I fear ye shall, then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was, neither by bearing with impiety, neither yet by maintaining of pestilent Papists.

This letter and discharge was so pleasing to the flatterers of the said earl, that they triumphed in it, and were glad to have occasioned it; for some envied, that so great familiarity was betwixt them: and therefore, from the time they got once that occasion to separate, they ceased not to cast oil into the burning flame; which ceased not to burn, till that God, by water of affliction, began to extinguish it, as we shall after hear. But lest that they should altogether have been seen to have forsaken God (as, in very deed, both God and his word were very far from the hearts of the most part of the courtiers of that age, a few excepted), they began a new shift, *viz.* to speak of the

punishment of adultery, of witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of glebes and manes to the ministers of the church, and of the reparation of the churches; and thereby they thought to have pleased the godly, that were highly offended at their slackness.

The act of oblivion passed, because some of the lords had interest; but the acts against adultery, and for the manes and glebes, were so modified, that no law, and such a law, might stand *in eodem predicamento*. To speak plainly, no law, and such acts, were both alike: the acts are in print; let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the parliament was dissolved, John Knox in his sermon, before the most part of the nobility, began to enter into a deep discourse of God's mercies which that realm had felt, and of that ingratitude which he espied almost in the whole multitude, which God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. And now, my lords, said he, I praise my God through Jesus Christ, that, in your own presence, I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witnesses, if I make any lie in things by-past, from the beginning of God's mighty works within this realm. I have been with you in your most desperate temptations: ask your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if that I (not I, but God's Spirit by me), in your greatest extremity, willed you not, ever to depend upon your God, and, in his name, promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies; so that only ye would depend upon his protection, and prefer his glory before your lives, and worldly commodity. In your most extreme danger I have been with you: St. Johnston, Coupar-muir, and the charges of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all you, my lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; and God forbid that ever I forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation unto you; and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom death and destruction was threatened, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as you please? The queen says, 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, you are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises: but I can see nothing but such a recoiling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christ's ensign, holdeth himself most happy; yea, I hear some say, that we have nothing of our religion established, neither by law nor parliament. Albeit the malicious words of such, can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker of this treason, committed against God and this poor commonwealth, deserves the gallows; for our religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received within this realm in public parliament: and if they will say, that it was no parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, that that parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it in this realm. I say, If the king then living was king, and the queen now in this realm be lawful queen, that parliament cannot be denied.

And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings, strive all for the best gain: but this, my lords, will I say (note the day, and bear witness after), Whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent, that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do, so far as in you lieth, banish Christ Jesus from this realm: yea, you bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your sovereign.

These words, and this manner of speaking, was judged intolerable: Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiar acquaintance disdained him for that speaking. Placeboes and flatterers posted to the court, to give advertisement, that John Knox had spoken against the queen's marriage. The provost of Glencludan, Douglas by surname, of Drumlanerk, was the man that gave the charge, that the said John should present himself before the queen; which he did immediately after dinner. The lord Ochiltree, and divers of the faithful, bare him company to the abbey; but none past with him into the cabinet to the queen, but John Erskine of Dun, then superintendent of Angus and Mearns.

The queen, in a vehement rage, began to cry out, That never prince was used 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 fought 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 scarce could Marnock, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and weeping staid her speech. The said John did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunity answered, True it is, madam, your majesty and I have had divers controversies, and I never perceived your majesty to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error, wherein ye have been nourished, for the want 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 shew the truth in plain words. I grant your majesty 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 gospel of Jesus Christ, to such as please to hear: it hath two points, *repentance* and *faith*. Now, madam, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is, that the sins of men be 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 becometh me to speak, that they may know their duty.

What have you to do, said she, with my marriage? Or what are you in this commonwealth?

A subject born within the same, said he, madam, and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject so ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and useful member within the same; yea, madam, to me it appertaineth, no less to forwarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility; for both my vocation and office craveth plainness of me; and therefore, madam, to yourself I say, that which I spake in pub-

lic, Whensoever the nobility of this realm shall consent, that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.

At these words complaining 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, was present, and did what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words, of her beauty, of her excellency; and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favour. But all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire. The said John stood still, without any alteration of countenance, for a long time, till the queen gave place to her 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 well abide the tears of mine own boys, when my hands correct them, much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping: but seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the commonwealth, by silence. Herewith was the queen more offended, and commanded the said John to go out of the cabinet, and wait her further 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 he began to discourse with the ladies, who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel: which when he espied, he merrily said, Fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide; and then in the end, that we might pass to heaven with this gear? But fy upon that knave Death, who will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones. And by such discourse entertained he the ladies, and past the time, till that the laird of Dun desired him to go to his house, till new advertisement.

The queen would have had the opinion of the lord, of the article, if that such manner of speaking deserved not punishment. But she was compelled to desist, and for that storm was quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Shortly after the parliament, Leithington returned from his negotiation in England and France. God, in the February before, had struck a that bloody tyrant the duke of Guise, which gave what broke the heart of our queen for a season: but shortly after the returning of Leithington, pride and malice began to rise themselves again. The queen let at liberty the bishop of St. Andrews, and the rest of the Papists, who before were put in prison for violating of the laws.

Leithington, at his returning, showed himself not a little offended, that any report should have been raised of the queen's marriage with the king of Spain; for he took upon him to affirm, that such a thing had never entered into her heart: but how true that was, we shall hereafter hear. The end of his acquaintance and complaint was to discredit John Knox, who had affirmed, that such a marriage was both proposed, and, upon the part of the queen, by the cardinal accepted. Leithington, in his absence, had obtained a very evil report among the nobility, for too much favouring the queen's affections against the commonwealth; and therefore had he, as one that wanted not worldly wisdom, made provision both in England and Scotland: for in England he travelled for the freedom of the earl of Bothwell, and by that means obtained promise of his favour; he had there also taken order for the coming home of the earl of Lennox, as we shall after hear. In Scotland he joined with the earl of Athol; him he promoted and set forward in court, and so began the earl of Murray to be injured; and yet to the said earl, Leithington at all times showed a fair countenance. The rest of that summer the queen spent in her progress through the west country, where in all towns, and gentlemen's places, she had her mass; which coming to the ears of John Knox, he lay in that form of prayer, which ordinarily he said after thanksgiving at his table. (1.) 'Deliver us, O Lord! from the bondage of idolatry.' (2.) 'Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers.' (3.) 'Continue us in peace and concord among ourselves, if thy good pleasure be.' 'O Lord! for a season.' Whilst that divers of the friends of the said John asked of him, Why he prayed for quietness to continue for a season,

and not rather absolutely, that we should continue in quietness? his answer was, 'That he durst not pray but in faith, and faith in God's word assured him, that constant quietness would not continue in that realm, wherein idolatry had been suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected again.'

From the west country the queen pass into Argyle to the hunting, and afterwards to Stirling. The earl of Murray, the lord Robert of Holywood house, and lord John of Colclougham, pass to the north country, where justice counts were holden, thieves and murderers were punished, and two witches were burnt; the eldest was to blinded with the devil, that she affirmed, that no judge had power over her. The same time lord John of Colclougham departed this life in Inverness: it was affirmed, that he commanded such as were beside him to say to the queen, that, unless she left her idolatry, God would not fail to plague her. He asked God mercy, that he had to far borne with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the same, and that no one thing gave him more grief, than that he had flattered, followed, and maintained her, in her fury against God and his servants. And, in very deed, great cause had he to have lamented his wickedness: for besides all his other iniquities, he, in the end, for the queen's pleasure, became enemy to virtue, and all virtuous men, and a patron to impiety, to the uttermost of his power; yea, his venom was to kindled against God and his word, that in his rage he uttered forth these words, 'Let I be the queen's majesty to troubled with the ruling of these knaves, I shall leave the bell of them stuck in the pulpit. What further villainy he uttered, modestly will not suffer us to write; whereof, if he had grace unfeignedly to repent, it is no small document of God's mercies: but however God wrought with him, the queen regarded his words as wind, or else thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himself; and affirmed plainly, they were invented by the lord of Pittarrie, and Mr. John Wood, both of whom she hated, because they flattered her not in her dancing, and other things. One thing, in plain words, she spake, That God took always from her those persons in whom she had greatest pleasure; and that she repented; but of further has no mention.

Whilst the queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her chapel, in the palace of Holywood house were kept certain Duntithers, and others of the

French domestics, who raised up their mabs more publicly than they had done at any time before; for upon the same Sunday that the church of Edinburgh had the ministrallion of the Lord's table, the Papists, in a great number, went to the abbey to their abomination; which understood, divers of the brethren, being much offended, consulted how to redress that enormity: and to were appointed certain of the most zealous, and most upright in religion, to wait at the abbey, that they might note such persons as resorted to the mabs; and perceiving a great number to enter into the chapel, some of the brethren thrust in also: whereat the priests and French dames being afraid, made the shout to be sent to the town; and madam Ballic, mistress to the queen's Daintibers (so maids that court would not then well bear), polled on with all diligence to the comptroller, the land of Pittarvo, who then was in St. Giles's church at the sermon, and cried for his assistance to save her life, and to save the queen's palace; who, with greater haste than need required, obeyed her desire, and took with him the provost and bailies, and a great part of the faithful: but when they came where the sea was reported to have been, they found all things quiet, (except the tumult they brought with themselves), and peaceable men talking to the Papists, forbidding them to transgress the law.

Time it is, a zealous brother, named Patrick Crautoun, pass into the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the priest ready to go to his abominable mabs, said, 'The queen's majesty is not here; How dare you then be to forward openly to act against the law?' No further was done or said, and yet report thereof was polled to the queen (with such information as the Papists could give, which found as much credit as their hearts could have wished for), which was to her a crime in her eyes, that indignation for that sin was there none without blood; and therefore, without delay, were summoned Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Crautoun, to stand twenty to stand trial, for forethought felony, having made violent invasion of the queen's palace, and for spoiling of the same. These letters published, and the extremity feared, the few brethren that were within the town, consulted upon the next remedy, and in the end concluded, That John Knox (to whom the charge was given, to make advertisements, whensoever danger should appear) should write to the brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter stood, and requiring their assistance; which he did, in manner as here ensueth:

THE SUBSCRIPTION.

Whereforever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.

It is not unknown unto you, dear brethren, what comfort and tranquillity God gave unto us in times most dangerous, by our Christian assemblies, and godly conference, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our own body; and how that since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our conventions and assemblies, the adversaries of Christ Jesus's holy gospel have enterprised and boldened themselves, publicly and secretly to do many things odious in God's presence, and most hurtful to the true religion, now of God's great favour granted unto us: the holy sacraments are abused by profane Papists; matters have been, and yet are said openly, and maintained; the blood of some of our dearest ministers hath been shed, without fear of punishment, or correction craved by us. And now last are two of our dear brethren, Patrick Crautoun and Andrew Armstrong, summoned to stand trial in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 24th of this instant October, for forethought felony, pretended murder, and for invading the queen's majesty's palace of Holyroodhouse, with unlawful convocation, &c. These terrible summonses are directed against our brethren, because that they, with two or three more, passed to the abbey upon Sunday, the 25th of August, to behold and note what persons resorted to the mabs. And because that upon the Sunday before, the queen being absent, there resorted to that idol a vast multitude, having openly the least devilish ceremony (yea, even the conjuring of their accursed water) that ever they had in the time of greatest blindness: but because, I say, our said brethren pass, and that in most quiet manner, to note such abuses, these fearful summonses are directed against them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if so it come to pass, God, no doubt, hath justly recompensed our former negligence and ingratitude towards him and his benefits, in our own boloms. God gave us a most notable victory of his and our enemies; he broke their strength, and confounded their counsels; he set us at freedom, and purged the realm, for the most part, of open idolatry, to the end that we, ever mindful of to wonderful a deliverance, should have kept this realm clean

from such vile filthiness, and damnable idolatry. But, we, alas! preferring the pleasure of flesh and blood to the pleasure and commandment of God, have suffered that idol the mass publicly to be erected again: and therefore, justly suffers he us now to fall into that danger, that to look to an idolater going to his idolatry, shall be reputed a crime little inferior to treason: God grant that we fall not farther. And now I, whom God of his mercy hath made one, amongst many, to travel in setting forward his true religion within this realm, seeing the same in danger of ruin, cannot but in conscience crave of you, my brethren of all estates, that have professed the truth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, at the said day, in the town of Edinburgh, even as ye tender the advancement of God's glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance, together with the preservation of the church, in these apparent dangers. It may be, perchance, that persuasions be made to the contrary, and that ye may be informed, that either your assembly is not necessary, or else that it will offend the higher powers: and my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear shall make you so far decline from Christ Jesus, as that, against your public promise, and solemn bond, you will leave your brethren in so just a cause: and albeit there was no great danger, yet cannot our assembly be unprofitable, for many things require consultation, which cannot be had, unless the wisest and godliest convene. And thus, doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if that we uniformly seek his glory, I cease further to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternal.

From Edinburgh, 8th of
October 1563.

JOHN KNOX.

The brethren advertised by this letter, prepared themselves, so many as were thought expedient for every town and province, to keep the day appointed; but by the means of some false brethren, the letter came to the hands of the queen: the manner was this; It was read in the town of Ayr, where was present Mr. Robert Cunningham, styled minister of Faillurd, who then was held a professor of the gospel (by what means we know not), got the said letter, and sent it with his token, to Mr. Henry Sinclair, then president of the seat and college of justice, styled bishop of Ross, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy to Christ Jesus, whom God after struck according to his de-

serts. The said Mr. Henry being enemy to all that unfeignedly professed the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue; for he had affirmed, That a bishop who receives profit, and feeds not the flock (even by his own labours), is both a thief and a murderer: the said Mr. Henry, we say, thinking himself happy, that he had found so good occasion to trouble him, whose life he hated, sent the said letter, with his counsel, to the queen, who then lay at Stirling. The letter being read, it was concluded by the council of the cabinet, that is, by the most secret council, that it imported treason, whereof the queen did not a little rejoice; for she thought once to be revenged of that her great enemy. It was concluded, that the nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority: the day was appointed about the midst of December, which was kept by the whole council, and by divers others, such as the master of Maxwell, the old laird of Lethington, and the said president.

In the mean time the earl of Murray returned from the north, to whom secretary Lethington opened the matter, as best pleased him. The master of Maxwell (after made lord Harris) gave unto the said John, as it were, a discharge of the familiarity which before was great betwixt them, unless that he would satisfy the queen at her own will. The answer of John Knox was, That he knew no offence done by him to the queen's majesty, and therefore he knew not what satisfaction to make. No offence? said he; Have you not written letters, desiring the brethren from all parts to convene to Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Craniton? That I grant, said the other; but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me. No offence, said he, to convocate the queen's lieges? Not for so just a cause, said the other; for greater things were reputed no offence within these two years. The time, said he, is now otherwise; for then our sovereign was absent, and now she is present. It is neither the absence nor the presence of the queen, said he, that rules my conscience, but God plainly speaking in his word. What was lawful to me the last year, is yet lawful, because my God is unchangeable.

Well, said the master, I have given you my counsel, do as you please; but I think you shall repent it, if you bow not unto the queen.

I understand not, said he, what you mean; I never made myself an adverse party unto the queen's majesty, except in the point of religion,

and therein I think you will not desire me to bow.

Well, said he, you are wise enough; but you will not find that men will bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times bypast.

If God stand my friend, said the other, as I am assured he of his mercy will, so long as I depend upon his promise, and prefer his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me; neither yet know I wherein any one man hath borne with me in times bypast, unless it be, that of my mouth they have heard the word of God, which in time to come if they refuse, my heart will be perfect, and for a season I will lament; but the incommodity will be their own. And, after these words (hereunto the laird of Lochinvar was witness), they departed; but unto this day, the seventeenth day of December 1571, yea, never in this life met they in such familiarity as before.

The report of the accusation of John Knox being spread abroad, Mr. John Spence of Condie advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the doctrine of the gospel, came as it were in secret to John Knox, to inquire the cause of that great report. To whom the said John was plain in all things, and shewed unto him the double of the letter; which heard and considered, he said, I thank God, I came unto you with a fearful and sorrowful heart, fearing that you had done such a crime, as law might have punished, which would have been no small trouble to the hearts of all such as have received the word of life, which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoiced, as well because I see your own comfort, even in the midst of the troubles, as that I clearly understand, that you have committed no such crime as is reported. You will be accused, said he, but God will assist you, and so he departed.

The earl of Murray and the secretary sent for the said John to the clerk of the register's house, and began to lament, that he had so highly offended the queen's majesty, for which they feared should come a great inconveniency to him, if the business were not wisely foreseen: they shew what pains and travel they had taken to mitigate her anger; but they could find nothing but extremity, unless that he himself would confess his offence, and put himself in her majesty's will. To which heads the said John answered as follows:

I praise my God through Jesus Christ, said he, I have learned not to cry conjuration and treason, at every thing that the godless multitude doth con-

demn; neither yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the testimony of a good conscience, that I have given no occasion to the queen's majesty to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty; and so whatsoever shall thereof ensue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it; but to confess an offence, where my conscience witnesseth there is none, far be it from me. How can it be defended, said Lethington; have you not made a convocation of the queen's lieges? If I have not, said he, a just defence for my deed, let me smart for it. Let us hear, said they, your defence, for we would be glad that you might be found innocent. Nay, said the other, I am informed by divers, that even by you, my lord secretary, I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged; therefore I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defence. At these words they seemed both offended, and so the secretary departed; but the said earl remained still, and would have entered into further discourse of the state of the court with the said John, who answered, My lord, I understand more than I would of the state of the court; and therefore it is not needful, that your lordship trouble me with the recounting thereof. If you stand in good case, I am content; and if you do not, as I fear you do not already, or else you shall not do it ere it be long, blame not me, you have the counsellors whom you have chosen, my weak judgment both they and you despised. I can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God it be otherwise than my troubled heart feareth.

Within four days the said John was called before the queen and council, betwixt six and seven o'clock at night: the season of the year was the midst of December. The report rising in the town, that John Knox was sent for by the queen, the brethren of the town followed in such number, that the inner clove was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber-door where the queen and council sat, who had been reasoning amongst themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the secretary's mind. The queen was retired to her cabinet, and the lords were talking one with another, as occasion served. But upon the entry of John Knox, they were desired to take their places; which they did, sitting as counsellors, one against another.

The duke, according to his dignity, began the one side. Upon the other side sat the earl of Argyle, and consequently followed earl of Murray, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Marshal, the lord Ruthven, the common officers, Pittarro

then comptroller, the justice-clerk, with Mr. John Spence of Condie advocate, and divers others stood by. Removed from the table sat old Lethington father to the secretary, Mr. Henry Sinclair then bishop of Ross, and Mr. James Macgill clerk of the register.

Things thus put in order, the queen came forth, and with no little worldly pomp, was placed in a chair, having two faithful supporters, the master of Maxwell upon the one side, and secretary Lethington upon the other side of the chair, whereon they waited diligently. At the time of the accusation, sometimes the one was speaking in her ear, and sometimes the other. Her pomp wanted one principal point, *viz.* a womanly gravity: for when the saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bare-headed, the first smiled, and afterwards laughed; whereunto her Placeboes gave their *plaudite*, assenting with like countenance.

This is a good beginning, she said, but know you whereat I laugh? You man caused me to cry, and shed never a tear himself; I will see if I can cause him to grieve. At that word the secretary whispered her in the ear, and she him again, and with that gave him a letter; after the inspection whereof, he directed his face and speech to John Knox, in this manner:

The queen's majesty is informed, that you have endeavoured to raise a tumult of her subjects against her; and, for certification thereof, there is presented to her your own letter, subscribed in your name; yet because her majesty will do nothing without good advertisement, she hath convened you before this part of the nobility, that they may witness betwixt you and her.

Let him acknowledge, said she, his own handwriting, and then shall we judge of the contents of the letter; and so was the letter sent, from hand to hand, to John Knox; who, taking inspection of it, said, I acknowledge this to be my handwriting; and also I remember, that I indited a letter in the month of October, giving signification to the brethren in divers quarters, of such things as displeased me; and so good opinion have I of the fidelity of the scribes, that willingly they would not adulterate my original, albeit that I left divers blanks subscribed with them; and so I acknowledge both the hand-writing and diction.

You have done more, said Lethington, than I would have done. Charity, said the other, is not suspicious. Well, well, said the queen, read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you. I shall do the best I can,

said the other; and so, with a loud voice, he began to read, as before is expressed. After that the letter was read, it was presented again to Mr. John Spence, her advocate; for the queen commanded him to accuse, as he did, but very gently.

After, we say, that the letter was read, the queen beholding the whole table, said, Heard you ever, my lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter? While that no man made answer, Lethington addressed himself to John Knox, and said, Master Knox, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent, that such a letter hath passed your pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others? John Knox answered, My lord secretary, before I repent, I must be taught my offence. Offence, said Lethington, if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied. Remember yourself, my lord, said the other, there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation and an unlawful; if I have been guilty in this, I have oft offended since I came last into Scotland: for what convocation of brethren hath ever been to this day, unto which my pen hath not served? and before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime. Then was then, and now is now, said Lethington, we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had. John Knox answered, The time that hath been is even now before my eyes; for I see the poor flock in no less danger, than it hath been at any time before, except that the devil hath gotten a mask upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry, and then I think, you will confess, the brethren lawfully assembled themselves, for defence of their lives; and now the devil comes, under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength.

What is this, said the queen? methinks you trifle with him. Who gave you authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason? No, madam, said the lord Ruthven, for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily; and whatever your majesty or others think thereof, we think it no treason. Hold your peace, said the queen, let him answer for himself. I began, madam, said John Knox, to reason with the secretary (whom I take to be a better disputant than your majesty is, that all convocation is not unlawful; and now my lord Ruthven hath given the instance, which, if your majesty will deny, I shall make myself

ready for the proof. I will say nothing, said the queen, against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without any commandment? I have no pleasure, said John Knox, to decline from my former purpose; and yet, madam, to satisfy your majesty's two questions, I answer, That at my will I never convened four persons in Scotland; but at the order that the brethren have appointed, I have given divers advertisements, and great multitudes have assembled thereupon: and if your majesty complaineth, that this was done without your majesty's commandment, I answer, So hath all that God hath blessed within this realm, from the beginning of this action: and therefore, madam, I must be convinced by a just law, that I have acted against the duty of God's messenger, in writing of this letter, before that I either be sorry, or yet repent, for the doing of it, as my lord secretary would persuade me; for what I have done, I have done at the commandment of the general church of this realm; and therefore I think I have done no wrong. You shall not escape so, said the queen.

Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there are acts of parliament to be found against such whisperers. This was granted to be true by many. But wherein, said John Knox, can I be accused? Read this part of your letter, said the queen, which began, 'These fearful summonses are directed against them (*viz.* the brethren aforesaid), to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude.' Lo! said the queen, What say you to that? While many doubted what the said John should answer, he said unto the queen, Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? Or shall I be condemned before I be heard. Say what you can, said she, for I think you have enough ado. I will first then desire, said he, of your majesty, madam, and of this honourable audience, Whether if your majesty knows not, that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all that profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extirpation of them all, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm? The queen held her peace; but all the lords, with common consent and voice, said, God forbid that either the life of the faithful, or yet the support of the doctrine, depended on the power of the Papists; for just experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts.

I must proceed then, said John Knox, seeing that I perceive all will grant, that it were a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude as profess the gospel of Jesus Christ within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they attempted to do by force, as things done of late days do testify; whereof they being, by God's providence, disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, *viz.* to make the prince party, under colour of law; and so what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit: for who thinks, my lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists (within this realm I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? I think no man of judgment can suppose so, but rather the contrary: that is, by this few number they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterprise against the whole; and therefore, madam, cast up when you please the acts of your parliaments, I have offended not against them; for I accuse not, in my letter, your majesty, nor yet your nature, of cruelty: but I affirm yet again, that the pestilent Papists, who have inflamed your majesty, without cause, against these poor men at present, are the sons of the devil; and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who hath been a murderer from the beginning.

You forget yourself, said one, you are not in the pulpit. I am in the place, said the other, where I am commanded, by my conscience, to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, oppose it who will: and hereunto I add, madam, that honest, meek, and gentle natures, in appearance, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, may be changed and altered to the contrary. We have an example of Nero, who, in the beginning of his reign, we find, had some natural shame; but after that, his flatterers encouraged him in all impiety, alleging, that nothing was either dishonest, or yet unlawful in his person, who was emperor above others. When he had drunk of this cup, I say, to what enormities he fell the histories bear witness. And now, madam, to speak plainly, Papists have your majesty's ear patent at all times. I assure your majesty, they are dangerous counsellors, and that your mother found.

As this was said, Lethington smiled, and spake secretly to the queen in her ear. What it was they at the table heard not; but immediately she addressed her speech to John Knox, and said, Well, you speak fair enough here before my lords; but the last time I spake with you secretly, you caused me

to weep many tears, and said to me stubbornly, ye cared not for my weeping. Madam, said the other, because now the second time your majesty hath burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest for my silence I be held guilty: if your majesty be ripely remembered, the laird of Dun, yet living, who can testify the truth, was present at that time, whereof your majesty complaineth.

Your majesty accused me, that I had irreverently spoken of you in the pulpit. That I denied. You said, What had I to do to speak of your marriage? What was I, that I should meddle with such matters? I answered, as touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a subject to this commonwealth; but as touching the office, wherein it hath pleased God to place me, I was a watchman, both over the realm, and over the church of God gathered within the same; by reason whereof I was bound in conscience to blow the trumpet publicly, as oft as ever I saw any appearance of danger, either of the one, or of the other. But so it was, that a certain report affirmed, that a treaty of marriage was betwixt your majesty and the Spanish Allya. Whereunto I said, that if your nobility and states did agree, unless both you and your husband should be strictly bound, that neither of you might hurt the commonwealth, nor yet the poor church of God within the same, in that case I would pronounce, that the consenters were troublers of the commonwealth, and enemies unto God, and unto his truth planted within the same. At these words, I grant, your majesty stormed, and bursted forth into an unreasonable weeping. What mitigation the laird of Dun would have made, I suppose your majesty hath not forgot: but while that nothing was able to stay your weeping, I was compelled to say, I take God to witness, I never took pleasure to see your majesty make such regret: but seeing I have offered to your majesty no such occasion, I must rather suffer your majesty to take your own pleasure, than I dare conceal the truth, and so betray the church and the commonwealth. These were the sharpest words I spoke that day.

After that the secretary had conferred with the queen, he said, Master Knox, you may return to your house for this night. I thank God, and the queen's majesty, said the other. And, madam, I pray God to purge your heart from Papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers: for how pleasant so ever they appear to your ear, and corrupt affections for the time, experience hath taught us into what perplexity they have brought

famous princes. Lethington, and the master of Maxwell, were that night the two sloops of her chair.

John Knox being departed, the tables of the lords, and others that were present, were demanded every one their vote, If John Knox had not offended the queen's majesty? The lords voted uniformly, that they could find no offence (the queen was past to her cabinet). The flatterers of the court, and principally Lethington, raged. The queen was brought again, and placed in the chair, and they commanded to vote over again; which thing offended the whole nobility; and they began to speak highly in open audience, What! shall the laird of Lethington have power to control us? Or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man against our consciences, for the pleasure of any creature? And so the whole nobility absolved John Knox again, and praised God for his modesty, and for his plain and sensible answers. Yet before the end, one thing is to be noted, *viz.* that amongst so many Placeboes (we mean the flatterers of the court), there was not one that plainly durst condemn the said poor man that was accused; the same God ruling their tongues, that some time ruled the tongue of Balaam, when gladly he would have cursed God's people.

This perceived, the queen began to upbraid Mr. Henry Sinclair, then bishop of Ross, and said (hearing his vote to agree with the rest), Trouble not the bairn, I pray you trouble him not, for he is newly awaked out of his sleep: Why should not the old fool follow them that past before him? The bishop answered coldly, Your majesty may consider, that it is neither affection to the man, nor love to his profession, that moved me to absolve him, but the simple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me hereunto, albeit that others would have condemned him and it. This being said, the lords and whole assistants arose and departed. That night there was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court; for our sovereign was disappointed of her purpose, which was, to have had John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility. John Knox absolved, by the greatest part of the nobility, from the crime alledged against him, even in presence of the queen, the raged, and her Placeboes stormed; and so began new attempts to be made with the said John Knox, to make him confess an offence, and put himself in the queen's will, and she would promise, that his greatest punishment should be, only to go with-

in the castle of Edinburgh, and immediately to return to his own house. He answered, God forbid that my confession should condemn these noblemen, who, in their conscience, and to the displeasure of the queen, have absolved me. And further, I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless that therewith you would desire me to cease from preaching: For how can I exhort others to peace and Christian quietness, if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?

The general assembly of the church approached, which began the twenty-fifth day of December 1563. But the just petitions of the ministers and commissioners of churches were despised at the first, and that with these words, As ministers will not follow our counsel, so will we suffer ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come. But then the whole assembly said, If the queen will not, we must; for both the third and two parts are rigorously taken from us, and from our tenants. If others, said one, will follow my counsel, the guard and the Papists shall complain as long as our ministers have done. At these words, the former sharpness was coloured, and the speaker alledged, that he meant not all ministers. Christopher Goodman answered, My lord secretary, if you can thew me what just title either the queen hath to the third, or the Papists to the two parts, then I think I should resolve you, whether she were debtor to ministers within burghs or not; but thereto he received this check for answer, *Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica*; that is, 'Let not a stranger be curious in a strange commonwealth.' The man of God answered, Albeit I be a stranger in your policy, yet am I not so in the church of God; and therefore the care doth no less appertain to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England. Many wondered at the silence of John Knox; for, in all these quick reasonings, he opened not his mouth, the cause whereof he himself expressed in these words:

I have travelled, right honourable and beloved brethren, since my last arrival within this realm, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as he is witness, than the advancement of his glory, and the stability of his church within this realm; and, of late days, I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurpeth to myself power that becometh me not: true it is, that I have given advertisement unto the brethren in divers quarters, of the extremity intended against divers faithful, for looking to a priest going to mass, and for observing of those that transgress

against just laws; but that therein I have usurped further power than is given me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny: for I say that by you, that is, by the charge of the general assembly, I have all just power to advertise the brethren, from time to time, of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you I was appointed to the one, and to the other; and therefore, in the name of God, I crave your judgments. The danger that appeared to me in my accusation, was not so fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, What can the pope do more, than to send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed? Let me have your judgments therefore, whether I have usurped any power to myself, or if I have obeyed your commandment.

The flatterers of the court (amongst whom the justice-clerk then not the least) began to storm, and said, Shall we be compelled to justify the rash judgments of men? My lord, said John Knox, you shall speak your pleasure for the present, of you I crave nothing; but if the church that is here present do not either absolve me, or else condemn me, never shall I in public or in private, as a public minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning.

After long contention, the said John being removed, the whole church found, that a charge was given unto him, to advertise the brethren in all quarters, as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that act not to be his only, but the act of the whole assembly. Thereat were the queen's claw-backs more enraged than ever they were; for some of them had promised the queen to get the said John convicted, both by the council and by the church; and being frustrated of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed.

In the very time of the general assembly, there comes to public knowledge a heinous murder committed in the court, yea, not far from the queen's lap; for a French woman, that served in the queen's chamber, had played the whore with the queen's own apothecary: the woman conceived and bare a child, whom, with common consent, the father and mother murdered; yet were the cries of a new-born child heard. Search being made, the child was found, and the mother apprehended, and so was both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged in the public street of Edinburgh.

The parliament was notable, because the crime of rebellion: but yet was not the court purged of crimes and whoredom, which was the fountain of such enormities; for it was well known, that the famous marriage betwixt John Scopil, called the Dancer, and Mary Livingiton, firnamed the Lully. What report the Maries, and the rest of the dancers of the court had, the ballads of that age did witness, which we for modesty's sake omit: but this was the common complaint of all godly and wise men, that if they thought that such a court should continue long, and if they looked for no better life to come, they would have wished their sons and daughters rather to have been brought up with fiddlers and dancers, and to have been exercised in singing upon a floor, and in the rest that thereof follows, than to have been exercised in the company of the godly, and exercised in virtue, which in that court was hated, and filthiness not only maintained, but also rewarded; witness the abbacy of Abercorn, the barony of Auchtermuchty, and divers others pertaining to the patrimony of the crown, given in heritage to skippers and dancers, and dalliers with dames. This was the beginning of the government of Mary queen of Scots, and these were the fruits that she brought forth of France. ‘Lord! look upon our miseries, and deliver us from the wickedness of this corrupt court, for thy own name’s sake.’

God, from heaven, and from the face of the earth, did declare, that he was offended at the iniquity committed within this realm; for upon the twentieth day of January, there fell rain in great abundance, which in the falling freezed so vehemently, that the earth was but a sheet of ice; the fowls both great and small freezed, and could not fly; many died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might be thawed: and that same month the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed for the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the fifteenth and eighteenth days thereof, there were seen in the firmament, battles arrayed, spears, and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies: these things were not only observed, but also spoken of, and constantly affirmed, by men of judgment and credit.

But the queen and our court made merry: there was banqueting upon banqueting: the queen would banquet all the lords; and that was done from policy, to remove the suspicion of her displeasure against them, because they would not, at her devotion, condemn John Knox. To remove, we say, that jealousy,

she made the banquet to the whole lords, whereat she would have the duke amongst the rest. It beloved them to banquet her again, and so did banqueting continue till Lent, and after. But the poor ministers were mocked, and reputed as monsters. The guard, and the affairs of the kitchen, were so gripping, that the ministers stipends could not be had: and yet, at the assembly last past, solemn promise was made, in the queen’s name, by the mouth of secretary Lethington, in the audience of the nobility, and of the whole assembly; who affirmed, that he had commandment of her highness, to promise full content unto all the ministers within the realm, and of such order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the Protestants should have occasion to stand content: the earl of Murray affirmed the same, with many other fair promises given in writing, by Lethington himself, as in the register of the acts of the general assembly may be seen; but how that, or yet any other thing promised in her name to the church of God, was observed, the world can witness.

The ministers perceiving all things to tend to ruin, discharged their consciences in public and in private; but they received for their labour hatred and indignation: and, amongst others, that worthy servant of God Mr. John Craig, speaking against the manifold corruptions that then, without shame or fear, declared itself, said, ‘Sometimes were hypocrites known by their noted habits, and we had men to be monks, and women to be nuns; but now all things are so changed, that we cannot discern the earl from the abbot, nor the nun from him that would be esteemed the nobleman; so that we have gotten a new order of monks and nuns: but, said he, seeing you are not ashamed of that unjust profit, would to God that you had therewith the cowl, the vail, and the tail, joined withal, that so you might appear in your own colours.’ This liberty did so provoke the choler of Lethington, that in open audience he gave himself to the devil, if that after that day he should regard what became of the ministers, but he would do what he could that his companions should have a share with himself: and let them bark and blow, said he, as loud as they list. And so that was the second time that he had given defiance unto the servants of God.

Whereupon arose whisperings and complaints, by the flatterers of the court, complaining that men were not charitably handled: Might not sins be reproved in general, albeit men were not so specially taxed, that all the world might know of

whom the preacher speaks. Wherunto was this answer made, Let men be ashamed publicly to offend, and the ministers shall abstain from specialities; but so long as Protestants are not ashamed manifestly to act against the gospel of Jesus Christ, so long cannot the ministers of God cease to cry, that God would be avenged upon such abusers of his holy word.

Thus had the servants of God a double battle, fighting, upon the one side, against idolatry, and the rest of the abominations maintained by the court; and, upon the other part, against the unthankfulness of such as sometimes would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the church within the realm. The threatenings of the preachers were fearful; but the court thought itself in such security that it could not miscarry.

The queen after the banquetting kept a diet, by the direction of L' Usurie a Frenchman, who had been acquainted with her malady before, being her physician: and thereafter she, for the second time, made her progress in the north; and commanded to ward, in the castle of Edinburgh, the earl of Caithness, for a murder committed by his servants upon the earl Marshal's men: he obeyed, but he was suddenly released; for such blood-thirsty men, and Papists, such as he is, are thought good subjects at court. 'Thy kingdom come, O Lord! for in this realm is nothing (amongst such as should punish vice, and maintain virtue) but abomination abounding without bridle.'

The flatterers of the court did daily rage against the poor preachers; happiest was he that could invent the most bitter taunts, and disdainful mockings of the ministers; and at length they began to jest at the term of *idolatry*, affirming, that men knew not what they spake, when they called the mass idolatry: yea, some proceeded further, and feared not at open table to affirm, that they would sustain the argument, that the mass was no idolatry. These things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in the public pulpit of Edinburgh, with this complaint, directed by the speaker to his God:

O Lord! how long shall the wicked prevail against the just? How long wilt thou suffer thyself, and thy blessed gospel, to be despised of men; of men, we say, that boast themselves defenders of the truth? for of thy manifest and known enemies we complain not, but of such as unto whom thou hast revealed thy light; for now it cometh to our ears, that men (not priests, we say, but chief Protestants) will defend the mass to be no idolatry: if

so it is, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably, alas! O Lord! have I deceived thy people; which thou knowest, O Lord! I have ever more abhorred than a thousand deaths!

But, said he (turning his face towards the place where such men as had so affirmed sat), If I be not able to prove the mass to be the most abominable idolatry that ever was used from the beginning of the world, I offer myself to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false preacher. And it appeareth unto me, saith the preacher, that the affirmers should be subject to the same law; for it is the truth of God that you persecute and blaspheme; and it is the inventions of the devil, that obstinately, against his word, you maintain: whereat albeit you now mock and scold, as if all that were spoken were but wind; yet I am as fully assured, as I am assured that my God liveth, that some that hear this your defection, and railing against the truth and the servants of God, shall see a part of God's judgment poured forth upon this realm (and principally upon you that fastest cleave unto the favour of the court), for the abominations that are by you maintained. Albeit that such vehemency provoked tears from the eyes of some, yet these that knew themselves guilty, in a mocking manner, said, We must recant and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry.

The general assembly holden in June 1564 approached, unto which a great part of the nobility (of those that are called Protestants) convened, some for assistance of the ministers, and some to accuse them, as we shall after hear.

A little before these troubles, which Satan raised in the body of the church, began one David, an Italian, to be great in the court; the queen used him for secretary, for things that appertained to her secret affairs, or elsewhere: great men made suit unto him, and their suits were the better heard; but of his beginning and progress we delay now further to speak, and defer it to a fitter occasion of time and place, because that his end will require the description of the whole.

The first day of the general assembly, neither the courtiers, nor the lords that depended upon the court, presented themselves in session with their brethren; whereat many wondered. An ancient and honourable man, the laird of Lundie, said, Nay, I wonder not at their absence, but I wonder that at our last assembly, they drew themselves apart, and joined not with us, but drew from us some of our ministers, and required them to conclude such things as were never proposed to the

public assembly, which appears to me to be a thing very prejudicial to the liberty of the church; and therefore my judgment is, that they shall be informed of this offence, which the whole brethren have conceived of their former fault; humbly requiring, that if they be brethren, that they will assist their brethren with their presence and counsel, for we had never greater need; and if they be resolved to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now than afterwards. Thereto agreed the whole assembly; and gave commission to certain brethren, to signify the minds of the assembly to the lords; which was done that same afternoon. The courtiers at first seemed a little offended, that they should be as it were suspected of defection: yet nevertheless, upon the next day, they joined with the assembly, and came unto it; but they drew themselves, like as they did before, apart, and entered into the inner council-house. There were the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Marthal, lord Ross, the master of Maxwell, secretary Lethington, the justice-clerk, the clerk of the register, and the laird of Pittarro comptroller.

After a little consultation, they directed a messenger, Mr. George Hay, then called minister of the court, requiring the superintendants, and some of the learned ministers, to confer with them. The assembly answered, That they convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the church; and therefore that they could not lack their superintendants and chief ministers, whose judgments were so necessary, that the rest should sit as it were idle without them; and therefore willed them, as oft before, That if they acknowledged themselves members of the church, that they would join with their brethren, and propose in public such things as they pleased, and so they should have the assistance of the whole, in all things that might stand with God's commandment: but to send from themselves a portion of their company, they understood that thereof hurt and slander might arise, rather than any profit or comfort to the church; for they feared that all men should not stand content with the conclusion, where the conference and reasonings were heard but by a few.

This answer was not given without cause; for no small travel was made, to have drawn some ministers to the faction of the courtiers, and to have sustained their arguments and opinions: but when it was conceived by the most politic amongst them, that they could not prevail by that means, they

prepared the matter in other terms, purging themselves, that they never meant to divide themselves from the society of their brethren; but because they had certain heads to confer with certain ministers, therefore, for avoiding of confusion, they thought it more expedient to have the conference before a few, rather than in the public audience. But the assembly did still reply, That secret conference would they not admit, in those heads that should be concluded by the general voice. The lords promised, That no conclusion should be taken, neither yet vote required, till that both the propositions and the reasons should be heard and considered by the whole body. Upon that condition were directed unto them, with express charge, to conclude nothing without the knowledge and advice of the assembly, the laird of Dun superintendant of Angus, the superintendants of Lothian and Fife, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Craig, William Christison, Mr. David Lindsay, ministers, with the rector of St. Andrews, and Mr. George Hay the superintendant of Glasgow; Mr. John Willock was moderator, and John Knox waited upon the scribe; and so were they appointed to sit with the brethren; and yet because the principal complaint touched John Knox, he was also called for.

Secretary Lethington began the harangue, which contained these heads: *First*, How much we are indebted unto God, by whose providence we have liberty of religion under the queen's majesty, albeit that she is not persuaded in the same. *Secondly*, How necessary a thing it is, that the queen's majesty, by all good offices on the part of the church (so spake he), and of the ministers principally, should be retained in that constant opinion, that they unfeignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her. And, *lastly*, How dangerous a thing it was, that the ministers should be noted, one to disagree from another, in form of prayer for her majesty, or in doctrine concerning obedience to her authority. In these two last heads, said he, we desire you all to be circumspect. But especially we must crave of you our brother John Knox, to moderate yourself, as well in form of praying for the queen's majesty, as in doctrine that you propose, touching her state and obedience: neither shall ye take this, said he, as spoken to your reproach, *quia mens pulchra, interdum in corpore pulchro*; but because that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the same discretion and foresight; and what opinion that may engender in the people's heads, wise men may foresee.

The said John prepared himself for answer as follows: If such as fear God have occasion to praise him, because that idolatry is maintained, the servants of God despised, wicked men placed again in honour and authority (Mr. Henry Sinclair was a short time before made president, who before durst not have sat in judgment); and finally, if we ought to praise God, because that vice and impiety overfloweth the whole realm without punishment, then we have occasion to rejoice and praise God; but if these and the like use to provoke God's vengeance against realms and nations, then, in my judgment, the godly within Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and so to prevent God's judgments, lest that he, finding all in like security, strike in his hot indignation, beginning perchance at such as think they offend not.

That is a head, said Lethington, whereunto you and I never agreed; for how are you able to prove, that God ever struck or plagued any nation or people for the iniquity of their prince, if they themselves lived godly? I looked, said he, my lord, to have had audience, till I had absolved the other two parts; but seeing it pleaseth your lordship to cut me off before the midst, I will answer to your question. The Scripture of God sheweth me, that Jerusalem and Judah were punished for the sins of Manasseh. And if you alledge, that they were punished because they were wicked, and offended with their king, and not because their king was wicked; I answer, That albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, saying in express words, 'For the sins of Manasseh;' yet will I not be so obstinate as to lay the whole sin and plagues that thereof ensued upon the king, and utterly absolve the people; but I will grant withal, that the whole people offended with their king; but how, and in what fashion, I fear that ye and I shall not agree: I doubt not but the great multitude accompanied him in all the abominations that he did; for idolatry and false religion hath ever been, and will be pleasing to the most part of men: but to affirm, that all Judah committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither hath certainty, nor yet appearance of any truth; for who can think it to be possible, that all those of Jerusalem should so shortly turn to idolatry, considering the notable reformation lately before had in the days of Hezekiah? But yet, says the text, 'Manasseh made Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err.' True it is, the one part, as I have said, willingly followed him in his idolatry, the other suffered him to defile Jerusalem and the tem-

ple of God with all abominations, and so were they criminal of his sin; the one by act and deed, the other by suffering and permission; even as Scotland is this day guilty of the queen's idolatry, and ye, my lords, in special above others.

Well, said Lethington, that is the chief head wherein we never agreed; but of that we shall speak hereafter. What will ye say as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the queen's majesty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her authority; as also, of the form of prayer which ye commonly use? My lord, said he, more earnestly to move the people, or yet otherwise to pray, than heretofore I have done, a good conscience will not suffer me; for he who knows the secrets of hearts, knows that privately and publicly I have called to God for her conversion, and have willed the people to do the same, shewing unto them the dangerous state wherein not only she herself stands, but also the whole realm, by reason of her obstinate blindness.

That is it, said Lethington, wherein we find the greatest fault; your extremity against her mass in particular passeth measure; ye call her a slave to Satan; ye affirm, that God's vengeance hangs over the realm, by reason of her impiety: and what is this else, but to raise up the hearts of the people against her majesty, and against them that serve her? Then there was heard an acclamation of the rest of the flatterers, that such extremity could not profit. The master of Maxwell said in plain words, If I were in the queen's majesty's place, I would not suffer such things as I hear. If the words of the preachers, said John Knox, shall be always wrested in the worst part, then will it be hard to speak any thing so circumspectly, provided that the truth be spoken, which shall escape the censure of the calumniator. The most vehement, and as ye speak, excessive manner of prayer, that I use in public, is this, 'O Lord! if thy good pleasure be, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, into the which she hath been brought up, and yet remains for the lack of true doctrine; and let her see, by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit, that there is no means to please thee but by Jesus Christ thy only Son; and that Jesus Christ cannot be found but in thy holy word, nor yet received but as it prescribes; which is to renounce our own wisdom and pre-conceived opinions, and worship thee as thou commands; that in so doing she may avoid that eternal damnation

‘ which abides all who are obstinate and impenitent to the end; and that this poor realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably followeth idolatry, maintained against thy manifest word, and the open light thereof.’ This, said he, is the form of my common prayer, as yourselves can witness: now, what is worthy of reprehension in it I would hear.

There are three things in it, said Lethington, that I never liked: the first is, ye pray for the queen’s majesty with a condition, saying, ‘ Illustrate her heart, if thy good pleasure be:’ whereby it may appear, that ye doubt of her conversion: Where have ye the example of such prayer? Wherefore the examples are, said the other, I am assured of the rule, which is this; If we shall ask any thing according to his will, he will hear us: and our Master Jesus Christ commands us to pray unto our Father, ‘ Thy will be done.’ But, said Lethington, where find ye any of the prophets so to have prayed? It sufficeth me, said the other, my lord, that the Master and Teacher, both of prophets and apostles, hath taught me so to pray. But in so doing, said Lethington, ye put a doubt in the people’s heads of her conversion. Not I, said the other, but her own obstinate rebellion causeth more than me to doubt of her conversion. Wherein, said he, rebels she against God? In all the actions of her life, said John Knox; but in these two heads especially: the first is, That she will not hear the preaching of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ: and secondly, That she maintaineth that idol the mass. She thinks not that rebellion, said Lethington. So thought they, said the other, that sometimes offered their children unto Molech; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: and this day the Turks think they have a better religion than the Papists have; and yet, I think, ye will excuse neither of them both for committing rebellion against God; neither yet justly can ye do the queen, unless ye will make God to be partial.

But, said Lethington, why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt? Because, said the other, I have learned to pray in faith; now faith, ye know, depends upon the word of God: and so it is that the word teacheth me, that prayer profiteth the sons and daughters of God’s election; of which number, if she be one or not, I have just cause to doubt; and therefore I pray, that God would illuminate her heart, if his good pleasure be so to do. But yet, said Lethington, ye can produce the example of none that so hath prayed

before you. Thereto I have already answered, said John Knox; but yet for further declaration, I will demand a question, which is this, Whether ye think that the apostles prayed themselves as they commanded others to pray? Who doubts of that, said the company that were present? Well then, said John Knox, I am assured, that Peter said these words to Simon Magus, ‘ Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, that if it be possible the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee.’ Here we may clearly see, that Peter joins a condition with his commandment, that Simon should repent and pray, *viz.* if it were possible, that his sins might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant, that some sins were unto the death, and so without all hope of repentance or remission. And think ye not, my lord secretary, said he, but the same doubt may touch my heart, as touching the queen’s conversion, that thou touched the heart of the apostle? I would never, said Lethington, hear you, or any other call that in doubt. But your will, said the other, is no assurance to my conscience: and, to speak freely, my lord, I wonder if ye yourself doubt not of the queen’s conversion; for more evident signs of hardness of heart have appeared, and do appear in her, than Peter outwardly could have espied in Simon Magus: for albeit sometimes he was a forcerer, yet joined he with the apostles, believed, and was baptized; and albeit that the venom of avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the Holy Ghost, yet when he heard the fearful threatenings of God pronounced against him, he trembled, desired the assistance of the prayers of the apostles, and so humbled himself, so far as the judgment of man could penetrate, like a true penitent; and yet we see that Peter doubts of his conversion. Why then may not all the godly justly doubt of the conversion of the queen, who hath used idolatry, which is no less odious in the sight of God, than is the other, and still continues in the same; yea, that despises all threatenings, and refuses all godly admonitions?

Why say ye that she refuseth admonition, said Lethington? she will gladly hear any man. But what obedience, said the other, to God, or to his word, ensues of all that is spoken unto her? Or when shall she be seen to give her presence to the public preaching? I think never, said Lethington, as long as she is thus used. And so long, said the other, ye and all others must be content, that I pray so as I may be assured to be heard of my God; that is, that his good will may be done, either in

making her comfortable to his church: or if he hath appointed her to be a scourge to the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled.

Well, said Lethington, let us come to the second head: Where find ye that the Scripture calls any the bond-slaves of Satan? Or that the prophets of God spake of kings and princes so irreverently? The Scripture, said John Knox, saith, that by nature we are all the sons of wrath: our Master Christ affirms, that such as do sin are servants to sin, and that it is the only Son of God that sets men at freedom: now what difference there is betwixt the sons of wrath, the servants of sin, &c. and the slaves of Satan, I understand not, except I be taught: and if the sharpness of the term offend you, I have not invented that phrase of speech, but have learned it out of God's Scripture; for these words I find spoken unto Paul, 'Behold, I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark these words, my lord, and stir not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost. And the same apostle, writing to his scholar Timothy, says, 'Instruct with meekness those that are contrary-minded, if that God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and come to amendment out of the snare of the devil, which are taken of him at his will.' If your lordship do rightly consider these sentences, you shall not only find my words to be the words of the Holy Ghost, but also the condition which I use to add, to have the assurance of God's Scriptures.

But they speak nothing against kings in Scripture in special, said Lethington, and your continual crying is, 'The queen's idolatry, the queen's mass, will provoke God's vengeance.'

In the former sentences, said the other, I hear not kings and queens excepted, but all unfaithful are pronounced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant the devil: but, believe me, my lord, you little regard the state wherein they stand, when you would have them so flattered, that the danger thereof should neither be known, nor yet declared to the people.

Where will you find, said Lethington, that any of the prophets did so use kings and queens, rulers or magistrates?

In more places than one, said the other: Ahab was a king, and Jezebel a queen; and yet what the prophet Elijah said to the one, and to the other, I suppose you are not ignorant.

That was not cried out before the people, said Lethington, to make them odious unto their subjects.

That Elijah said, 'Dogs shall lick the blood of Ahab,' said John Knox, 'and eat the flesh of Jezebel,' the Scripture assures me; but that it was whispered in their ears, or in a corner, I read not: but the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the court understood well enough what the prophet had promised; for so witnessed Jehu, after that God's vengeance had stricken Jezebel.

These were singular motions of the Spirit of God, said Lethington, and appertain nothing to our age.

Then hath the Scripture, said the other, deceived me; for St. Paul teacheth me, that, 'Whatsoever is written within the holy Scriptures, the same is written for our instruction;' and my Master saith, 'That every learned scribe bringeth forth of his treasure both things old and things new;' and the prophet Jeremiah affirms, 'That every realm or city that likewise offends,' as then did Jerusalem, 'should likewise be punished.' Why then that the facts of ancient prophets, and the fearful judgments of God executed before us upon the disobedient, appertain not unto our age, I neither see, nor yet understand.

But now, to put an end to this head, my lord, said he, the prophets of God have not spared to rebuke kings, as well to their faces, as before the people and subjects; Elitha feared not to say to king Jehoram, 'What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the other prophets of thy mother; for as the Lord of Hosts liveth, in whose sight I stand, if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehoiahaphat, the king of Judah, I would not have looked towards thee, nor seen thee.' Plain it is, that the prophet was a subject in the kingdom of Israel, and yet how little reverence he giveth to the king. We hear Jeremiah the prophet was commanded to cry to the king and queen, and to say, 'Behave yourselves lowly, execute justice and judgment, &c. or else your carcases shall be cast to the heat of the day, and unto the frost of the night.' Unto Coniah, Shallum, and Zedekiah, he speaketh in special, and shews to them, in his public sermons, their miserable ends: and therefore ye ought not to think it strange, my lord, said he, albeit the servants of God tax the vices of kings and queens, even as well as of other offenders; and that because their sins are more noisome to the commonwealth than are the sins of inferior persons.

The most part of this reasoning, secretary Lethington leaned upon the master of Maxwell's breast, who said, I am almost weary, I would some other would reason on the chief head, which is yet untouched.

Then the earl of Meriton, chancellor, commanded Mr. George Hay to reason against John Knox, on the head of obedience due to magistrates, who began so to do. Unto whom John Knox said, Brother, that ye shall reason in opposition to me, I am well content, because I know you to be both a man of learning and of modesty; but that you shall oppose yourself unto the truth, wherof I suppose your own conscience is no less persuaded than is mine, I cannot well approve; for I would be sorry, that ye and I should be reputed to reason as two scholars of Pythagoras, to shew the quickness of our wit, as it were, to reason on both parts. I protest here before God, that whatsoever I sustain, I do the same in conscience; yea, I dare no more sustain a proposition, known to myself untrue, than I dare teach false doctrine in the public place; and therefore, brother, if conscience move you to oppose yourself to that doctrine, which ye have heard out of my mouth in that matter, do it boldly, it shall never offend me: but that ye shall be found to oppose yourself unto me, ye being persuaded of the same truth, I say yet again, it pleaseth me not; for therein may be greater inconvenience than either ye or I do consider for the present.

The said Mr. George answered, That I will not oppose myself unto you, as one willing to impugn or confute that head of doctrine, which not only ye, but many others, yea, and myself, have affirmed; far be it from me, for so should I be found contradictory to myself: for my lord secretary knows my judgment on that head.

Mary, said the secretary, you are, in my opinion, the worst of the two; for I remember that your reasoning, when the queen was in Carrick.

Well, said John Knox, seeing, brother, God hath made you one to fill the chair of verity, wherein, I am assured, we agree in all principal heads of doctrine; let it never be said, that we agree not in disputation. John Knox was moved thus to speak, because he understood more of the craft than the other did. Well, said Lethington, I am somewhat better provided in this last head than I was in the other two. Mr. Knox, said he, yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th of the Romans; we heard the mind of the apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God hath

established powers upon the earth; we heard of the necessity that mankind hath of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared: but in two things I was offended, and, as I think, some more of the lords that were present; which was, ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God, and the persons that were placed in authority: and ye affirmed, that men might refuse the persons, and yet not offend against God's ordinance.

This is one: the other ye had no time to explain; but this I thought ye meant, that subjects were not bound to obey their princes, if they command unlawful things, but that they might refuse their princes, and that they were not ever bound to suffer.

In very deed, said the other, ye have rightly both marked my words, and understood my mind; for of the same judgment I have long been, and yet so remain.

How will you prove your division and difference, said Lethington, and that the persons placed in authority may be resisted, and the ordinance of God not transgressed, seeing that the apostle saith, 'He that resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God?'

My lord, said he, the plain words of the apostle make the difference, and the acts of many, approved by God, prove my affirmative. *First*, The apostle affirms, That the powers are ordained of God, for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors; wherof it is plain, that the ordinance of God, and the power given unto man, is one thing, and the person clad with the authority is another: for God's ordinance is the preservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintenance of virtue, which is in itself holy, just, constant, stable, and perpetual; but men, clad with the authority, are commonly profane and unjust, yea, they are mutable, transitory, and subject to corruption, as God threateneth them by his prophet David, saying, 'I have said ye are gods, and every one of you the sons of the Most High; but ye shall die as men, and ye princes shall fall like others.' Here I am assured, that the persons, yea, soul and body, are threatened with death; I think that so you will not affirm, is the authority, the ordinance, and the power, wherewith God endued such persons; for, as I have said, as it is holy, so it is the permanent will of God. And now, my lord, that the prince may be resisted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated, it is evident, for

the people resisted Saul, when he had sworn by the Living God that Jonathan should die; the people, I say, swore to the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, so that a hair of his head fell not: now Saul was their anointed king, and they were his subjects; and yet they so resisted him, that they made him no better than mansworn.

I doubt, said Lethington, if in so doing the people did well. The Spirit of God, said the other, accuses them not of any crime, but rather praises them, and condemns the king, as well for his foolish vow and law made without God, as for his cruel mind, that would so severely have punished an innocent man: but herein I will not stand; this that followeth shall confirm the former. This same Saul commanded Abimelech and the priests of the Lord to be slain, because they had committed treason, as he alledged, for intercommuning with David: his guard, and principal servants, would not obey his unjust commandment; but Doeg, the flatterer, put the king's cruelty in execution. I will not ask your judgment, Whether that the servants of the king, in not obeying his commandment, resisted the ordinance of God or not? or, Whether Doeg, in murdering the priests, gave obedience to a just authority? for I have the Spirit of God, speaking by the mouth of David, for assurance, as well of the one as of the other; for he, in his fifty-second Psalm, condemns that act, as a most cruel murder; and affirms, That God would punish not only the commander, but also the merciless executer: and therefore I conclude, That they who gainstood his commandment, resisted not the ordinance of God.

And now, my lord, to answer to the place of the apostle, who affirms, That such as resist the power, resist the ordinance of God; I say, That the power in that place is not to be understood of the unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God hath armed his magistrates and lieutenants to punish sin, and to maintain virtue. And if any man should enterprise to take from the hands of the faithful judge, a murderer, an adulterer, or any malefactor that deserved death, this same resisteth God's ordinance, and procureth to himself vengeance and damnation, because that he staid God's sword from striking: but so it is not, if men, in the fear of God, oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes, for so they resist not God, but the devil, who abuses the sword and authority of God.

I understand sufficiently, said Lethington, what ye mean; unto the one part I will not oppose my-

self, but I doubt of the other: for if the queen would command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her; but if she would command others to do it, or yet by colour of justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the queen and her officers. With protestation, said the other, That the auditors think not that I speak in favours of myself, I say, my lord, That if ye be persuaded of my innocence, and if God hath given unto you such power and credit as might deliver me, and yet suffer me to perish, that, in so doing, ye should be criminal, and guilty of my blood. Prove that, and win the debate, said Lethington. Well, my lord, said the other, remember your promise, and I will be short in my probation: the prophet Jeremiah was apprehended by the priests and prophets (who were a part of the authority within Jerusalem), and by the multitude of the people, and this sentence was pronounced against him, 'Thou shalt die the death, for thou hast said, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate, without any inhabitant,' &c. The princes hearing the uproar, came from the king's house; and sat down in judgment, in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house; and there the priests and prophets, before the princes, and before all the people, intended their accusation in these words: 'This man is worthy to die, for he hath prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard.' Jeremiah answered, 'That whatsoever he had spoken proceeded from God; and therefore, said he, As for me, behold, I am in your hands, do with me as ye think good and right; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth, the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words,' Jer. xxvi. Now, my lord, if the princes and the whole people should have been guilty of the prophet's blood, how shall ye, or others, be judged innocent before God, if ye shall suffer the blood of such as have not deserved their blood to be shed, when ye may save it?

The cases are nothing alike, said Lethington. And I would learn, said the other, wherein the dissimilitude stands. First, said Lethington, the king had not condemned him to death: and next, the false prophets, the priests, and the people, accused him without a cause; and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood. Neither of these, said John Knox, militates against my argu-

ment: for albeit the king was neither present, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the princes and chief counsellors there sitting in judgment, who represented the king's authority, hearing the accusation laid to the charge of the prophet; and therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is said; *viz.* That in case he should be condemned, and so put to death, that the king, the council, and the whole city of Jerusalem, should be guilty of his blood, because that he had committed no crime worthy of death: and if ye think that they all should have been criminal, only because that they all accused him, the plain text witnesseth the contrary; for the princes defended him, and so, no doubt, did a great part of the people; and yet he boldly affirmed, That they should be all guilty of his blood, if he should be put to death. And

The prophet Ezekiel gives the reason why all are guilty of common corruption; because, saith he, 'I sought a man amongst them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it, but I found none; therefore have I poured forth my indignation upon them.' Hereof, my lord, said he, it is plain, that God craves not only that man should do no iniquity in his own person, but also that he oppose himself to all iniquity, so far as in him lieth. Then will ye, said Lethington, make subjects to control their princes and rulers. And what harm, said the other, should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects, that they should do no wrong, nor no violence to any man?

All this reasoning, said Lethington, is out of the purpose; for we reason as if the queen should become such an enemy to our religion, that she should persecute it, and put innocent men to death; which, I am assured, she never thought, nor never will do: for if I should see her begin at that end, yea, if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as far forward in that argument as ye, or any other within the realm: but there is no such thing. Our question is, Whether that ye may suppress the queen's mass? or, Whether that her idolatry shall be laid to our charge? What ye may do by force, said John Knox, I dispute not; but what ye may and ought to do by God's express commandment, that I can tell: idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but the idolater also ought to die the death. But by whom, said Lethington? By the people of God, said the other; for the

commandment was given to Israel, as ye may read, 'Hear, Israel, says the Lord, the statutes and ordinances of the Lord thy God,' &c.: yea, a commandment is given, that if it be heard that idolatry is committed in any one city, inquisition shall be taken; and if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people arise and destroy that city, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor child.

But there is no commandment, said the secretary, given to punish their king, if he be an idolater. I find no privilege granted unto kings, said the other, by God, more than unto the people, to offend God's majesty. I grant it, said Lethington; but yet the people may not be judges to their king, to punish him, albeit he be an idolater. God, said the other, is the universal Judge, as well unto the king, as to the people; so that what his word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other. We agree in that, said Lethington: but the people may not execute God's judgment, but must leave it unto himself, who will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other kind of his plagues.

I know, said John Knox, the last part of the reason to be true: but for the first, that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgments against their king, being an offender, I am assured, ye have no other warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend their princes than God.

Why say ye so, said Lethington? I have the judgment of the most famous men in Europe, and of such as ye yourself will confess both godly and learned. And with that he calls for his papers; which produced by Mr. Maitland, he began to read, with great gravity, the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, the minds of Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, how Christians should behave themselves in time of persecution; yea, the book of Baruch was not omitted, with this conclusion, The gathering of those things, said he, hath cost me more travel than I took these seven years in reading commentaries.

The more pity, said the other; and yet what you have profited in your own cause, let others judge. But as for my argument, I am assured, you have weakened it in nothing: for your first two witnesses speak against the Anabaptists, who deny that Christians should be subject to magistrates, or yet that it is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate; whose opinion I no less abhor than ye do, or any other that liveth. The others speak of Christians subject to tyrants and infidels, so dis-

perfected, that they have no other force, but only to Job unto God for deliverance: that such indeed should hazard any further than these godly men will them, I cannot hastily be of counsel: but my argument hath another ground; for I speak of a people assembled in one body of a commonwealth, unto whom God hath given sufficient force, not only to resist, but also to suppress all kind of open idolatry; and such a people, yet again I affirm, are bound to keep their land clean and unpolluted.

And that this my division shall not appear strange unto you, ye shall understand that God requires one thing of Abraham and of his seed, when he and they were strangers and pilgrims in Egypt and Canaan; and another thing required he of them, when they were delivered from the bondage of Egypt, and the possession of the land of Canaan granted unto them: the first, and during the time of their bondage, God craved no more, but that Abraham should not defile himself with their idolatry; neither was he nor his posterity commanded to destroy the idols that were in Canaan or in Egypt: but when God gave unto them possession of the land, he gave unto them this strict commandment, 'Beware that thou make not league or confederacy with the inhabitants of this land; give not thy sons unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters unto their sons, &c.: but this ye shall do unto them, cut down their groves, destroy their images, break down their altars, and leave thou no kind of remembrance of these abominations, which the inhabitants of the land used before; for thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: defile not thyself therefore with their gods,' &c.

To this commandment, I say, are ye, my lord, and all such as have professed the Lord within this realm, bound; for God hath wrought no less miraculously upon you, both spiritually and corporally, than he did unto the carnal seed of Abraham: for in what state your bodies, and this poor realm were within these seven years, yourselves cannot be ignorant; you and it were both in the bondage of a strange nation; and what tyrants did reign over your consciences, God perchance may yet again let you feel, because that ye do not rightly acknowledge and esteem the benefits received. When our poor brethren, that were before us, gave up their bodies to the flames of fire, for the testimony of God's truth, and when scarcely could ten be found in a country that rightly knew God, it had been foolishness to have craved of the nobility,

or of the subjects, the suppressing of idolatry; or that had been nothing but to have exposed the simple sheep as a prey to the wolves: but since that God hath multiplied knowledge, yea, and hath given the victory to his truth, even in the hands of his servants, if ye suffer the land again to be defiled, ye and your princess shall both drink the cup of God's indignation: she, for her obstinate abiding in manifest idolatry, in this great light of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and ye, for your permission and maintaining her in the same. Lethington said, In that point we will never agree.

And where find ye, I pray you, that ever any of the prophets, or of the apostles, taught such doctrine, That the people should be plagued for the idolatry of the prince: or yet, that the subjects might suppress the idolatry of their rulers, or punish them for the same? What was the commission given unto the apostles? My lord, said he, we know it was to preach, and plant the gospel of Jesus Christ, where darkness before had dominion; and therefore it behoved them to let them see the light, before that they should will them to put their hands to suppress idolatry; what precepts the apostles gave unto the faithful in particular, other than that they commanded all to fly from idolatry, I will not affirm: but I find two things which the faithful did, the one was, they assisted their preachers, even against the rulers and magistrates; the other was, they suppressed idolatry, wheresoever God gave unto them force, asking no leave of the emperor, nor of his deputies. Read the ecclesiastical histories, and ye shall find examples sufficient. And as to the doctrine of the prophets, we know they were interpreters of the law of God; and we know they spake as well unto the kings as unto the people. I read, that neither of both would hear them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both: but that they flattered the kings more than they did the people, I cannot be persuaded.

Now God's law pronounces death, as before I have said, to idolaters, without exception of persons. Now, how the prophets could rightly interpret the law, and shew the cause of God's judgments, which they ever threatened should fall for idolatry, and for the rest of the abominations that did accompany it (for it is never alone, but still corrupt religion brings with it a filthy and corrupt life); how, I say, the prophets could reprove the vice, and not shew the people their duty, I understand not: and therefore I constantly believe, that the doctrine of the prophets was so sensible, that

the kings understood their own abominations, and the people understood what they ought to have done in punishing and repressing them: but because that the most part of the people were no less rebellious unto God than were their princes, therefore the one and the other conspired against God, and against his servants. And yet, my lord, the fact, of some prophets are so evident, that thereby we may collect what doctrine they taught; for it would be no small absurdity to affirm, that their facts did repugn to their doctrine.

I think, said Lethington, ye mean of the history of Jehu: What will ye prove thereby? The chief head, said John Knox, that ye deny, *viz.* That the prophets never taught, that it appertained to the people to punish the idolatry of their kings: the contrary whereof I affirm; and for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a prophet: for ye know, my lord, saith he, that Elisha sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him a commandment to destroy the house of his master Ahab, for the idolatry committed by him, and for the innocent blood that Jez'bel his wicked wife had shed; which he obeyed, and put in full execution, for which God promised unto him the stability of the kingdom unto the fourth generation.

Now, said he, here is the fact of a prophet, that proves that subjects were commanded to execute God's judgments upon their king and prince. There is enough, said Lethington, to be answered thereto, for Jehu was a king before he put any thing in execution; and, besides that, the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated. My lord, said the other, he was a mere subject, and no king, when the prophet's servant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow-captains, hearing of the message, blew the trumpet, and said, Jehu is king; yet, I doubt not, but Jezebel both thought and said, that he was a traitor, and so did many others that were in Israel and in Samaria.

And as touching that ye alledge, that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitated; I say, that it had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commandeth the idolater to die the death; and therefore I yet again affirm, that it is to be imitated of all those that prefer the true honour of the true worship and glory of God, to the affections of flesh and wicked princes. We are not bound, said Lethington, to follow extraordinary examples, unless we have the like commandment and assurance. I grant it, said the other, if

the example repugn to the law; as if an avaricious and deceitful man would borrow silver, raiment, or other necessities, from his neighbour, and withhold the same; alledging, that so he might do, and not offend God, because the Israelites, at their departure forth of Egypt, did so to the Egyptians: the example served to no purpose, unless that they could produce the like cause, and the like commandment, that the Israelites had; and that because their fact repugn to this commandment of God, 'Thou shalt not steal?' but where the example agrees with the law, and is, as it were, the execution of God's judgment, expressed within the same; I say, that the example approved of God, stands to us in place of a commandment; for as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not condemn, in the ages subsequent, that which he hath approved in his servants before us: but in his servants before us, he, by his own word, confounds all such as crave further approbation of God's will, than is already expressed within his Scriptures; for Abraham said, 'They have Mocked and the prophets, whom if they will not believe, neither will they believe, albeit that any of the dead should rise.' Even so, I say, my lord, that such as will not be taught what they ought to do, by the commandment of God once given, and once put in practice, will not believe nor obey, albeit that God should send angels from heaven to instruct that doctrine.

Ye have produced but one example, said Lethington. One judiceth, said the other; but yet, God be praised, we lack not others; for the whole people conspired against Amaziah king of Judah, after that he had turned away from the Lord, and followed him to Laebish, and slew him, and took Uzziyah, and anointed him king instead of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the league and covenant, which was made betwixt their kings and them, at the inauguration of Joash his Father; *viz.* that the king and the people should be the people of the Lord, and then should they be his faithful subjects: from which covenant, when first the father, and after the son, had declined, they were both punished to the death, Joash by his own servants, and Amaziah by the whole people.

I doubt, said Lethington, whether they did well or not.

It shall be free for you, said the other, to doubt as you please, but where I find execution according to God's law, and God himself not to accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their

cause. And further, it appeareth to me, that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance of their fact; for he blessed them with victory, peace, and prosperity, for the space of fifty two years after.

But prosperity, said Lethington, does not always prove, that God approves the facts of men.

Yes, said the other, when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to God's own promise expressed in his law; I say, that the prosperity succeeding the fact, is a most infallible assurance that God hath approved that fact. Now so it is, that God hath promised in his law, That when the people shall exterminate and destroy such as decline from him, that he will bless them, and multiply them, as he hath promised unto their fathers. But so it is, that Amariah turned from God (for so the text doth witness); and plain it is, the people slew their king; and like plain it is, that God blessed them: therefore yet again conclude I, that God himself approved their fact, and, so far as it was done according to his commandment, it was blessed according to his promise.

Well, said Lethington, I think not the ground so sure as I durst build my conscience thereupon.

I pray God, said the other, that your conscience have no worse ground than this is, whensoever you shall begin that like work, which God in your own eyes hath already blessed. And now, my lord, said he, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I weary longer to stand. (Commandment was given that he should sit down; but he refused, and said, 'Melancholy reasons would have some mirth intermixed.') My last example, said he, my lord, is this, Uzziah the king, not content with his royal estate, presumptuously took upon him 'to enter within the temple of the Lord, to burn incense upon the altar of incense: and Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men; and they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to offer incense: go forth of the sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt have no honour from the Lord God.' Hereof, my lords, I conclude, that subjects not only may, but also ought to withstand and resist their princes, whensoever they do any thing that expressly repugns to God's law, or holy ordinance.

They that withstood the king, said Lethington, were not simple subjects, but were the priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ; and such priests have we none this day, to withstand kings, if they do any wrong.

That the high priest was the figure of Christ, said the other, I grant, but that he was not a subject, that I deny; for, I am assured, that he, in his priesthood, had no prerogative above those that passed before him: now so it is, that Aaron was subject to Moses, and called him his lord; Samuel, being both prophet and priest, subjected himself unto Saul, after he was inaugurated of the people; Zadok bowed before David; and Abiathar was deposed from the priesthood by Solomon; who all confessed themselves subjects to the king, albeit therewith they ceased not to be the figures of Christ. And whereas you say, We have no such priests this day, I might answer, That neither have we such kings this day, as then were anointed by God's commandment, and sat upon the seat of David, and were no less the figure of Christ Jesus in their just administration, than were the priests in their appointed office; and such kings, I am assured, we have not now, no more than we have such priests: for Christ Jesus being anointed in our nature, of God his Father, King, Priest, and Prophet, hath put an end to all external unction. And yet, I think, you will not say, That God hath now diminished his graces from those whom he appoints ambassadors betwixt him and his people, more than he doth from kings and princes: and therefore, why the servants of Jesus Christ may not also justly withstand kings and princes that this day no less offend God's majesty than Uzziah did, I see not; unless that ye will say, That we, in the brightness of the gospel, are not so strictly bound to regard God's glory, nor his commandments, as were the fathers, who lived under the dark shadows of the law.

Well, said Lethington, I will dip no farther in that head. But how resisted the priests the king? They only smote unto him, without further violence intended.

That they withstood him, said the other, the text assures me, but that they did nothing but spake, I cannot understand; for the plain text affirms the contrary, *viz.* That they caused him hastily to depart from the sanctuary; yea, and that he was compelled to depart; which manner of speaking, I am assured, in the Hebrew tongue, importeth more than exhorting, or commanding by word.

They did that, said Lethington, after he was espied to be leprous.

They withstood him before, said the other, but yet their last fact confirms my proposition so evidently, that such as will oppose themselves unto it, must needs oppose themselves unto God: for my assertion is, That kings have no privilege more than hath the people to offend God's majesty; and if so they do, they are no more exempted from the punishment of the law than is any other subject; yea, and that subjects may not only lawfully oppose themselves to their kings, whensoever they do any thing that expressly repugns to God's commandment, but also that they may execute judgment upon them according to God's law; so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or an idolater, he should suffer according to God's law, not as a king, but as an offender: and that the people may put God's law in execution, this history clearly proveth; for as soon as the leprosy appeared in his forehead, he was not only compelled to depart out of the sanctuary, but also he was removed from all public society and administration of the kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a house apart, even as the law commanded, and got no greater privilege in that case than any other of the people should have done, and this was executed by the people; for it is no doubt but more were witnesses of his leprosy than the priests alone; but we find none oppose themselves to the sentence of God pronounced in his law against the leprosy: and therefore yet again I say, that the people ought to execute God's law, even against their princes, when that their open crimes by God's law deserve punishment; but especially, when they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now, my lord, said he, I will reason no longer, for I have spoken longer than I intended.

And yet, said Lethington, I cannot tell what shall be the conclusion.

Albeit ye cannot, said the other, yet I am assured what I have proved; *viz.*

1. That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and therefore offended not God.

2. That subjects have refused to strike innocents, when a king commanded, and in so doing denied no just obedience.

3. That such as struck, at the commandment of the king, were before God reputed murderers.

4. That God hath not only of a subject made a king, but also hath armed subjects against their

natural king, and commanded them to take vengeance upon him according to his law.

5. And lastly, That God's people have executed God's law against their king, having no further regard to him in that behalf, than if he had been the most simple subject within the realm.

And therefore, albeit ye will not understand what should be concluded, yet I am assured, that not only may God's people, but also that they are bound to do the same, where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives to them the like power.

Well, said Lethington, I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion.

My lord, said the other, the truth ceaseth not to be truth, howsoever it be, that men must either know it, or gainstand it: and yet, said he, I praise God, I lack not the consent and approbation of God's servants on that head. And with that he presented unto the secretary the Apology of Magdeburg, and willed him to read the names of the ministers, who had subscribed the defence of the town to be a most just defence; and therewith added, That to resist a misled king, is not to resist God, nor yet his ordinance, &c. Which when he had read, he bowed and said, *Homines obscuri.* The other answered, *Dei tamen servi.* And Lethington arose and said, My lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide, and to give order unto preachers, that they may be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the queen's mass from her?

While some began to give, as it were, their votes (for some were appointed, as it were, leaders of the rest), John Knox said, My lords, I suppose ye will not act contrary to your lordships promise made to the whole assembly, which was, That nothing should be voted in secret, till that first all matters should be debated in public, and that then the votes of the whole assembly should put an end to the controversy. Now have I only sustained the argument, and have rather shown my conscience in most simple manner, than that I have insisted upon the force and vehemency of any one argument: and therefore I, for my part, utterly dissent from all voting, until the whole assembly have heard the propositions and the reasons of both parties; for I unfeignedly acknowledge, that many in that company are more able to sustain the argument than I am.

Think ye it reasonable, said Lethington, that such a multitude as are now convened should reason and vote in such heads and matters, that

concern the queen's majesty's own person and affairs?

I think, said the other, that whatsoever should bind the multitude, the multitude should hear it, unless they have resigned their power to commissioners, which they have not done, so far as I understand; for my lord justice-clerk heard them say with one voice, 'That in no ways would they consent that any thing there should be voted or concluded.'

I cannot tell, said Lethington, if my lords that be here present, and that bear the burden of such matters, should be bound to their will. What say ye, my lords, said he, will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?

After long reasoning, some that were made for the purpose, said, Why may not the lords vote, and then shew unto the church whatsoever is done?

That appears to me, said John Knox, not only a backward order, but a tyranny usurped upon the church; but for me, do as ye list, for as I reason, so I vote; yet protesting as before, that I dissent from all voting, till that the whole assembly understand as well the questions as the reasons.

Well, said Lethington, that cannot be done now, for too much time is spent; and therefore, my lord chancellor, said he, ask ye the votes, and take always one of the ministers, and one of us.

And so was the rector of St. Andrews commanded first to speak his conscience: who said, I refer it to the superintendent of Fife, for I think we are both of one judgment; and yet, said he, if ye will that I speak first, my conscience is this, That if the queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, that in that case the nobility and states of this realm, professors of the true doctrine, may justly oppose themselves to her: but as concerning her mass, I know it is idolatry; but I am not yet resolved, whether by violence we may take it from her or not. The superintendent of Fife said, That same is my conscience; and so affirmed some of the nobility: but others voted frankly, and said, That as the mass is abominable, so it is just and right that it should be suppressed; and that in so doing men did no more hurt to the queen's majesty, than they that should by force take from her a poisoned cup, when she was going to drink it.

Lastly, Mr. John Craig, fellow-minister with John Knox in the church of Edinburgh, was required to give his judgment and vote, who said, I will gladly shew unto your honours what I understand; but I greatly doubt, whether my knowledge

and conscience shall satisfy you, seeing you have heard so many reasons, and are so often asked by them: but yet I will not conceal from you my judgment, adhering first to the protestation of my brother, viz. That our voting prejudice not the liberty of the general assembly. I was, said he, in the university of Bononia, in the year of our Lord 1554, where, in the place of the blackfriars of the same town, I saw, in the time of their general assembly, this conclusion set forth: the time I heard reasoned, determined, and concluded:

CONCLUSION.

ALL rulers, be they supreme or inferior, may and ought to be reformed or bridled (to speak moderately) by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed, or admitted to their office, so oft as they break that promise made by oath to their subjects; because that the prince is no less bound by oath to the subjects, than are the subjects to their princes; and therefore ought it to be kept, and reformed equally, according to law, and condition of the oath that is made of either party.

This conclusion, my lords, I heard sustained and concluded, as I have said, in a most notable auditory. The sustainer was a learned man, Mr. Thomas de Finola rector of the university, a man famous in that country: Mr. Vincentius de Placentia affirmed the conclusion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man. The occasion of this disputation and conclusion, was a certain disorder and tyranny that was attempted by the pope's governors, who began to make innovations in the country against the laws that were before established, alledging themselves not to be subject to such laws, by reason that they were not instituted by the people, but by the pope, who was king of that country; and therefore they, having full commission and authority of the pope, may alter and change statutes and ordinances of the country, without any consent of the people. Against this usurped tyranny, the learned, and the people, opposed themselves: and when their all reasons which the pope's governors could alledge were heard and confuted, the pope himself was fain to take up the matter, and to promise, not only to keep the liberty of the people, but also that he should neither abrogate any law or statute, neither yet make any law, without their consent; and therefore, my lords, said he, my vote and my conscience is, That princes are not only bound to

their laws and promises to their subjects, but also that, in case they fail, they justly may be bridled; for the bond betwixt the prince and the people is reciprocal.

Then flart d up a claw-back of that corrupt court, and said, we know not what we say, for ye tell us what was done in Perouia: we are a kingdom, and they are a commonwealth.

My lords, said he, my judgment is, that every kingdom is, or at least should be a commonwealth; albeit that every commonwealth be not a kingdom; and therefore, I think, that in a kingdom no less diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated, than they ought to be in a commonwealth, because that the tyranny of princes, whose continuing in a kingdom is more hurtful to the subjects, than is the mis-government of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths: but yet, my lords, to assure you and all others, that head was disputed to the utmost, and then in the end was concluded, that they spake not of such things as were done in divers kingdoms and nations, by tyranny and negligence of people; But we conclude, said they, what ought to be done in all kingdoms and commonwealths, according to the law of God, and unto the just laws of men: and if, by the negligence of the people, or by the tyranny of princes, contrary laws have been made, yet may that same people, or their posterity, justly crave all things to be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths; and such as will not do so, deserve to eat the fruit of their own foolishness.

Mr. James Macgill, then clerk to the register, receiving the votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainness of the foresaid Knight of God, said, I remember that this same question was long debated on before in my house; and there, by reason we were not all of one mind, it was concluded, that Mr. Knox, in all our names, should have written to Mr. Calvin for his judgment in the controversy. Nay, said John Knox, my lord secretary would not consent that I should write, alledging, that the greatest weight of the answer stood in the narrative; and therefore promised, that he would write, and that I should see it: but when divers times I required him to remember his promise, I found nothing but delay. Whereunto the secretary answered, True it is, I promised to write, and true it is, that Mr. Knox required me so to do; but when I had ripely advised, and deeply considered the weight of the matter, I found more doubts than I did before: and this is one amongst

others, How durst I, being a subject, and the queen's majesty's secretary, take upon me to seek resolution of controversies depending betwixt her highness and her subjects, without her knowledge and consent?

Then was an acclamation of the claw-backs of the court, as if Apollo had given his response: It was wisely and faithfully done.

Well, said John Knox, let worldly men praise worldly wisdom as highly as they please, I am assured, that by such shifts idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jesus Christ is betrayed, whereof God one day will be avenged.

At this and the like sharpness were many offended, the voting ceased, and every faction began to speak as affection moved. John Knox in the end was commanded to write to Mr. Calvin, and to the learned in other churches, to know their judgment in that question: which he refused, shewing this reason; I myself am not only fully resolved in conscience, but also I have heard the judgments, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm, of the most godly and most learned that I knew in Europe; I came not to this realm without their resolution, and for my assurance I have the hand-writing of many; and therefore, if I should now move the said questions again, What should I otherwise do, but either shew mine own ignorance and forgetfulness, or else inconsistency? And therefore it may please you to pardon me, in that I write not: but I will teach you the surer way, which is, that you write and complain upon me, that I teach publicly, and affirm constantly such doctrine, which offends you; and so shall you know their plain minds, whether that they and I agree in judgment or not.

Divers said, The offer was good, but no man was found that would be the secretary; and so did that assembly and long reasoning break up: after which time the ministers, that were called precise, were held as monsters by all the courtiers. During all that time the earl of Murray was so strange to John Knox, that neither by word nor writ was there any communication betwixt them.

It was thought good by the assembly of the church immediately preceding, and conform to the acts made before the queen's arrival, and approved since, that Christ's true religion be *de novo* established, ratified, and approved throughout the whole realm; and that all idolatry, especially the mass, be abolished every where, so that no other face of religion be suffered to be erected within this realm: and for this effect, that the ministry be sufficiently pro-

vided with maintenance, and sure appointment, where they shall take up their stipends. In like manner to desire that the transgressors of the said laws be punished, especially in Aberdeen, the Castle of Gowry, Seafield, and other places which shall be specified. These articles were appointed to be presented to the lords of the secret council. The earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and the secretary, being present, and sent by the queen to observe what things were propounded in the assembly, thought not good that the articles should be propounded after this manner; but drew out two heads: First, They would declare the good mind and obedience of the assembly: next, They would labour at her majesty's hands for settling of religion, according to the order established before her arrival. They promised also to deal with her for set stipends. Lethington returned a gracious answer to these heads. It was appointed that a request should be presented to the queen, for obtaining the gift of the friars kirk of Kirkcudbright, to be holden hereafter the parish kirk of Kirkcudbright.

In the next month, which was July, the queen went into Athol to the hunting, from thence she made a progress into Murray, and returned to life in September. All this while there was appearance of love betwixt the two queens; for there were many letters, full of civility and compliments, sent from each of them to the other, in sign of amity, besides costly presents for tokens. In the mean time, the earl of Lennox laboured to come home from England: and, in the month of October, he arrived at Holyrood-house, where he was graciously received by the queen's majesty; namely, when he had presented the letters from the queen of England, written in his favour: and, because he could not be restored to his lands without act of parliament, therefore there was a parliament procured to be holden at Edinburgh, the 13th day of December: but before the queen would come to proclaim a parliament, she desired the earl of Murray, by whose means chiefly the said earl of Lennox came into Scotland, that there should no

word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned religion, in the parliament. But he answered, That he could not promise it. In the mean time, the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox were agreed.

At the day appointed, the parliament was held at Edinburgh, where the said earl of Lennox was restored, after twenty-two years exile: he was banished and forfeited by the Hamiltons, when they had the rule. There were some articles given in by the church, especially for the abolishing of the mass universally, and for punishment of vice; but there was little thing granted, except that it was ordained, That scandalous livers should be punished, first by prison, and then publicly shown unto the people with ignominy; but the same was not put in execution.

The general assembly of the church convened at Edinburgh, the 25th of December: the exhortation and invocation of the name of God being made by John Knox, John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, was chosen moderator. In this assembly Paul Methven's supplication, concerning his receiving to repentance, &c. was read and considered. The brethren were content to receive him, providing he presented himself personally before them, and shewed evident signs of unfeigned repentance, and willingness to obey such a form of repentance as they should enjoin. As for deleting the process out of their books, they could no ways condescend; neither thought they such a petition could proceed of the Holy Spirit, seeing David, a notable servant of God, was not ashamed to leave in register his offence, to God's glory, and his own confusion. Respecting his admission and re-entry to the ministry within this realm, it was answered, That could not be granted, till the memory of his former offence was more deeply buried, and some particular kirk within the realm made request for him: and further, that his entry into the ministry of England, he being excommunicated and unreconciled to the kirk, hath grievously offended them.

THE END OF BOOK FOURTH.

BOOK FIFTH.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

S C O T L A N D.

IN the end of January 1565, the queen past to Fife, and visiting the gentlemens houses, was magnificently banqueted every where, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this realm; which caused the wild fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a-piece. At this time was granted, by an act of parliament, the confirmation of the feus of church-lands, at the desire of divers lords, whereof the earl of Murray was chief. During the queen's absence, the Papists of Edinburgh went down to the chapel, to hear mass; and seeing there was no punishment, they waxed more bold; some of them thinking thereby to please the queen. Upon a certain Sunday in February, they made an even-song of their own, setting two priests on the one side of the quire, and one or two on the other side, with Alexander Stephen, minstrel (baptizing their children, and making marriages); who within eight days after was convicted of blasphemy, alledging, That he would give no more credit to the New Testament than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the doctors of the church.

The said superstitious even-song was the occasion of great slander; for many were offended with it: which being by the brethren declared to the lords of the privy council, especially to the earl of Murray, who lamented the cause to the queen's majesty, shewing her what inconvenience should come, if such things were suffered unpunished: and, after sharp reasoning, it was promised, that the like should not be done hereafter. The queen also alledged, that they were a great number, and that she could not trouble their consciences.

About the 20th of this month, arrived at Edinburgh Henry Stewart, lord Darnley; from thence he past to Fife: and, in the place of Wemyss, he was admitted to kiss the queen's hand; whom she liked so well, that she preferred him before all others, as shall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the month of March, the earl of Bothwell arrived here from France; whereat the earl of Murray was highly offended, because of the evil report made to him of the lord Bothwell: and, passing immediately to the queen's majesty, demanded of her, If it was her will, or by her ad-

vice, that he was come home? and, seeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other should leave the country; and therefore desired that he might have justice. Her answer was, That seeing the earl Bothwel was a nobleman, and had done her service, she could not hate him; nevertheless she would do nothing that might be prejudicial to the earl of Murray, but desired that the matter might be taken away. Within few days she caused summon the earl Bothwel, to answer to the course of law, the 2d of May, for the conspiracy which the earl of Arran had alledged two years before, and for the breaking of the ward of the castle. In the mean while there was nothing in the court, but banqueting and dancing, and other such pleasures, as were meet to provoke the disordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the queen's cousin from England, the lord Darnley, to whom she did shew all the expressions imaginable of love and kindness.

Within few days, the queen being at Stirling, order was given to secretary Lethington to pass to the queen of England. The chief point of his message was, to declare to the queen of England, that the queen was minded to marry her cousin the lord Darnley; and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both queens: for, by his mother, he was cousin-german to the queen of Scotland; also of near kindred, and of the same name, by his father: his mother was cousin-german to the queen of England. Here mark God's providence; king James V. having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the earl of Lennox his heir to the crown; but being prevented by sudden death, that design ceased. Then came the earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry king James's widow; but that failed also: he marries Mary Douglas, and his son marrieth Mary, the daughter of king James V. and so the king's desire is fulfilled, *viz.* the crown continueth in the name, and in the family. The queen of England nevertheless shewed herself no ways pleased therewith; but rather declared, that she would on no account suffer her subjects to make such contracts or alliance that might be prejudicial to her: and, for the same purpose, sent a post to the queen with letters, wherein she complained greatly of the mind of our mistress, seeing the great affection she bare to her, intending to declare her heirs of her realm of England, providing only that she would use her counsel in marriage; but she could not approve her marriage with the Lord Darnley, although he was

their near cousin by birth, since he was below the rank of the queen by condition, being but a private subject. At the same time, she wrote to the earl of Lennox, and to his son, commanding them to repair both into England.

Some write, That all this was but counterfeited by the queen of England, and from her heart she was glad of the marriage; for by that means the succession of the crown of England was secured, the lord Darnley being the right heir after the queen of Scotland; and queen Elizabeth was not angry to see her married to one of inferior rank, for by that means she thought the Scots queen would be less proud.

During this time there were certain letters directed to the brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundee, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and other places, from the brethren of Kyle, and other places in the west country, desiring the professors of the gospel in all places, to remember what the eternal God had wrought, and how potently he had abolished all kind of idolatry and superstition, and placed his word in this realm; so that no man could say otherwise, but it was the work of God; who also had delivered this country from the bondage and tyranny of strangers: nevertheless, by your slothfulness, we have suffered that idol the mass, not only to be planted again, but to increase so, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occasion of our destruction: and for that the Papists purposed to set up their idol at Easter following, in all places; which was to be imputed to the slothfulness, and want of godly zeal of the professors; therefore they admonished the brethren to strive to avert the evil in time, and not to suffer such wickedness to continue and increase, lest that God's heavy wrath come upon us unawares, like a consuming fire. By these letters many brethren were animated, and their spirits roused, minding to provide as God should give them grace. And first of all, by the advice of the most learned in Edinburgh, there was a supplication made, and given to the queen's majesty by the superintendent of Lothian, containing in effect, That the church in general of the realm had divers times most humbly craved of her majesty, that committers of adultery should be punished according to the law of God, and the acts of parliament; nevertheless they continued in their wickedness: and the Papists, of obstinate malice, pretended nothing else, but to erect and set up their idolatry and supersti-

tion; and especially, at Easter-day following, they intended to put the same in practice; which the brethren and professors of the gospel could not suffer: therefore wished her majesty to take heed of the matter.

This supplication the secretary received of the hands of the superintendants of Lothian and Glasgow, and told them in the queen's name, That there should be such provision made, as should serve to their contentment: and for the same purpose, the queen's majesty wrote to all such places as were suspected, especially to the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, as was said, not to use any mass; and that they should not do any such thing, as was feared by the Protestants, or convene any council; and thereto commanded them. Now the communion was administered in Edinburgh, the first day of April 1565: at which time, because it was near Easter, the Papists used to meet at their mass: and as some of the brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the bailies, took one Sir James Tarbat riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the tolbooth; and immediately clothed him again with all his garments, and carried him to the market-crofs, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and tying him fast to the said crofs, where he tarried the space of an hour; during which time the boys served him with his Easter-eggs. The next day, the said Tarbat, with his assistants, were accused and convicted by an assize, according to the act of parliament: and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all his punishment, he was set upon the market-crofs for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by, and keeping him; the boys and others were busy with eggs casting; and some Papists there were, that stopped them as far as they could: and as the press of people increased about the crofs, there appeared to have been some tumult. The provost, Archibald Douglas, came with some halberdeers, and carried the priest safe again to the tolbooth. The queen, being advertised, and having received sinister information, that the priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punishment; for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her religion: and it was affirmed, that the town should have been sacked, and a great number put to death. She sent to such as she pleased, commanding them to come to her

at Edinburgh suddenly, with their whole forces; and, in the mean time, she sent her advocate, Mr. Spence of Condie, to Edinburgh, to take a sure trial of the matter. The provost and council wrote to the queen the truth of the matter as it was, desiring her majesty to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports; and therewith sent to her majesty the process and inrolment of the court of the priest convict. Thus the queen's majesty being informed of the truth by her said advocate, sent again and staid the said meeting of men, and sent to the town a grave letter, whereof the copy followeth:

The Queen's Letter to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh.

PROVOST, bailies, and council of our city of Edinburgh, we received your letter from our advocate, and understand by this report, what diligence ye took to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; wherein as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult, so can we not take in good part, nor think ourselves satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, who were pleased to do justice by force, and without the magistrates authority, be condignly and really punished for their rashness and misbehaviour; for if all private persons should usurp, to take vengeance at their own hands, What lies in ours? And to what purpose hath good laws and statutes been established? Since therefore we have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders, prescribed by the laws, but have always maintained justice in that case, without respect of persons; it is our will, and we command you, as you will answer to us upon your obedience and allegiance, that you will take before you certain of the most responsible persons, who are declared authors of the said sedition, and usurpers of our authority, and to administer justice upon them, in such sort as we may know a sincerity on your parts, and our authority no ways slighted. But if you fail, persuade yourselves, and that shortly, we will not overlook it, but will account this contempt not only to be in the committers thereof, but in yourselves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part; remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which we look for, so soon as reason will permit.

Subscribed with our hand at Stirling,
this 24th of April 1565.

By this manner of writing, and high threatening, may be perceived how grievously the queen's majesty would have been offended, if the said Parbat and mass-monger had been handled according to his deservit; being not only a Papist idolater, but a mischief whom many a common soldier and drayman: nevertheless, within few days, the queen charged the prison and prisons to set him at liberty: commanding them further, That no man should trouble or molest him in any sort for whatsoever cause; and soon after rewarded him with a benefice: and likewise his officers, John Low and John Kennedy, were set at liberty in the same manner. At this Elder-tide, in Stirling, the queen made her domestic fervant use Popish rites and ceremonies; and more, she persuaded others by fair means to do the same, and threatened those that were most constant at the earl of Cassils's house. Upon the second day of May 1565, convened at Edinburgh, the earl of Murray, with his friends, in great numbers, to keep the day of law against the earl Bothwell; who being called, appeared not: only the laird of Riccarton protested, That the personal absence of the earl Bothwell should not be prejudicial to him, by reason that for just fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, since he had so powerful an enemy as the lord of Murray, who, next to the queen's majesty, was of greatest estimation and authority of any man within this realm, to whom assisted, at this present day of law, seven or eight hundred men, which force he could not resist, and therefore had absented himself. Which protestation being made, those that had been fervants for his appearance were outlawed. The said earl Bothwell, a few days after, pass into France, after he had been in Liddisdale, where, suspecting almost every man, he was not in great assurance of his life: notwithstanding he was not put to the horn; for the queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a soldier, as appeared within less than half a year; for she would not suffer the lord Morton, nor my lord Halcine, my lord of Murray's great friend, to keep the day. There assisted my lord of Murray, the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Crawford, with great numbers, and many lords and barons, who, for the most part, convened the same afternoon, to treat and consult for the maintaining of religion; where some articles were devised, and delivered to the lord of Murray, to be presented to the queen's majesty and privy council; which articles were enlarged at the general assembly following, as shall be declared. In the

mean time, as they were informed in court of this great assembly of people in Edinburgh, they were afraid; for naturally the queen hated and suspected all such conventions, as were not in her own presence, and devised by herself. The chief counsellors in the court, were the earls of Lennox and Athol.

The queen wrote immediately for all the lords to come to Stirling, so soon as she was advertised that they had treated in Edinburgh of religion: she wrote likewise for the superintendants, and other learned men, who went thither; and being there, they caused to keep the ports or gates, and make good watch about the town. The special cause of this convention was, to give to the lord Darnley titles of honour openly and solemnly, with consent of the nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of May the earl of Murray came to Stirling, where he was well received by the queen's majesty, as appeared; and immediately, as he passed with her to my lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing in effect, That inasmuch as, or since, the queen had contracted marriage with the lord Darnley; and that therefore sundry lords of the nobility had underwritten, ratified, and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him, in full parliament, the crown matrimonial (by a new consociation in policy, the crown for the second time is firmated Matrimonial (before, when the queen was first married, it was so called also), to serve and obey him and her, as their lawful sovereigns: the queen desired my lord Murray to subscribe, as many others had done before; which he refused to do, because, said he, it is required necessarily that the whole nobility be present, at least the principal, and such as he himself was posterior unto, before that so great a matter should be advised and concluded.

The queen's majesty, no ways content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, The greatest part of the nobility were there present, and content with the matter; wished him to be so much a Stuart, as to consent to the keeping of the crown in the family, and the surname, according to their father's will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death; but he still refused, for the causes above written.

Now, as the lords were assembled, an ambassador from England, named Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, arrived at Stirling; and in his company the laird of Lethington: the ambassador was at the castle-gate ere they were aware; and as he

stood there in the entry, he was desired to pass to his lodgings. The next day he had audience of the queen, and was graciously received, according to the dignity of his message. The whole sum of his message was, To shew and declare to the queen, how highly the queen his mistress was offended with this precipitated marriage, and wondered what had moved her to take a man of inferior rank and-condition to herself; and therefore dissuaded her therefrom: and especially desiring her most earnestly, to send home her subjects the earl of Lennox and the lord Darnley: but all in vain, for the matter was too far proceeded in. In her heart queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage; first, because if queen Mary had married a foreign prince it had been an addition to her greatness, and consequently she had been more redoubted by the other: next, both Henry and Mary were alike, and in equal degree of consanguinity unto her; the father of Mary, and the mother of Henry, being children to her father's sister.

With many fair words the queen let the ambassador depart, promising to do all she could to satisfy the queen of England; and for the same purpose she would send an ambassador to her.

In the mean time the queen's marriage with the lord Darnley was prepared and propounded in council; and the chief of the nobility, such as the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, with the rest, granted freely to the same, providing that they might have the religion established in parliament by the queen, and the idolatrous mass and superstition abolished. Shortly it was concluded, That they should convene again at St. Johnston, where the queen promised to take a final order for religion. The day was appointed, *viz.* the last of May, at Perth: my lord of Argyle came too late. The queen's majesty communed with the lords, who were very plain with her, saying, Except the mass was abolished, there should be no quietness in the country.

The twelfth day of May the lord Darnley was belted (that is, created) earl of Ross, with great solemnity, a belt or girdle being tied about his waste or middle; and albeit all kind of provision was made to make him duke of Rothefay, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royal were prepared to him for the same. For the entertainment of this triumph, there were many knights made, to the number of fourteen. The next day, which was the 13th of May, the queen called for the superintendants, by name John Willock, John Winram, and John Spotwood, whom

she cherished with fair words, assuring them, that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God, and satisfying of mens consciences; and the good of the commonwealth; and albeit she was not persuaded in any religion, but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised to them, that she would bear conference and disputation in the Scriptures: and likewise she would be content to hear public preaching, but always out of the mouth of such as pleased her majesty; and, above all others, she said, she would gladly hear the superintendant of Angus (for he was a mild and sweet-natured man), with true honesty and uprightnes, Mr. Erskine of Den.

Soon after the queen past to St. Johnston, after that she had directed Mr. John Hay, prior of Monymusk, to pass to England, who iped, at the queen of England's hand, even as Sir Nicholas Throgmorton did in Scotland. Before the day which was appointed for the meeting at St. Johnston, my lord of Murray, most careful of the maintenance of religion, sent to all the principal churches, advertising them of the matter, and desiring them to advise, and send the most able men in learning and reputation, to keep the day: but their craft and dissimulation appeared; for the dean of Restraig, who lately came from France, with others, such as Mr. John Ledy parson of Ure, afterward bishop of Ross, caused the queen to understand that thing, whereof she was easily persuaded, *viz.* That there ought to be given to all men liberty of conscience; and for this purpose, to shun or put off the first day appointed, the queen writ to the nobility, That because she was informed that there were great meetings out of every shire and town in great number, and then the other party (so termed she the Papists) were minded to gather to the said convention, which should apparently cause trouble or sedition, rather than any other thing; therefore she thought it expedient, and willed them to stay the said meetings, and to defer the same till such a day that she should appoint with advice of her council. At this time there was a parliament proclaimed to be held at Edinburgh, the twentieth day of July.

By this letter some of the Protestants, of best judgment, thought themselves sufficiently warned of the inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her council, at this time, was only the earls of Lennox and Athol, the lord Ruthven, but chiefly David Rizio the Italian ruled all; yet the earl of Ross was already in greatest credit and familiarity. These letters were sent out to the lords, about

the twenty-eighth day of May; and, within twelve days thereafter, the directed new missives to the chief of the nobility, desiring or commanding them to come to St. Johnston, the twenty-third day of June following, to consult upon such things as concerned religion, and other things as her majesty should propose; which day was even the day before that the general assembly should have been held in Edinburgh. This last letter uttered the effect of the former; so that the Protestants thought themselves sufficiently warned. As the earl of Murray was passing to St. Johnston, to have kept the said day, he chanced to fall sick of the flux in Lochlevin, where he remained till the queen came forth of St. Johnston to Edinburgh, where the general assembly of the whole church of Scotland was held, the twenty-fourth day of July. The earls of Argyll and Glencairn assisted the church, with a great company of lords, barons, and others: it was there ordered and concluded, That certain gentlemen, as commissioners from the church national, should pass to the queen's majesty, with certain articles, to the number of six, desiring her most humbly to ratify and approve the same in parliament. And because the said articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to insert the same word by word.

Imprimis, That the Papisical and blasphemous mass, with all Papisical idolatry, and papal jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout this realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's own person, with punishment against all persons that should be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: and that the sincere word of God, and Christ's true religion, now at this present received, be published, approved, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's own person, as in the subjects: and that the people are to resort, upon the Sundays at the least, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, even as they were before to the idolatrous mass: and these heads to be provided by act of parliament, and ratified by the queen's majesty.

Secondly, That provision be made for sustentation of the ministry, as well for the time present as the time to come: and that such persons, as are presently admitted to the ministry, may have their livings assigned unto them, in places where they travel in their calling, or at least next adjacent thereto: and that the benefices now vacant, or that have been vacant since the month of March

1558, or that hereafter shall happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's word, and discharge the vocation concerning the ministry, by trial and admission of the superintendants and overseers: and that no benefice or living, having many churches annexed thereunto, be disposed altogether, in any time to come, to any man, but at the least the churches thereof be severally disposed, and that to several persons; so that every man having charge, may serve at his own church, according to his vocation: and, to that effect, likewise the glebes and the manse be given to the ministers, that they may make residence at their churches, whereby they may discharge their consciences according to their vocation: and also, that the kirks may be repaired accordingly: and that a law be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as is said.

Thirdly, That none be permitted to have charge of souls, colleges, or universities, neither privately nor publicly teach and instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the superintendants or visitors of churches, and found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.

Fourthly, For the sustentation of the poor, that all lands founded for hospitality of old, be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, annuals, rents, or any other emoluments, pertaining any ways some time to the friars, of whatsoever order they had been of; as likewise the annuities, alterations, obits, and the other duties pertaining to priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and upholding of the town-schools in towns, and other places where they be.

Fifthly, That such horrible crimes as now abound within this realm without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his word; such as idolatry, blasphemy of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, maintenance of brothels, murder, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished, and judges appointed in every province and diocese, for execution thereof, with power to do the same, and that by act of parliament.

Lastly, That some order be devised and established, for ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of the tithes, who are oppressed by the leasers of the tithes, set over their heads without their own consent and advice.

The persons who were appointed by the church to carry these articles, and present them to the queen's majesty, were the lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spot, and Grange of Angus; and James Baron for the burghs: these five past from Edinburgh to St. Johnston, where they presented the said articles to the queen's majesty, desiring and requiring her highness most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them answer. The next day, ere they were aware, the queen departed to Dunkeld, and immediately they followed; and after they had gotten audience, they desired the queen's majesty most humbly to give their dispatch. She answered, That her council was not there present, but she intended to be in Edinburgh within eight days, and there they should receive their answer. At the same time, as the general assembly was holden in Edinburgh, the brethren perceiving the Papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at St. Leonard's Craigs, where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed.

And when the five commissioners, above named, had waited upon the court four or five days, after her majesty's coming to Edinburgh, there the matter was proposed in council: and, after long and earnest reasoning upon these articles, at length it was answered to the commissioners by the secretary, That the queen's majesty's command was, that the matter should be reasoned in her presence; which for the gravity of the same, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the queen's majesty had heard more in that matter than ever she did before: but, within eight days thereafter, she understood that a great part of the nobility should be present at Edinburgh, where they should have a final answer. At length, on the twenty-first of August, they received the answer in writing in her presence, according to the tenor hereof, as followeth:

The Queen's Majesty's Answer to the Articles presented to her Highness, by certain Gentlemen, in the Name of the whole Assembly of the Church.

To the first, desiring the mass to be suppressed and abolished, as well in the head, as in the members, with punishment against the contraveners; as also, the religion professed to be established by act of parliament; it was answered, first

for her majesty's part, That her highness is no way yet persuaded in the said religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the mass; and therefore believeth, that her loving subjects will not press her to receive any religion against her conscience, which should be unto her a continual trouble by remorse of conscience, and therewith a perpetual inquietness. And, to deal plainly with her subjects, her majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion wherein she hath been nourished and brought up, and believeth the same to be well grounded: knowing, besides the grudge of conscience that she should receive upon the change of her own religion, that she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the married ally of this realm, and of other great princes her friends and confederates, who would take the same in evil part, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her necessities: and, having no assured consideration that may countervail the same, she will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an instant: praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodness, that she hath neither in times past, nor yet intends hereafter, to press the conscience of any, but that they may worship God in such sort, as they are persuaded in their conscience to be best; that they will also not press her conscience. As to the establishing of religion in the body of the realm, they themselves know, as appears by their articles, that the same cannot be done only by consent of her majesty, but requires necessarily the consent of the states in parliament; and therefore, so soon as the parliament holds, those things which the states agree upon amongst themselves, her majesty shall consent unto the same; and in the mean time shall make sure, that no man be troubled for using religion according to conscience; so that no man shall have cause to doubt, that for religion's sake mens lives and heritages shall be in any hazard.

To the second article, it is answered, That her majesty thinks it no ways reasonable, that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to put the patronage of benefices out of her own hands; for her own necessity, in bearing of her port and common charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part in her own hands: nevertheless her majesty is well pleased, that consideration being had of her own necessity, and what may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers, a special assignation be made to them in places most commodious and meet; with which her majesty

shall not meddle, but suffer the same to come to them.

To the third article, it is answered, That her majesty shall do therein as shall be agreed by the states in parliament.

To the fourth article, Her majesty's liberality towards the poor shall always be so far extended as can be reasonably required at her hands.

To the fifth and sixth articles, Her majesty will refer the taking order therein unto the states assembled in parliament.

As the queen's majesty came from St. Johnston, over Forth to the Callender, she was convoyed to the water-side of Forth with two hundred spears: for at that time it was reported, that there were some lying in wait at the Path of Dron. In the mean time the earl of Murray was in Lochlevin, and the earl of Argyle with him. Now in the Callender the lord Livingston had desired the queen's majesty to be witness to the christening of a child; for his lady was lately brought to bed: and when the minister made the sermon and exhortation concerning baptism, the queen's majesty came in the end, and said to the lord Livingston, That she would shew him that favour that she had not done to any other before: that is, That she would give her presence to the Protestant sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The queen being in the Callender, was informed, both by word and letters, by false brethren, That a great part of the Protestants of Edinburgh had lately convened upon St. Leonard's Craigs, and there formed a conspiracy against her: and had chosen, for the same purpose, certain captains, to govern the rest: and, without any trial, or perfect notice taken in the case, she sent to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clark, Gilbert Lawder, and Andrew Selater, and put them in prison in the castle.

This new and unaccustomed fashion of proceeding seemed to be very strange: and, because the said four persons were not apprehended, she sent the next day a charge to the provost and bailies, and to her own great treasurer, to pass to the houses of the said four men, and likewise to their booths or shops, and there to take inventory of all their goods and chattels; and commanded the said treasurer to take the keys of the said houses and booths, together with the said inventory: which was executed in effect, especially upon the said

Alexander Guthrie's wife, he being then common clerk, and one of the greatest in estimation within the town: his wife and children were shut out of their house, and compelled to seek some other lodging in the town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of spirit and judgment were wonderfully abashed and wounded, seeing and perceiving these things so furiously handled, upon sinister and wrong information; men never called to their answer, nor heard, nor any trial taken therein. Immediately thereafter, as she came to Edinburgh, she called to council such as pleased herself, and there complains of the said matter, alledging it to be a conspiracy and manifest treason. And another matter likewise was complained upon, That the earl of Argyle (as the queen was surely informed) was riding with a great army, to invade the earl of Athol and his lands. For the first matter, it was concluded by the council, That diligent inquiry should be made in the matter; and for that purpose appointed the queen's advocates, Mr. John Spence of Condie and Mr. Robert Crichton, to examine such as they would: and when the said advocates had called before them, and examined a sufficient number, and their depositions subscribed and delivered to the queen, there was nothing found worthy of death or treasonable. At length the said four persons were summoned to answer at law.

For the second matter, That the queen's majesty should send to the earls of Argyle and Athol some of her council, or familiar servants, to take order touching it. And when the secretary, the justice-clerk, and lord of St. Colm, had paid to the said earl of Argyle, they found no such thing: but in Athol there was great fear come of a sudden fray; for, after many proclamations, the fire-cross (which they made use of in lieu of beacons) was raised in Athol.

Now, as the day of the parliament approached, the lords pretending to consult before what should be done, as well in religion, as for the commonwealth, the fifteenth day of July there convened at Stirling, the duke, the earls of Argyle and Murray, Rothes, and other lords and barons; and, as they were devising and consulting, the queen's majesty, taking their meeting in evil part, sent her advocates, Mr. John Spence and Mr. Robert Crichton, to them at Stirling, requiring the cause of their meeting: they answered, That the special occasion of their meeting was for the cause of religion, and the assurance thereof, according as

they had lately written to the queen's majesty in Seton, from the town of Edinburgh; they desiring then to prorogue the day.

Finally, when the said advocates could by no means persuade them to come to Edinburgh, they returned again to Edinburgh, and declared to the queen's majesty according as they had found.

In the mean time the parliament was prorogued, at the queen's majesty's command, to the first of September next: for it was thought, that the most part and principal of the chief nobility being absent, there could no parliament be holden. At the same time the queen's majesty perceiving, that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripeness, so that the minds and secrecy of mens hearts mult needs be disclosed, she wrote to a great number of lords, barons, gentlemen, and others that were nearest in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Merse, Tiviotdale, Perth, Linlithgow, Clydesdale, and others, to resort to her, in this form of words hereafter following:

The Queen's Letter.

TRUSTY friend, we greet you well: we are grieved indeed by the evil report spread among our lieges, as that we should have molested any man in the using of his religion and conscience freely, a thing which never entered into our mind; yet since we perceive the too easy believing such reports hath made them careless, and so we think it becomes us to be careful for the safety and preservation of our state; wherefore we pray you most affectionately, that with all possible haste, after the receipt of this our letter, you, with your kindred, friends, and whole force, well furnished with arms for war, be provided for fifteen days after your coming, address you to come to us, to wait and attend upon us, according to our expectation and trust in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our authority, and will do us therein acceptable service.

Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh,
July 17, 1565.

There was likewise proclamation made in Edinburgh, That the queen minded not to trouble nor alter the religion; and also proclamations made in the shires above mentioned, for the same purpose, That all freeholders and other gentlemen should

resort, in the foresaid manner, to Edinburgh, where the earl of Rofs was made duke of Rothsay, with great triumph, the 23d day of July. The same afternoon the queen complained grievously against the earl of Murray, in open audience of all the lords and barons: and the same day the bans of the earl of Rofs and duke of Rethesay, and the queen's marriage, were proclaimed. About this time the lord Erskine was made earl of Marr. In the mean time there were divers messages sent from the queen's majesty to the earl of Murray; first, Mr. Robert Crichton, to persuade him by all means possible to come and resort to the queen's majesty. His answer was, That he would be glad to come to her, according to his bounden duty; yet forasmuch as such persons as were most privy in her company were his capital enemies, who also had conspired his death, he could no ways come, so long as they were in court.

Soon after my lord Erskine, and the master of Maxwel, past to him to St. Andrews, rather suffered and permitted by the queen, than sent by her highness; after them the laird of Dun, who was sent by means of the earl of Marr; but all this did not prevail with him: and, when all hope of his coming was past, an herald was sent to him, charging him to come to the queen's majesty, and answer to such things as should be laid to his charge, within forty-eight hours next after the charge, under pain of rebellion; and, because he appeared not the next day after the forty-eight hours, he was denounced rebel, and put to the horn. The same order they used against the earl of Argyle; for the queen said, She would serve him and the rest with the same measure they had met to others, meaning the said Argyle.

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled and inflamed, all means and ways were sought, to stir up enemies against the chief Protestants that had been lately at Stirling: for the earl of Athol was ready bent against the earl of Argyle, the lord Lindsay against the earl of Rothes in Fife, they being both Protestants; for they had contended now a long time for the heirship of Fife. And that no such thing should be left undone, the lord Gordon, who now had remained near three years in prison in Dunbar, was, after some little travel of his friends, received by the queen; and being thus received into favour, was restored first to the lordship of Gordon, and soon after to the earldom of Huntley, and to all his lands, honours, and dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the north to the earl of Murray.

The 18th of July, late in the evening, near an hour after the sun's going down, there was a proclamation made at the market-cross of Edinburgh, containing in effect :

THAT forasmuch as, at the will and pleasure of Almighty God, the queen had taken to her husband a right excellent and illustrious prince, Henry duke of Rothesay, earl of Ross, lord Darnley; therefore it was her will, that he should be holden and obeyed, and revered as king: commanding all letters and proclamations to be made in the names of Henry and Mary in times coming.

The next day following, at six o'clock in the morning, they were married in the chapel-royal of Holyrood-house, by the dean of Reitalrig, the queen being all clothed in mourning: but immediately, as the queen went to mass, the king went not with her, but to his pastime. During the space of three or four days there was nothing but dancing and banqueting.

In the mean time the earl Rothes, the laird of Grange, the tutor of Pitcur, with some gentlemen of Fife, were put to the horn, for non-appearance; and immediately the swash, tabor, and drums were stricken or beaten, for men of war to serve the king and queen's majesties, and to take their pay. This sudden alteration, and hasty creation of kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now amongst the people there were divers reports; for some alledged, that the cause of this alteration was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes: but they that considered the progress of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principal cause to be only for religion.

In this mean time the lords past to Argyle, taking apparently little care of the trouble that was to come: howbeit they sent into England Mr. Nicholas Elphinston for support, who brought some money into this country, to the amount of ten thousand pounds Sterling. There came one fourth of England to the queen, who got audience the seventh of August, in Holyrood-house. He was not well, &c.

About the fifteenth of August the lords met at Ayr; *viz.* the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, the lord Boyd, and Ochiltrie, with divers barons and gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, where they concluded to be in readiness, with their whole forces, the twenty-

fourth day of August. But the king and queen with great celerity prevented them; for their majesties sent through Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Tiviotdale, and Clydesdale, and other shires, making their proclamations in this manner: 'That
' forasmuch as certain rebels, who (under colour
' of religion), intended nothing but the trouble
' and subversion of the commonwealth, were to
' convene with such as they might persuade to as-
' sist them; therefore they charged all manner of
' men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to re-
' fort and meet their majesties at Linlithgow, the
' 24th day of August.'

This proclamation was made in Lothian, the third day of the said month. Upon Sunday, the nineteenth of August, the king came to the high-kirk of Edinburgh, where John Knox made the sermon: his text was taken out of the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah's prophecy, about the thirteenth verse, where, in the words of the prophet, he said, 'O Lord our God! other lords than thou
' have ruled over us.' Whereupon he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them: and, amongst other things, he said, That God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women: and some other words, which appeared bitter in the king's ears; as, that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel. And because he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the king (sitting on a throne made for that purpose) was so moved at this sermon, that he would not dine; and, being troubled with great fury, he past in the afternoon to the hawking.

Immediately John Knox was commanded to come to the council, where in the secretary's chamber were convened, the earl of Athol, the lord Ruthven, the secretary, the justice-clerk, with the advocate. There passed along with the minister a great number of the most respectable men of the town. When he was called, the secretary declared, That the king's majesty was offended with some words spoken in the sermon (especially such as are above rehearsed), desiring him to abtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr. Craig supply the place.

He answered, That he had spoken nothing but according to his text: and if the church would command him either to speak or abtain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him.

Within four days after, the king and queen sent to the council of Edinburgh, commanding them to depose Archibald Douglas, and to receive the laird of Craigmillar for their provost; which was presently obeyed.

The twenty-fifth of August, the king and queen's majesties pass from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and from thence to Stirling, and from Stirling to Glasgow. At their first arrival, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrival at Glasgow, the lords came to Paisley, where they remained that night, being in company about one thousand horse. The following day they came to Hamilton, keeping the high passage from Paisley near Glasgow, where the king and queen easily might behold them. The night following, which was the last but one of August, they remained in Hamilton with their company; but, for divers reasons, they thought it not expedient to tarry; especially, because the earl of Argyle was not come, for his diet was not before the second of September following, to have been at Hamilton. Finally, they took purpose to come to Edinburgh; which they did the next day. And albeit Alexander Erskine, captain under the lord his brother, caused to fire from the castle two shot of cannon, they being near the town; and likewise, that the laird of Craigmillar, provost, did his endeavour to hold the lords out of the town, in causing the common bells to be rung, for the convening of the town, to the effect aforesaid; yet they entered easily at the west port or gate, without any molestation or impediment, being in number, as they esteemed themselves, one thousand three hundred horse. Immediately they dispatched messengers southward and northward to assist them; but all in vain: and immediately after they were in their lodgings, they caused to beat the drum, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they should resort the day following to the church, where they should receive good pay: but they profited little that way, neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for few or none resorted unto them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were at Edinburgh, than they had done for five or six nights before.

The noblemen of this company were, the duke, the earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Oslitrie; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Beecomy, and Lawers; the tutor of Pitcur; the lairds of Bar, Carmel, and Dreg-horn; and the laird of Pittarro, comptroller, went

with them. Some said merrily, That they were come to keep the parliament; for the parliament was continued till the first day of September: on which day they wrote to the king and queen's majesties a letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were persecuted most unjustly, which they understood proceeded not of the king and queen's majesties own nature, but only by evil counsel, yet notwithstanding they were willing and content to suffer, according to the laws of the realm, providing that the true religion of God might be established, and the dependents thereupon be likewise reformed; beseeching their majesties most humbly to grant these things: but otherwise, if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand it would be dear bought. They had written twice, almost to the same effect, to the king and queen's majesties, after their passing from Edinburgh; for the laird of Preston presented a letter to the king and queen's majesties, and was therefore imprisoned, but soon after released; nevertheless they got no answer. The same day that they departed out of Hamilton, the king and queen's majesties issued out of Glasgow in the morning betimes; and, passing towards Hamilton, the army met their majesties near the bridge of Calder: as they mustered, the master of Maxwell sat down upon his knees, and made a long oration to the queen, declaring what pleasure he had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the earl of Murray. Soon after they marched forward in battle-array: the earl of Lennox took the van-guard, the earl of Morton the middle, and the king and queen the rear: the whole number were about five thousand men, whereof the greatest part were in the van-guard.

As the king and queen's majesties were within three miles of Hamilton, they were advertised, that the lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain: soon after their return to Glasgow, the king and queen were certainly advertised, that they were past to Edinburgh; and therefore caused immediately to warn the whole army to pass with them to Edinburgh the next day; who, early in the morning, long before the sun was risen, began to march: but there arose such a vehement tempest of wind and rain from the west, as the like had not been seen for a long time; so that a little brook turned instantly into a great river; and the raging storm being in their face, with great difficulty they went forward: and, albeit the most part grew weary, yet the queen's courage increased so

much, that she was ever with the foremost. There were divers persons drowned that day in the water of Carron; and, amongst others, the king's master, a notable Papist, who, for the zeal he bore to the mass, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well closed in a case, which always could not save him.

Before the end of August there came a post to the queen's majesty, sent by Alexander Erskine, who declared, That the lords were in the town of Edinburgh, where there was a multitude of innocent persons; and therefore desired to know if he should shoot. She commanded, that he should immediately return again to the said Alexander, and order him in her name, that he should shoot so long as he had either powder or bullet, and not spare for any body.

At night the king and queen came very wet to the Callender, where they remained that night; and, about eight o'clock at night, the first of September, the post came again to the castle, and reported the queen's command to Alexander Erskine; who directly caused to discharge six or seven shot of cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having respect to no reason, but only to the queen's command.

The lords perceiving that they could get no support in Edinburgh, nor soldiers for money, albeit they had travelled all that they could; and being advertised of the queen's returning with her whole company, they took purpose to depart: and so the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole company, and came to Lanark, and from thence to Hamilton, where the master of Maxwell came to them, with his uncle the laird of Drumlanark. And, after consultation, the said master wrote to the queen's majesty, That being required by the lords, as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and after that he had given them counsel to disperse their army, they thought it expedient to pass to Dumfries to repose them, where they would consult and make their offers, and send to their majesties: and thus beseeching their majesties to take this in good part. The town of Edinburgh sent two of the council of the town, to make their excuse.

The next day the king and queen past to Stirling, and sent to Edinburgh, and caused a proclamation to be made, commanding all men to return to Glasgow; where having remained three or four days, and understanding that the lords were past to Dumfries, they returned to Stirling, and from thence to Fife: and, in their passage, caused to

take in Castle Campbell, which was delivered without impediment to the lord of Sanquhar.

Before the king and queen went out of Stirling, there came from Edinburgh two companies of footmen, to convey them into Fife. In the mean time the burghs were taxed in great sums unaccustomed, for the payment of these soldiers: further, there were raised divers troops of horsemen, to the number of five or six hundred. The soldiers had taken two poor men, that had received the lords wages; which the two men being accused and convicted of, at the queen's command, were hanged at Edinburgh, the third day after the lords departure.

At this time Mr. James Balfour, parson of Flik, had gotten all the guiding in the court. The third day after the queen's coming to Fife, the whole barons and lairds of Fife convoyed her majesty, till she came to St. Andrews, where the said lairds and barons, especially the Protestants, were commanded to subscribe a bond, containing in effect, That they obliged themselves to defend the king and queen's persons against Englishmen and rebels: and, in case they should come to Fife, they should resist them to their uttermost power; which charge every man obeyed.

The second night after the queen's coming to St. Andrews, she sent a band or troop of horsemen, and another of foot to Lundy; and at midnight took out the laird, a man of eighty years of age: then they passed to Fawside, and took likewise Thomas Scot, and brought him to St. Andrews, where they, with the laird of Bavard, and some others, were commanded to prison. This manner of usage being unknown and strange, was heavily spoken of, and a great terror to others, who thought themselves warned of greater severity to come.

In the mean time the houses of the earls of Murray, Rothes, and of divers gentlemen, were given in keeping to such as the queen pleased, after that their children and servants had been cast out.

At the same time, the duke, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with the laird of Cunninghamhead, and the rest, were charged to come and present themselves in St. Andrews, before the king and queen's majesties, to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge, within six days, under the pain of rebellion: the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced rebels, and put to the horn.

As the queen remained in St. Andrews, the inhabitants of Dundee being fore afraid, because of some evil report made of them to the queen, as if they had troubled the queen, in seeking men of war, and suffered some to be raised in their town for the lords; for there was nothing done in Dundee but it was revealed to the queen; especially that the minister had received a letter from the lords, and delivered the same to the brethren, persuading them to assist the lords; which being granted by the minister, the queen remitted it. After great travel and supplication made by some noblemen, at length, the king and queen being in the town, they agreed for two thousand merks, five or six of the principal left out, with some others that were put to their shift. After the king and queen had remained two nights in the town of Dundee, they came to St. Andrews, and soon after they came over the Forth, and so to Edinburgh. During this time the master of Maxwell wrote to the king and queen, making offers for, and in the name of the lords.

The next day after the king and queen's coming to Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made at the market-crofs: and because the same is very notable, I thought good to insert it here word by word, although it be somewhat long.

HENRY and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, to all and sundry our lieges and subjects whom it may concern, and to whose knowledge these letters shall come, greeting.

Forasmuch as in this uproar, lately raised up against us, by certain rebels, and their assistants, the authors thereof (to blind the eyes of the simple people) have given them to understand, that the quarrel they have in hand is only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly designs; and so, under that plausible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easy to be seduced. Now, for the preservation of our good subjects, whose case were to be pitied, if they blindly should suffer themselves to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodness of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to discover the poison that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all persons of clear judgment the same was evident enough before: For what other thing [is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and in a manner to invert the very order] might move the principal raisers of this tumult, to put themselves in arms against us so unnaturally, upon whom we had be-

flowed so many benefits, but that the great honour we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them mis-know themselves? And their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless they retain in their hands us, and our whole realm, to be led, used, and disposed of at their pleasure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God (for disclosing their hypocrisy) had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to govern; for now, by letters sent from themselves to us, which make plain profession, that the establishing of religion will not content them, but we must be forced to govern by council, such as it shall please them to appoint us, a thing so far beyond all measure, that, we think, the bare mention of so unreasonable a demand, is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolk their most mortal enemies, and all men to run on them without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain still in the state of a kingdom: for what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the prince obey, and subjects command? The like was never demanded of any of our most noble progenitors heretofore; yea, not of governors and regents: but the prince, and such as have filled their place, chose their council of such as they thought most fit for the purpose. When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first returning into this our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure; and now, when we are at our full maturity, Shall we be brought back to the state of pupils, and be put under tutory? So long as some of them bore the whole sway with us, this matter was never called in question; but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all at their pleasure, they will put a bridle into our mouths, and give us a council chosen after their fancy. This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand: this is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives, and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels against your natural prince. To speak in good language, they would be kings themselves, or at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the kingdom.

We have thought good to make publication hereof, to shew, that you suffer not yourselves to be deceived, under pretence of religion, to follow them, who, preferring their particular advance-

ment to the public tranquillity, and having no care of you, in respect of themselves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter destruction. Alluring you, as you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your goods, and lived at liberty of your conscience, so may you be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us always your good and loving princes, to so many as shall continue in due obedience, and do the office of faithful and natural subjects.

Given under our signet at St. Andrews, the 11th of December, and of our reigns the first and twenty-third years, 1565.

Now the lords desired, next to the establishing of religion, that the queen's majesty, in all the affairs of the realm and commonwealth, should use the counsel and advice of the nobility, and ancient blood of the same; whereas, in the mean time, the counsel of David and Francisco the Italians, with Feuller the Englishman, and Mr. James Balfour parson of Flish, was preferred before all others, save only the earl of Athol, who was thought to be a man of gross judgment, but nevertheless in all things given to please the queen. It was now finally come to this point, that instead of law, justice, and equity, only will ruled in all things. There was, through all the country, set out a proclamation in the king and queen's names, commanding all persons to come and meet them at Stirling, the first day of October following, with twenty days provision, under pain of life, lands, and goods. It was uncertain whether their majesties intended to pass from Stirling or not; and I believe the principal men knew not well at that time; for a report was, That by reason the castles of Hamilton and Draxen were kept fortified and victualled at the duke's command, that they would pass to besiege the said houses, and give them some shot of a cannon: others said, They would pass towards my lord of Argyle, who had his people always armed; whereof his neighbours were afraid, especially the inhabitants of Athol and Lennox; but at length it was concluded, that they should pass to Dumfries, as shall be declared.

During this time there were propositions made continually to the king and queen, by the lords, desiring always their majesties most humbly to receive them into their hands: their articles tended continually to these two heads, *viz.* To abolish the mass, root out idolatry, and establish the true re-

ligion; and that they, and the affairs of the realm, should be governed by the advice and counsel of the true nobility of the same, offering themselves, and their cause, to be tried by the laws of the country. Yet nothing could be accepted or taken in good part, albeit the master of Maxwell laboured by all means to redress the matter, who also entertained the lords most honourably in Dumfries, for he had the government of all that country. But he himself incurred the queen's displeasure so, that he was summoned to present himself, and appear before the king and queen's majesties, after the same form that the rest of the lords were charged with; and also commanded to give up the house of Lochmaben, and the castle which he had in keeping for the queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the horn as the rest. Nevertheless, there was no man that doubted of his goodwill and partaking with the lords; who, in the mean time, sent Robert Melvil to the queen of England, and declared their state to her majesty, desiring support.

Now the chief care and solicitude that was in the court, was, by what means they might come to have money; for notwithstanding this great preparation for war, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they destitute of the sinews of war; albeit the treasurers, and new comptroller, *viz.* the laird of Tullibarden, had disbursed many thousands; yet there was no appearance of payment of soldiers, nor scarcely how the king and queen's houses and pompous trains should be upheld: there was about six hundred horsemen, besides the guard, and three companies of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to one thousand pounds Sterling every month, a thing surpassing the usual manner of Scotland.

At this time arrived the earl of Bothwell, who was welcome, and graciously received by the queen, and immediately placed in council, and made lieutenant of the west and middle marches. Now as every one of the barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting, the earl of Athol demanded of Edinburgh two hundred pounds Sterling; but they refused to pay it: notwithstanding, October 27th, there was a certain number of the principal and rich persons of the town warned by a macer, to pass to the palace of Holyrood-house to the king and queen; who declared to them, that they had use for money; and therefore, knowing them to be honest men, and the inhabitants of the best city in their country, they must needs charge them; and for security they should have other men bound

for pledges. The sum that they desired, was one thousand pounds Sterling, and no less.

They being astonished, made no answer; but parson Flish standing by, said, That seeing the king and queen's majesties desired them so civilly, in a thing most lawful in their necessity, they did shew themselves not honest, to keep silence, and give no answer to their majesties, for that must needs be had of them which was required: and if they would not, they should be constrained by the laws, which they would not abide; for some of them had deserved hanging, said he, because they had lent large sums of money to the king and queen's enemies and rebels; and therefore they must shortly suffer great punishment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded, How much they would lend? Some made this excuse, and some that, by reason there were that offered to lend money; amongst whom there was one offered to lend twenty pounds. To him the earl of Athol said, Thou art worthy to be hanged that speakest of twenty pounds, seeing the princes charge thee so easily. Finally, they were all imprisoned; and soldiers set over them, having their musquets ready charged, and their matches lighted, even in the house with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one prison to another, there were six chosen out, and sent in the night to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed with musqueteers round about them, as if they had been murderers, or most vile persons.

At length, the third day, by means of the laird of Craigmillar provost, and some others, the sum was made more easy, *viz.* one thousand merks Sterling, to be paid immediately, and to have the superiority of Leith in pledge, *viz.* upon condition of redemption. And besides the said sum of one thousand merks Sterling, they paid one thousand pounds Sterling. For the meeting at Dumfries, at the day appointed for electing the officers, the queen sent in a ticket such as she would have them to chuse for provost, bailies, and council; whereof there were a number of Papists, the rest not worthy. Of the number given in by the queen, they named such as should rule for that year; notwithstanding, without free election, the laird of Craigmillar remained provost, who shewed himself most willing to set forward religion, to punish vice, and to maintain the commonwealth. All this time the ministers cried out against the mass and such idolatry, for it was more advanced by the queen than before.

The first day of October met in Edinburgh, the superintendant of Lothian, with all the ministers under his charge, according to their ordinary custom; for every superintendant used to convene the whole ministry: and there it was complained, That they could get no payment of their stipends, not only about the city, but through the whole realm: therefore, after reasoning and consultation taken, they framed a supplication directed to the king and queen, and immediately presented the same to their majesties, by Mr. John Spottiswood superintendant of Lothian, and Mr. David Lindsay minister of Leith: it contained in effect, That forasmuch as it had pleased the king and queen's majesties, with advice of the privy council, to grant unto the ministers of the word their stipends, to be taken off the thirds of the benefices, which stipends are now detained from the said ministers by reason of the troubles, and changing of the comptroller, whereby they are not able to live: and therefore, most humbly craved the king and queen's majesties to cause them to be paid. Their answer was, That they would cause order to be taken therein to their contentment.

Soon after the lord Gordon came to Edinburgh, and left the most part of his people at Stirling with his carriage; the king and queen, from hope of his good service to be done, restored him to his father's place, to the earldom of Huntley, the lands and heritage thereof. October 8th, the king and queen marched from Edinburgh towards Dumfries; and, as they passed from the palace of Holyrood-house, all men were warned with jack and spear. The first night they came to Stirling, and the next to Crawford: the day after the lairds of Drumlanerk and Lochinvar met the queen, albeit they had been with the lords familiar enough.

The lords perceiving; that all hope of reconciliation was past, they rode to Ednam, where they remained till the queen came to Dumfries, and then they past to Carlisle. Now the master of Maxwell, who had entertained the lords familiarly, and subscribed with them, and had spoken as highly against their enemies as any of themselves, and had received a large sum of money by that means, *viz.* one thousand pounds; to raise a band or troop of horsemen, and that the same day the king and queen came to Dumfries; the third day after their coming, he came to them, convoyed by the earl Bothwell, with divers other noblemen. At length the earls of Athol and Huntley were sureties for him, and all things past remitted, upon condition that he should be a faithful and obedient subject here-

after. The same day they made musters, the next day the army was dispersed, being about eighteen thousand men; the king and queen pass to Lochmaben, where the master of Maxwell gave a banquet, and then forthwith marched to Tweeddale, so to Peebles, and then to Edinburgh.

The best and chief part of the nobility of this realm, who also were the principal instruments of the reformation of religion, and therefore were called the Lords of the Congregation, in manner above rehearsed, were banished and chased into England: they were courteously received and entertained by the earl of Bedford lieutenant, upon the borders of England. Soon after the earl of Murray took post towards London, leaving the rest of the lords at Newcastle. Every man supposed that the earl of Murray should have been graciously received of the queen of England, and that he should have gotten support according to his heart's desire; but, far beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the queen of England: but by means of the French ambassador, called *monsieur de Four*, his true friend, he obtained audience. The queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, How he, being a rebel to her sister, of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her realm? These and the like words for he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the ambassador being absent, she refused to give the lords any support, denying plainly, that she had promised any such thing as to support them, saying, She never meant any such thing in that way; albeit her most familiar acquaintance knew the contrary. In the end, the earl of Murray said to her, 'Madam, whatsoever thing your majesty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, That we had lately faithful promises of aid and support from your ambassador and familiar servants, in your name. And further, we have your own hand-writing confirming the said promises.' And afterwards he took his leave, and came northward from London towards Newcastle.

After the earl of Murray had departed from the court, the queen sent them some aid, and wrote to the queen of Scotland in their favours; whether she had promised it in private to the earl of Murray, or whether she repented her of the harsh reception of the earl of Murray.

At this time David Rizio, Italian, began to be higher exalted, inasmuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice.

And, during this time, the faithful within this realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly. Yet supplications and intercessions were made throughout all the congregations, especially for such as were afflicted and banished, that it would please God to give them patience, comfort, and constancy; and this especially was done at Edinburgh, where John Knox used to call them that were banished, The best part of the nobility, chief members of the Congregation: whereof the courtiers being advertised, they took occasion to revile and bewray his sayings; alledging, he prayed for the rebels, and desired the people to pray for them likewise. The laird of Lethington chief secretary, in presence of the king and queen's majesties and council, confessed that he heard the sermons, and said, There was nothing at that time spoken by the minister, whereat any man needed to be offended; and further, declared plainly, That by the Scripture it was lawful to pray for all men.

In the end of November, the lords, with their complices, were summoned to appear the fourth day of February, for treason and lese-majesty: but, in the mean time, such of the nobility as had professed the gospel of Christ, and had communicated with the brethren at the Lord's table, were ever longer the more suspected by the queen, who began to declare herself, in the months of November and December, to be maintainer of the Papists; for, at her pleasure, the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Cassils, with divers others, without any dissimulation known, went to the mass openly in her chapel; yet, nevertheless, the earls of Huntley and Bothwell went not to mass, albeit they were in great favour with the queen. As for the king, he pass his time in hunting and hawking, and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of December, as the court remained at Edinburgh, the banished lords, by all means possible, by writings and their friends, made suit to the king and queen's majesties, to be received into favour.

At this time the abbot of Kilwinning came from Newcastle to Edinburgh; and, after he had gotten audience of the king and queen, with great difficulty he got pardon for the duke, and his friends and servants, upon this condition, That he should pass into France; which he did soon after.

The twenty-fifth of December, convened in Edinburgh the commissioners of the churches with-

in this realm, for the general assembly. There assisted to them the earls of Morton and Marr, the lord Lindsay, and secretary Lethington, with some barons and gentlemen. The principal things that were agreed and concluded, were, That forasmuch as the mass, with such idolatry, and Papistical ceremonies, were still maintained, expressly against the act of parliament, and the proclamations made at the queen's arrival; and that the queen had promised, that she would hear conference and disputation: that the church therefore offered to prove, by the word of God, that the doctrine preached within this realm was according to the Scriptures; and that the mass, with all the Papistical doctrine, was but the invention of men, and mere idolatry. Secondly, That by reason of the change of the comptroller, who had put in new collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the ministry, and by these means the ministry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the ordinance made in the year of God 1562, in favours and support of the ministry.

During this time, as the Papists flocked to Edinburgh for making court, some of them that had been friars, as black Abercromby and Roger, presented supplications to the queen's majesty, desiring in effect, That they might be permitted to preach; which was easily granted. The noise was further, That they offered disputation; for, as the court stood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reason they knew the king to be of their religion as well as the queen, with some part of the nobility, who, with the king, after declared themselves openly; and especially the queen, was governed by the earls Lennox and Athol; but in matters most weighty, and of greatest importance, by David Rizio the Italian, before-mentioned, who went under the name of the French secretary; by whose means all grave matters, of what weight soever, must pass; providing always, that his hands were anointed. In the mean time he was a manifest enemy to the gospel, and therefore a great enemy to the banished lords.

At this time the principal lords that waited at court were divided in opinions; for the earl of Morton chancellor, with the earl of Marr, and secretary Lethington, were on the one part, and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, on the other part; so that a certain dryness was amongst them: nevertheless, by means of the earl of Athol, they were reconciled. Now as there was preparation made by the Papists for Christmas, the queen being then at mass, the king came pub-

licly, and bore company; and the friars preached the days following, always using another style than they had done seven years before, during which time they had not preached publicly. They were so little esteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

At the same time convened at Edinburgh the general assembly of the ministers, and commissioners of the churches reformed within this realm. There assisted them of the nobility, the earls of Morton and Marr, the lord Lindsay, and secretary Lethington, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this assembly, were, that, for the avoiding of the plagues and scourges of God, which appeared to come upon the people for their sins and ingratitude, there should be proclaimed by the ministers a public fast, to be universally observed throughout all the reformed churches. This fast was begun, according to the appointment of the assembly, the first and second Sundays of May following, being the first public fast that was kept since the Reformation; which exercise became frequent after.

When the queen heard that John Knox, and the rest of the ministers and professors in Scotland were fasting and praying, she said, 'I am more afraid of that, than of ten thousand men of arms.' And indeed, after this, matters succeeded not well with her. Which manner of fasting was soon after devised by John Knox, at the command of the church, and put in print; therefore needs not here to be recited. What followed upon the said fast, shall be plainly, God willing, declared.

The second thing that was ordained in this assembly, was concerning the ministers, who, for want of payment of their stipends, were like to perish, or else to leave their ministry; therefore it was found necessary, that supplication should be made to the king and queen's majesties; and, for the same purpose, a certain number of the most able men were elected, to go to their majesties aforesaid, to lament and bemoan their case; which persons had commission to propose some other things, as shall be declared. The names of them that past from the church to the king and queen's majesties, were, Mr. John Spotswood superintendent of Lothian, John Wigham superintendent of Fife, Mr. John Row minister of Perth, Mr. David Lindsay minister of Leith, who easily obtained audience of the king and queen's majesties: and, after their reverence done, Mr. John Row, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lamenting and bewailing the miserable state of the

poor ministers, who, by public command, had been reasonably satisfied three years, or more, by virtue of the act made with advice of the honourable privy council, for the taking up of the thirds of the benefices, which was especially made in their favours: nevertheless the laird of Tullibardin, new comptroller, would answer them nothing: wherefore they besought their majesties for relief.

Secondly, Seeing that in all supplications made to the king and queen's majesties by the church at all times, they desired most earnestly, that all idolatry and superstition, and especially the mass, should be rooted and abolished quite out of this realm; and that in the last general assembly of the church, by their commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the same; and that their answer was then, That they knew no impediment in the mass: therefore the assembly desired, That it might please their highnesses to hear disputation, to the end, that such as now pretend to preach in the chapel-royal, and maintain such errors, the truth being tried by disputation, that they might be known to be abusers, submitting themselves always to the word of God written in the Scriptures.

To this it was answered by the queen, That she was always minded that the ministers should be paid their stipends; and, if there was any fault therein, the same came by some of their own fault, meaning the comptroller Pittarro, who had the handling of the thirds: always, by the advice of her council, she should cause such order to be taken therein, that none should have occasion to complain. As to the second, She would not hazard her religion upon such as were there present; for she knew well enough that the Protestants were more learned.

The ministers and commissioners of churches, perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time, in the old manner, went home every one to their own churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making supplication unto Almighty God, that it would please him, of his mercy, to remove the apparent plague. And, in the mean time, the queen was busied with banqueting about with some of the lords of the session of Edinburgh, and after with all men of law, having continually in her company David Rizio, who sat at table near to herself, sometimes more privately than became a man of his condition; for his over-great familiarity was already suspected: and it was thought, that, by his advice alone, the queen's sharpness and extremity towards the lords was maintained.

In the end of January arrived an ambassador from France, named monsieur Rambullet, having about forty horse in his train, who came through England: he brought with him the order of the Cockle from the king of France, to the king, who received the same at the mass, in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house. There assisted the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Eglinton, with divers such other Papists as would please the queen, who three days after caused the herald to convene the council, and reasoned what arms should be given to the king: some thought he should have the arms of Scotland; others said, Seeing it was not concluded in parliament that he should have the crown matrimonial, he could have arms only as duke of Rothesay, earl of Ross, &c. The queen bad give him only his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, His arms were left blank, and the queen caused put her own name before her husband's in all writs; and thereafter she caused to leave out his name wholly: and, because formerly he had signed every thing of any moment, she caused to make a seal like the king's, and gave it to David Rizio, who made use of it by the queen's command, alledging, that the king, being at his pastime, could not always be present.

About the same time the earl of Glencairn came from Berwick to his own country. Soon after the earl of Bothwel was married to the earl of Huntley's sister. The queen desired that the marriage might be made in the chapel at the mass, which the earl of Bothwel would in no ways grant. Upon Sunday, the third day of March, began the fasting at Edinburgh: the seventh day of March, the queen came from the palace of Holyrood-house to the town, in wondrous gorgeous apparel, albeit the number of lords and train was not very great. In the mean time the king, accompanied with seven or eight horse, went to Leith to pass his time there; for he was not like to get the crown matrimonial.

In the tolbooth was devised and named the heads of the articles that were drawn against the banished lords. Upon the next day, and Saturday following, there was great reasoning concerning the attainder: some alledged, that the summons was not well libelled or dressed; others thought the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved: and indeed they were still seeking proof: for there was no other way, but the queen would have them all attainted, albeit the time was very short: the twelfth day of March should have been the day, which was the Tuesday following.

Now the matter was staid by a marvellous tragedy; for by the lords (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about supper-time) David Rizio the Italian, named the French secretary, was slain in the gallery below stairs (the king staying in the room with the queen, told her, That the design was only to take order with that villain), after that he had been taken violently from the queen's presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life; which act was done by the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindsay, the master of Ruthven, with divers other gentlemen. They first intended to have hanged him, and had provided cords for that purpose; but the great haste which they were in, moved them to dispatch him with whiniards or daggers, wherewith they gave him fifty-three strokes. They sent away and put forth all such persons as they suspected.

The earls of Bothwell and Huntley hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the close, intending to have made opposition, if they had had a party strong enough; but the earl Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse: at which words they retired immediately; and so past forth at a back window, they two alone, and with great fear went to Edmondston on foot, and from thence to Crichton.

This David Rizio was so foolish, that not only had he drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the king set aside, but also his equipage and train did surpass the king's; and he was ordained to be chancellor at the ensuing parliament; which made the lords conspire against him: they made a bond, to stand to the religion and liberties of the country, and to free themselves from the slavery of the villain David Rizio: the king and his father subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's word without his signet.

There was a French priest, called John Daniot, who advised David Rizio to make his fortune and be gone, for the Scots would not suffer him long. His answer was, That the Scots would brag, but not fight. Then he advised him to beware of the bastard. To this he answered, That the bastard should never live in Scotland in his time (he meant the earl of Murray); but it happened, that one George Douglas, bastard-son of the earl of Angus, gave him the first stroke. The queen, when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge; which she did.

Immediately it was noised in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murder committed within

the king's palace; wherefore the provost caused to ring the common bell, or *Sonner le toisain* (as the French speak), and straightway past to the palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood in the outer court, the king called to the provost, commanding him to pass home with his company, saying, The queen and he were merry. But the provost desired to hear the queen speak herself; whereunto it was answered by the king, Provost, know you not that I am king? I commaund you to pass home to your houses: and immediately they retired.

The next day, which was the second Sunday of our fast in Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made in the king's name, subscribed with his hand, That all bishops, abbots, and other Papists, should avoid and depart the town; which proclamation was indeed observed, for they had a 'flea in their hose.'

There were letters sent forth in the king's name, and subscribed with his hand, to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, the bailies of Leith and Canningate, commanding them to be ready in armour, to assist the king and his company; and likewise other private writings, directed to divers lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition.

In the mean time the queen being above measure enraged, offended, and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometimes railing upon the king, and sometimes crying out at the windows, desiring her servants to set her at liberty, for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of March the earl of Murray, with the rest of the lords and noblemen that were with him, having received the king's letter (for, after the bond above named was subscribed, the king wrote unto the banished lords, to return into their country, being one of the articles of the said bond), came at night to the abbey, being also convoyed by the lord Hume, and a great company of the borderers, to the number of one thousand horse. And first, after he had presented himself to the king, the queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her: and he obeying, went to her, who with a singular gravity received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the very great affection which he bore continually to her majesty. The earls of Athol, Cathness, and Sutherland, departed out of the town, with the bishops, upon the Monday, the third day after the slaughter of David Rizio. The earls of Lennox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, lords Ruthven,

Lindsay, Boyd, and Ochiltrie, sitting in council, desired the queen, that forasmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that she would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many noblemen restored. The queen, dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words; nevertheless she desired, that all persons, armed or otherwise (being within the palace at that time), should remove, leaving the palace void of all, saving only her domestic servants.

The lords being persuaded by the uxorious king, and the pliable earl of Murray, condescended to her desire; who, finally, the next morning, two hours before day, past to Seton, and then to Dunbar, having in her company the simple king, who was allured by her sugared words: from Dunbar immediately were sent pursuivants, with letters throughout the country; and especially letters to the noblemen and barons, commanding them to come to Dunbar, to assist the king and queen within five days. In the mean time the lords being informed of the sudden departure, were astonished, and knew not what was best for them to do: but because it was the self-same day (*viz.* the twelfth day of March) that they were summoned unto; therefore having good opportunity, they past to the tolbooth, which was richly hung with tapistry, and adorned (but not for them), and set themselves, making protestations, the earl of Glencairn, and some others being present. The earl of Argyle, who was written for by the king, came to Linlithgow; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above specified, *viz.* by the death of David Rizio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms; and likewise the church was reformed, and all that professed the gospel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered, and freed from the apparent dangers, which were like to have fallen upon them: for if the parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the best judgment, that the true Protestant religion should have been wrecked, and Popery erected; and, for the same purpose, there were certain wooden altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-house, which should have been erected in St. Giles's Church.

The earls Bothwel and Huntley, being informed of the king and queen's sudden departure from

Edinburgh, came to Dunbar, where they were most graciously received by the queen's majesty; who consulted with them and the master of Maxwell, together with parson Owin and parson Flish, chief counsellors, what was best to be done, and how she should be revenged upon the murderers: at first they did intend to go forward, and, leaving no manner of cruelty unpractised, put to death all such as were suspected: this was the opinion of such, as would obey their queen's rage and fury for their own advantage; but in the end they concluded, That she should come to Edinburgh, with all the force and power she could, and there proceed to justice: and, for the same purpose, she caused summon, by open proclamation, all persons of defence, and all noblemen and gentlemen, to come to her in Dunbar immediately.

In the mean time the captains laboured by all means to take up and enrol men and women. The earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, with the rest that were in Edinburgh, being informed of the queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the slaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any party, thought it best to give place to her fury for a time, for they were divided in opinion; and finally departed out of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the seventeenth of March, every one a different way: for the queen's majesty was now bent only against the slayers of David Rizio; and, to the purpose she might be the better revenged upon them, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted, for whatsoever crime.

The eighteenth day of March the king and queen came to Edinburgh, having in their company horse and foot, to the number of eight thousand men, whereof there were four companies of foot. The town of Edinburgh went out to meet them, for fear of war. And finally, coming within the town, in most awful manner, they caused to place their men of war within the town, and likewise certain field-pieces against their lodging, which was in the middle of the town, opposite the Salt-trone: now, a little before the queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her cruel pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; amongst others, Mr. James M'Gill the clerk-register, the justice-clerk, and the common clerk of the town: the chief secretary Lethington was gone before: likewise John Knox passed west to Kyle: the men of war likewise kept the ports or gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a proclamation made at the mar-

ket-crofs, for the purgation of the king from the forefaid slaughter; which made all understanding men laugh at the paffages of things; fince the king not only had given his confent, but alfo had fubfcribed the bond before named; and the bufinefs was done in his name, and for his honour, if he had had wifdom to know it. After this proclamation, the king loft his credit amongft his friends and all men, by this his inconfancy and weaknefs.

And, in the mean time, the men of war committed great outrages, in breaking up doors, thrufting themfelves into every houfe: and albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole town was too little for them. Soon after, the king and queen paff to the caftle, and caufed warn all fuch as had abfented themfelves, by open proclamation, to appear before their majefties and the privy council within fix days, under pain of rebellion; which practice was devifed in the earl of Huntley's cafe, before the battle of Corrichy: and, becaufe they appeared not, they were denounced rebels, and put to the horn, and immediately thereafter, their efcheats given or taken up by the treafurer. There was a certain number of the townfmen charged to enter themfelves prifoners in the tolbooth, and with them were put in certain gentlemen; thence, after they had remained eight days, they were convoyed down to the palace by the men of war, and then kept by them eight days more: and of that number was Thomas Scot, fheriff-depute of St. Johnfton, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly, *viz.* hanged and quartered, for keeping the queen in prifon, as was alledged, although it was by the king's command: and two men likewife were condemned to death, and carried to the ladder-foot; but the earl Bothwel prefented the queen's ring to the provoft, who then was juftice, for fafety of their lives. The names of thofe two were, John Moubray merchant, and William Harlaw faddler.

About the fame time, notwithstanding all this uproar, the minifters of the church and profefors of religion ceafed not; for the people convened to public prayers and preaching with boldnefs; yea, a great number of noblemen affifted likewife. The earl Bothwel had now of all men greateft accefs and familiarity with the queen; fo that nothing of any importance was done without him: for he fhewed favour to fuch as liked him; and, amongft others, to the lairds of Ormifton, Hatton, and Calder, who were fo reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble.

The earls of Argyle and Murray, at the queen's command, paffed to Argyle, where, after they had remained about a month, they were fent for by the queen; and coming to Edinburgh, they were received by the queen into the caftle, and banqueted, the earls of Huntley and Bothwel being prefent.

At this time the king grew to be contemned and difteemed, fo that fcarcely any honour was done either to him, or to his father.

About Eafter the king paffed to Stirling, where he was confefed after the Popifh manner: and, in the mean time, at the palace of Holyrood-houfe, in the chapel, there reforted a great number to the mafs, albeit the queen remained ftill in the caftle, with her priefts of the chapel-royal, where they ufed ceremonies after the Popifh manner.

At the fame time departed this life Mr. John Sinclair, bifhop of Rofs, and dean of Reftralg, who has been oft mentioned, prefident of the college of juftice, called the Seflion; who alfo fucceeded in the faid office and dignity after the deceafe of his brother Mr. John Sinclair, bifhop of Rofs, dean of Glasgow, who departed this life at Paris, about a year before: they were both learned in the law, and given to maintain the Popifh religion; and therefore great enemies to the Proteftants. A little before died Mr. Abraham Crichton, who had been prefident likewife. Now, in their rooms,

The queen placed fuch as fhe pleafed, and had done her fervice (always very unfit). The patrimony of the kirk, bifhopricks, abbeys, and fuch other benefices, were difpofed of by the queen to courtiers, dancers, and flatterers. The earl of Bothwel, whom the queen preferred above all others, after the death of David Rizio, had for his part Melrofe, Haddington, and Newbattle: likewife the caftle of Dunbar was given to him, with the principal lands of the earldom of March, which were of the patrimony of the crown.

At the fame time the fuperintendants, with the other minifters of the churches, perceiving the miniftry like to decay for lack of payment of ftipends to minifters, gave this fupplication at Edinburgh.

The Supplication of the Minifters to the Queen.

UNTO your majefty, and your moft honourable council, moft humbly and lamentably complain your highnefs's poor orators, the fuperintendants, and other minifters of the reformed church of God, travelling throughout all your highnefs's

realm, in teaching and instructing your lieges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus his Son; that where your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, moved by godly zeal, conculed and determined, that the travelling ministry throughout this realm, should be maintained upon the rents of the benefices of this realm of Scotland; and for that cause your majesty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforesaid, upon the 15th day of December 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, That if the said part of the rents of the whole benefices ecclesiastical within this realm, would be sufficient to maintain the ministers throughout the whole realm, and to support your majesty in the setting forward of your common affairs, should be employed accordingly: failing thereof, the third part of the said fruits, or more, to be taken up yearly in time coming, until a general order be taken therein, as the act made thereupon at more length bears: which being afterward considered by your majesty, the whole thirds of the fruits aforesaid were propounded to the uses aforesaid, by act of council; and we, your majesty's poor orators, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your majesty to us, for the space of three years, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption. Notwithstanding all this, now of late, we, your majesty's poor orators aforesaid, are put wrongfully and unjustly from our aforesaid part of the above specified thirds, by your majesty's officers, and thereby brought to such extreme penury, and extreme distress, as we are not able any longer to maintain ourselves; and albeit we have given in divers and sundry complaints to your majesty herein, and have received divers promises of redress, yet have we found no relief: therefore we most humbly beseech your majesty, to consider our most grievous complaint, together with the right above specified, whereon the same is grounded. And if your majesty, with the advice of your council aforesaid, finds our right sufficient, to continue us in possession of our part assigned to us, while and until a general order be taken; which possession was ratified by the yearly allowance of your majesty's exchequer-account, that your majesty would grant us letters upon the foresaid act and ordinance past thereupon, against all intruders and meddlers with the foresaid thirds, to answer and obey, according to the foresaid act and ordinance of our possession proceeding thereupon: and likewise that we may have letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the foresaid thirds in the posses-

sors hands, while and until sufficient caution be found to us for our part aforesaid. And your answer most humbly we beseech.

This supplication being presented by the superintendant of Lothian and Mr. John Craig, in the castle of Edinburgh, was graciously received by the queen, who promised that she would take sufficient order therein, so soon as the nobility and council might convene.

The 19th of June, the queen was delivered of a man-child (the prince, in the aforesaid castle, who after was named James), and immediately sent into France and England her posts, to advertise the neighbouring princes, and to desire them to send gossips, or witnesses, to the prince's baptism. In the mean time there was joy and triumph made in Edinburgh, and such other places where it was known, after thanks and praises given unto God, with supplications for the godly education of the prince; and principally wishing that he should be baptized according to the manner and form observed in the reformed churches within this realm.

About the same time, *viz.* the 25th of June, the general assembly of the whole church convened at Edinburgh: the earls of Argyle and Murray assisted at the assembly. Paul Methven, who before, as we heard, was excommunicated, gave in his supplication, and desired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the said Paul had written oftentimes out of England to the laird of Dun, and to divers others, most earnestly desiring to be received again into the fellowship of the church. After reasoning on the matter, it was finally granted, that he should be heard: and so being before the assembly, and falling upon his knees, burst out into tears, and said, 'He was not worthy to appear in their presence;' always he desired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expression of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certain of the ministers to prescribe to him the form of his declaration of repentance, which was thus in effect: First, That he should present himself bare-footed and bare-headed, arrayed in sackcloth, at the principal entry of St. Giles's Kirk in Edinburgh, at seven o'clock in the morning, upon the next Wednesday, and there to remain for the space of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the prayer was made, psalms sung, and the text of Scripture read; and then to come into the place appointed for expression of repentance, and tarry the time of sermon; and to do so likewise the next Friday following, and also upon

the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole church, to declare his repentance with his own mouth. The same form and manner he should use in Jedburgh and Dundee: and that being done, to present himself again at the next general assembly following in winter, where he should be received to the communion of the church. When the said Paul had received the said ordinance, he took it very grievously, alledging, they had used too great severity. Nevertheless, being counselled and persuaded by divers notable personages, he began well in Edinburgh to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compassion of his state, and likewise in Jedburgh; but he left his duty in Dundee, and passing again into England, the matter, not without offence to many, ceased.

The ministers complaining, that they could not be paid their stipends, were licensed by the assembly to pass to other churches to preach, but in no ways to leave the ministry. And because that the queen's majesty had promised often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient, that supplication should be yet made, as before, that the queen's majesty should cause such order to be taken, that the poor ministers might be paid their stipends. The bishop of Galloway, who was brother to the earl of Huntley, and now a great man in the court, travelled much with the queen's majesty in that matter, and got of her a good answer, and fair promises. A few years before, the said bishop of Galloway desired of the general assembly to be made superintendant of Galloway; but now being promoted to so great dignity, as to be of the number of the lords of the privy council, and likewise one of the session, he would no more be called Overlooker or Overseer of Galloway, but Bishop: true it is, that he laboured much for his nephew the earl of Huntley, that he might be restored to his lands and honours; for the said earl was now chancellor, since the slaughter of David Rizio, and had for his claw-back the bishop of Ross, Mr. John Lesly, one of the chief counsellors to the queen. But of all men the earl of Bothwell was most in the queen's favour, so far, that all things past by him; yea, by his means the most part of all those that were partakers in the slaughter of David Rizio, got remission and relief. But from that day he was not present at any sermon, albeit before he professed the gospel by outward speaking, yet he never joined to the Congregation. At this time the earl of Cassils was contracted with the lord of Glamis's sister, by whose persuasion he became

a Protestant, and caused, in the month of August, to reform his churches in Carrick, and promised to maintain the doctrine of the gospel.

The queen, not yet satisfied with the death of her man David, caused in August to be apprehended a man called Harry, who sometimes had been of her chapel-royal, but afterward became an exhorter in a reformed church; and for want of stipend, or other necessaries, past in service to my lord Ruthven, and chanced that night to be present when the said David was slain; and so, finally, he was condemned, hanged, and quartered.

The king being now contemned of all men, because the queen cared not for him, he went sometime to the Lennox to his father, and sometime to Stirling, whether the prince was carried a little before: he was always destitute of such things as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in train. And being thus desolate, and half-desperate, he sought means to go out of the country. About the same time, by the advice of Forlish Cagets, he wrote to the pope, to the king of Spain, and to the king of France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order; all because that mass and Poperie were not again erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the queen, as not managing the catholic cause aright. By some knave this poor prince was betrayed, and the queen got a copy of these letters into her hands, and therefore threatened him sore; and there was never after that any appearance of love betwixt them.

The churches of Geneva, Bern, and Basil, with other reformed churches of Germany and France, sent to the whole church of Scotland the sum of the Confession of their Faith, desiring to know, if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine; alledging, that the church of Scotland was dissident in some articles from them: wherefore the superintendants, with a great part of the other most qualified ministers, convened in September in St. Andrews; and reading the said letters, made answer, and sent word again, That they agreed in all points with those churches, and differed in nothing from them: albeit in the keeping of some festival-days our church assented not; for only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland.

In the end of this month, the earl of Bothwell riding in pursuit of the thieves in Liddisdale, was much hurt, and worse terrified by a thief; for he believed surely to have departed forth of this life, and sent word thereof to the queen's majesty, who soon after past from Jedburgh to the Her-

Edinburg, to visit him, and give him comfort. Within a few days after, she took sickness in a most extreme manner; for she lay two hours dead, as it were, without breath, or any sign of life: at length she revived, by reason they had bound small cords about her wrists, her knees, and great toes, and speaking very softly, she desired the lords to pray for her to God: she said the Creed in English; and desired my lord of Murray, if he should chance to depart, that he would not be ever extreme to such as were of her religion: the duke and he should have been regents. The report went from Jedburgh, in the month of October 1566, that the queen was departed this life, or at least she could not live any time; wherefore there was continually prayers publicly made at the church of Edinburg, and divers other places, for her conversion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, that she should come to the preaching, and renounce Popery: but all in vain; for God had some other thing to do by her. The king being adverted, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he found the queen somewhat recovered, but she would scarce speak to him, and hardly give him presence, or a good word; wherefore he returned immediately to Stirling, where the prince was, and after to Glasgow to his father.

There appeared great trouble over the whole realm, and especially in the country near the borders, if the queen had departed at that time. As she began to recover, the earl of Bothwell was brought in a chariot from the Hermitage to Jedburgh, where he was cured of his wounds, in whose presence the queen took more pleasure than in all the rest of the world. By his means most part of those that were outlawed for the slaughter of David Rizio got relief; for there was no other means, but all things must needs pass by him; wherefore every man sought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before of David Rizio.

Soon after, the queen passing along the borders, she came within the bounds of Berwick, where she viewed the town at her pleasure afar off, being about half a mile distant; all the ordnance within Berwick were discharged: the captain came forth, with fourscore horses bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawful service. Then she came to Craigmillar, where she remained in November, till she was adverted of the coming of the ambassadors to the baptism of the prince; and for that purpose there was great pre-

paration made, not without the trouble of such as were supposed to have money in store, especially of Edinburg; for there was borrowed a good round sum of money for the same business. All her care and sollicitude was for that triumph. At the same time arrived the count de Briance, ambassador of the king of France, who had a great train. Soon after the earl of Bedford went forth of England, with a very gorgeous company, to the number of fourscore horse; and passing to Stirling, he was humanely received of the queen's majesty, and every day banqueted. The excessive expences, and superfluous apparel which was prepared, at that time, far exceeded all the preparation that ever had been devised or set forth before in this country. The 17th of December 1566, in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, was the prince baptized by the bishop of St. Andrews, at five o'clock in the evening, with great pomp, albeit with great difficulty could they find men to bear the torches, wherefore they took boys. The queen laboured much with the noblemen to bear the salt, greafe, and candle, and such other things; but all refused: she found at last the earls of Eglington, Athol, and the lord Seton, who assisted at the baptism, and brought in the said trash. The count de Briance, being the French ambassador, assisted likewise. The earl of Bedford brought for a present from the queen of England, a font of gold, valued at three thousand crowns.

Soon after the said baptism, after the said earl was in communion with the queen, who entertained him most reverently; he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, 'Madam, I rejoice very greatly at this time, seeing your majesty hath here to serve you so many noble men, especially twelve earls, whereof two only assist at this baptism to the superstition of Popery.' At which saying, the queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banqueted in the said great hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the earl of Bedford's remaining at Stirling, the lords for the most part waited upon him, and convoyed him every day to the sermon, and after to banqueting.

The king remaining in Stirling all that time (never being present), kept his chamber: his father, hearing how he was used, writ to him to repair unto him, who soon after went, without good-night, toward Glasgow to his father. He was hardly a mile out of Stirling, when the poison which had been given him, wrought so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every

part of his body. At length, being arrived at Glasgow, the blisters broke out of a bluish colour; so the physicians presently knew the disease to come by poison: he was brought so low, that nothing but death was expected; yet the strength of his youth did at last surmount the poison.

During the time of this triumph, the queen was most liberal in all things that were demanded of her: amongst other things, she subscribed a writing for the maintenance of the ministers in a reasonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the thirds of benefices; which writing being procured by the bishop of Galloway, was presented at the general assembly of the church at Edinburgh, the twenty-fifth day of December 1566, where were convened the superintendants, and other ministers, in reasonable number, but very few commissioners. Our assemblies met often upon the 25th day of December; so that many of the ministry could not be at home in their own parishes to teach upon Christ's nativity, neither did our assemblies allow such a superstitious observation.

The first matter that was there proposed, was concerning the said writing lately obtained; and the most part of the ministers being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the word of God truly and sincerely, and to crave of the auditors the things that were necessary for their sustentation, as of duty the pastors might justly crave of their flock; and further, it became them not to have any care. Nevertheless, the assembly taking in consideration, that the said gifts, granted by the queen's majesty, were not to be refused; they ordained, that certain faithful men of every shire should meet, and use their utmost diligence for gathering and receiving the said corn and money; and likewise appointed the superintendant of Lothian, and Mr. John Row, to wait upon the bishop of Galloway, and concur and assist him for further expedition in the court, that the said gift might be dispatched through the seals.

In the same assembly there was presented a remembrance by writ, by some gentlemen of Kyle, containing in effect, That inasmuch as the tithes ought to be given only to the ministers of the word, and schools, and for maintenance of the poor; that therefore the assembly would statute and ordain, That all the professors of the gospel should keep the same in their own hands, to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the Papists to meddle therewith. This writing took no effect at

that time, for there were none else but the gentlemen of Kyle of that opinion. It was statuted in the said assembly, That such public fornicators, and scandalous livers, as would not confess their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, should be declared by the minister to be out of the church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publicly upon the Sunday. After this assembly, the bishop of Galloway, with the superintendant of Lothian, and Mr. John Row, passing to Stirling, obtained their demands in an ample manner at the queen's majesty's hand, according to their desire; and likewise they obtained for every burgh, a gift or donation of the altarges, annuals, and obits, which before were given to the Papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the ministers and schools within the burghs, and the rest to the poor or hospital.

It was ordained, that humble supplication should be made to the lords of secret council, concerning the commission of jurisdiction, supposed to be granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, to the effect their honours may stay the same, in respect that the causes, for the most part judged by his usurped authority, pertain to the true kirk; and also because, in respect of that coloured commission, he might assume again his old usurped authority, and the same might be a mean to oppress the whole kirk. The tenor of the supplication followeth:

The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, convened at Edinburgh, the 25th of December 1566, to the Nobility of this Realm, that profess the Lord Jesus with them, and have renounced that Roman Antichrist; desires Consistency in Faith, and the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

SEEING that Satan by all our negligences, right honourable, hath so far prevailed within this realm of late days, that we do stand in extreme danger, not only to lose our temporal possessions, but also to be deprived of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and so we and our posterity to be left in damnable darkness; we could no longer contain in ourselves, nor keep silence, lest by so doing we might be accused as guilty of the blood of such as shall perish for lack of admonition, as the prophet threatneth. We therefore, in the fear of our God, and with grief and anguish of our heart, complain unto your honours (yea, we must complain unto God, and to all his obedient creatures), That that conjured enemy of Jesus Christ, and cruel murderer of our dear brethren, most filthy

style archbishop of St. Andrews, is repored and restored, by signature past, to his former tyranny: for not only are his ancient jurisdictions, as they are termed, of the whole bishopric of St. Andrews granted unto him, but also the execution of judgment, confirmation of testaments, and donation of benefices, as more amply in his signature is expressed. If this be not to cure the head of that venomous beast, which once within this realm, by the potent hand of God, was so broken down and banished, then by tyranny it could not have hurt the faithful, judge ye. His ancient jurisdiction was, that he, with certain colleagues, collaterals, might have condemned of heresy upon probation, and leased him, and then to take all that were suspected of heresy. What they have judged to be heresy heretofore, ye cannot be ignorant of; and whether they remain in their former malice or not, their fruits and travels openly declare.

The danger may be feared, say ye; But what remedy? It is easy, and at hand, right honourable, if ye will not betray the cause of God, and leave your brethren, who will never be more subject to that usurped tyranny, than they will be to the devil himself. Our queen belike is not well informed: she ought not, nor justly may not break the laws of this realm; and so consequently, she may not set up against us, without our consent, that Roman Antichrist again: for in a lawful and the most free parliament that ever was in this realm before, was that odious beast deprived of all jurisdiction, office, and authority, within the realm. Her majesty, at her first arrival, and by divers proclamations since, hath expressly forbidden any other form and face of religion, than that which the fount publicly established at her arrival. Therefore she may not bring us (the greatest part of the subjects of this realm) back again to bondage, till that as lawful and free a parliament, as justly condemned that Antichrist, and his usurped tyranny, hath given decision betwixt us and him. If heretofore, and of other things which no less concern yourselves than us, ye plainly and boldly admonish our sovereign, and without tumult only crave justice, the tyrants dare no more be seen in lawful judgment, than dare the owls in day-light. Weigh this matter as it is, and ye will find it more weighty than it appeareth to many.

Further, at this present, we complain not, but humbly crave of your honours a reasonable answer, what we will do, in case such tyrants and devouring wolves begin to invade the flock of Jesus Christ within this realm, under what title soever it be:

for this we boldly profess, that we will never acknowledge such, either pastors to our souls, or yet judges to our causes. And, if for denial thereof, we suffer either in body or in goods, we doubt not but we have not only a Judge to punish them that unjustly trouble us, but also an Advocate and strong Champion in heaven to recompense them, who for his name's sake suffer persecution; whose Holy Spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end.

Given in the General Assembly, and third Session thereof, at Edinburgh, the 27th of December 1566.

Besides this supplication of the assembly to the nobility, penned by John Knox, a letter was written by him in particular to the professors, to advertise them of the danger of this commission or power granted to the said ballard bishop of St. Andrews, the tenor wherof followeth:

The Lord cometh, and shall not tarry; blessed shall he be, whom he shall find fighting against Impiety.

To deplore the miseries of these our most wicked days, beloved brethren, can neither greatly profit us, neither yet relieve us of our present calamities; and yet utterly to keep silence, cannot lack the suspicion of apostacy and plain defection from God, and from his truth, once by us publicly professed: for now are matters (that in the years bypast have been denied) so far discovered, that he, who seeth not the plain subversion of all true religion within this realm, to be concluded and decreed in the hearts of some, must either confess himself blind, or else an enemy to the religion which we profess: for besides the open erecting of idolatry in divers parts of this realm, and besides the extreme poverty wherein our ministers are brought (by reason that idle bellies are fed upon that which justly appertaineth to such as truly preach Jesus Christ, and rightly, and by order, minister his blessed sacraments), that cruel murderer of our brethren, falsely called archbishop of St. Andrews, most unjustly, and against all law, hath presumed to his former tyranny; as a signature past for his restitution to his ancient jurisdiction (as it is termed) more fully doth purport. What end may be looked for of such beginnings, the half-blind may see, as we suppose. And yet we have heard, that a certain sum of money and victuals should be assigned by the queen's majesty, for sustentation of our ministry; but how that any such assignation,

or any promise made thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman Antichrist (by just laws once banished from this realm) shall be intruded above us, we can noways understand. Yea, further, we cannot see what assurance any within this realm, that have professed the Lord Jesus, can have of life or inheritance, if the head of that odious beast be cured amongst us.

And therefore we yet again, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, crave of you to look into this matter, and to advertise us again, with reasonable expedition of your judgments; that, in the fear of God, and with unity of minds, we may proceed to crave justice, and oppose ourselves to such tyranny as most unjustly is intended against us: for if we think not that this last erecting of that wicked man, is the very setting up again of that Roman Antichrist within this realm, we are deprived of all right judgment. And what is that else, but to separate us and our posterity from God; yea, and to cut ourselves from the freedom of this realm? We desire therefore, that the wisest amongst you may consider the weight of this cause, which long hath been neglected, partly by our sloth, and partly by believing fair promises, by which to this hour we have been deceived. And therefore we ought to be the more vigilant and circumspect, especially seeing a parliament is proclaimed. We have sent to you the form of a supplication and articles, which we would have presented to the queen's majesty: if it please you, we would ye should approve it by your subscriptions; or if you would alter it, we desire you so to do, and we shall allow whatsoever you shall propose, not repugnant to God. If it shall be thought expedient, that commissioners of countries shall convene, to reason upon the most weighty matters that now occur, the time and place being appointed by you, and due advertisement being given to us, by God's grace, there shall no fault be found in us; but as from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end to maintain the same, so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to that Roman Antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny. But when we can do no further to suppress that odious beast, we mind to seal with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that man of sin, and his venomous doctrine from our hearts and consciences.

Let this our letter and request bear witness before God, before his angels, before the world, and

before our own consciences, that we require you that have professed the Lord Jesus within this realm, as well nobility as gentlemen, burghesses, and commons, to deliberate upon the estate of things present; and especially, Whether that this usurped tyranny of that Roman Antichrist shall be any longer suffered within this realm, seeing that by just law it is already abolished? Secondly, Whether that we shall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimony of the kirk, which justly appertaineth unto ministers? Thirdly, Whether that idolatry, and other abominations, which now are more than evident, shall any longer by us be maintained and defended? Answer us as ye will answer to God, in whose fear we send these letters unto you, lest that our silence should be counted for consent unto such impiety. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourselves, and all ungodly fear. Amen. Let us know your minds with expedition.

Notwithstanding the domestic troubles that the church of God had in Scotland, in this turbulent time within the kingdom, yet they were not unmindful of the affliction of Jacob, every where upon the face of the earth: namely, they had before their eyes the state and condition of the church of God in England: witness this letter from the general assembly to the rulers of the church of God in England; wherein they entreat them to deal gently with the preachers their brethren, about the surplice and other apparel. John Knox formed the letter in name of the assembly, as follows:

The Superintendants, with other Ministers and Commissioners of the Church of God in the Kingdom of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of God's Church in England, who profess with us in Scotland the Truth of Jesus Christ.

By word and writ it is come to our knowledge, reverend brethren, pastors of God's word in the church of England, that divers of our brethren (of whom some are of the most learned in England) are deprived from all ecclesiastical function, namely, are forbidden to preach, and so by you are stopped to promote the kingdom of God; because they have a scruple of conscience to use, at the command of authority, such garments as idolaters, in time of greatest darkness, did use in their superstitious and idolatrous service; which report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, considering the sentence of the apostle, 'If ye bite and de-

‘ your one another, take heed ye be not confamed ‘ one of another.’ We intend not at this present to enter into the question, which, we hear, is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either party than well liketh us, *viz.* Whether such apparel be accounted amongst things indifferent or not? Wherefore (through the bowels of Jesus Christ) we crave that Christian charity may so far prevail with you, who are the pastors and guides of Christ’s flock in England, that ye do one to another as ye desire others to do to you.

Ye cannot be ignorant what tenderness is in a scrupulous conscience, and all that have knowledge are not alike persuaded: the consciences of some of you stir not, with the wearing of such things; on the other side, many thousands (both godly and learned) are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually struck with these sentences, ‘ What hath Christ to do with Belial? What fellowship is there betwixt light and darkness?’ If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet, have been the badges of idolatry, in the very act of their idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the rebukers of superstition ado with the dregs of that Romish beast? Yea, what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand, or on his forehead, the prints and mark of that odious beast? The brethren that refuse such unprofitable apparel, do neither condemn nor molest you who use such trifles: on the other side, If ye that use these things, will do the like to your brethren, we doubt not but therein you shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, who are wounded to see extremity used against these godly brethren: human arguments, or coloured rhetoric, we use none to persuade you; only in charity we desire you to mind the sentence of Peter, Feed the flock of Christ, which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly; not being as lords of God’s heritage, but being examples to the flock. We farther desire you to meditate upon that sentence of Paul, Give no offence, neither to Jews nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God. In what condition you and we both travel, at least are bound to travel, for the promoting of Christ’s kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wisely, than to trouble the godly for such vanities; for all things which seem lawful, edify not: if authority urge you further than your conscience can bear, I pray you remember, that the ministers of the church are called the Light of the World, and Salt of the Earth. All civil authority hath not always the

light of God shining before their eyes, in statutes and commands, for their affections favour too much of the earth and worldly wisdom: therefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppose yourselves boldly, not only to all power that doth extol itself against God, but also against all such as dare burden the consciences of the faithful, further than God chargeth them in his own word.

But we hope you will excuse our freedom, in that we have entered in reasoning farther than we intended in the beginning. Now again we return to our former request, which is, That the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, who use and urge them, such favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his members to shew to another; which we look to receive of your courtesy, not only because you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because you will not refuse the earnest request of us your brethren and fellow-ministers, in whom although there appear no worldly pomp, yet we are assured you will esteem us as God’s servants, travelling to set forth his glory against the Roman Antichrist. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and charity, alas! waxeth cold; wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord shall come, before whom we must all give an account of our administrations. In conclusion, yet once more, we desire you to be favourable one to another. Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victory over that conjured enemy of true religion, the Pope, whose wounded head Satan by all means strives to cure again: but to destruction shall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection we commit you.

From our General Assembly,

December 27, 1566.

When John Knox, who penned this letter, wrote thus of the superstitious apparel, as a supplicant for the afflicted brethren, what would he have written, think you, in the other case? It is to be observed, that, at the same time, our worthy brethren in England made their state known to Mr. Beza; who, upon their complaint, wrote a letter in their behalf, at the same time, to Dr. Grindal, bishop of London; wherein he findeth fault with the manner of apparel appointed for ministers, with kneeling at the communion, and all significant ceremonies; which letter is the eighth in order amongst his epistles. But obtaining no

favour, he wrote the year following (which was in 1567) another letter, which is the twelfth in order amongst his epistles, wherein he giveth his beloved brethren this advice, That rather than they should give their consent to the order of ordaining their ministers to use the cope and surplice, and to the manner of excommunication that was used in the church of England, that they should give place to manifest violence, and live as private men. It is also to be observed, That the sincerer sort of the ministry of England had not yet assaulted the jurisdiction and church-government (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they published their First and Second Admonition to the Parliament), but only had excepted against the superstitious apparel, and some other faults in the Service-book.

By the former assembly the reader of Bathgate was censured, for baptizing of infants and solemnizing of marriage, he being but a simple reader, and for taking silver for the same from such as were without the parish. Here you may see, That they acknowledge not reading ministers; that is, that any administer the sacraments, but he that was able to preach the word.

At the same time the bishop of St. Andrews, by means of the earl of Bothwel, procured a writing from the queen's majesty, to be obeyed within the diocese of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as before, in time of Popery, were used in the consistory, and therefore to discharge the new commissioners; and for the same purpose came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horse, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The provost being advertised thereof by the earl of Murray, they sent to the bishop three or four of the council, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition that might arise thereupon; whereby he was persuaded to desist at that time. Soon after the queen came to Edinburgh, where she remained a few days.

In the month of January 1567, she was informed, that the king was recovered of the poison given him at Stirling; and therefore she passed to Glasgow to visit him, and there tarried with him six days, using with wonderful kindness, and many gracious and good words, both him, and his father the earl of Lennox; insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering the great contempt and dryness that had prevailed so long: the queen, notwithstanding all the contempt that was shown him, with a known design to take away

his life, yet, by her sweet words, gained so far upon the uxorious husband, and his easy father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where she had caused to lodge him at the Church of Field, in a lodging lately bought by Mr. James Balfour clerk-register, truly very unfit for a king. The queen resorted often to visit him, and lay in the house two nights by him, although her lodging was in the palace of Holyrood-house. Every man was surpris'd at this reconciliation and sudden change.

The ninth of February the king was murdered, and the house where he lay burnt with powder, about twelve o'clock at night: his body was cast into a yard, without the town-wall adjoining. There was a servant likewise murdered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this spectacle; and wondering thereat, some judged one thing, some another.

Shortly thereafter Bothwel came from the abbey with a company of men of war, and caused the body of the king to be carried to the next house; where, after a little, the surgeons being convened, at the queen's command, to view and consider the manner of his death, most part gave out, to please the queen, That he was blown in the air, albeit he had no mark of fire, for truly he was strangled.

When many of the common people had gazed long upon the king's corpse, the queen caused it to be brought down to the palace by some pioneers. She beheld the corpse without any outward shew or sign of joy or sorrow. When the lords had concluded among themselves, That he should be honourably buried, the queen caused his corpse to be carried by some pioneers, in the night, without solemnity, and to be laid beside the sepulchre of David Rizio.

The queen, according to the ancient custom, should have kept herself forty days within, and the doors and windows should have been closed, in token of mourning; but the windows were opened to let in light the fourth day. Before the twelfth day she went out to Seton, Bothwel never parting from her side: there she went out to the fields, to behold guns and pastimes. The king's armour, horse, and household stuff, were bestowed upon the murderers. A certain tailor, when he was to reform the king's apparel to Bothwel, said jestingly, He acknowledged here the custom of the country, by which the clothes of the dead fall to the hangman.

This tragical end had Henry Stuart, after he had been king eighteen months; a prince of great lineage, both by mother and father: he was of a

comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island; he died under the age of twenty-one years; prompt and ready for all games and sports; much given to hawking, hunting and running of horse; likewise to playing on the lute; and also to Venus's chamber he was liberal enough: he could write and dictate well: but he was somewhat given to wine and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others: he had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled by Popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this realm, he was highly by the queen alone extolled; and finally, had this unfortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her marriage with Bothwel, who was the main executioner of the king, notwithstanding all the advice and counsel that the king of France and queen of England did earnestly and carefully give her, as other friends did likewise, witness their guilt.

Those who laid hands on the king to kill him, by Bothwel's direction, were, Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spence, Francis Sebastien, Jo. de Bourdeau, and Joseph the brother of David Rizio: these last four were the queen's domestics, and strangers. The reason why the king's death was so hastened, was, because the affection or passion of the earl Bothwel could not bear so long a delay as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romish clergy offered their service willingly to the business; namely, bishop Hamilton, who thereby became great again at court, and, for the advancement of the business, did good offices to increase the hatred betwixt the king and queen: yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the marriage of the king and queen, offered their service for the divorce, seeing how the queen's inclination lay: so unhappy are princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad, or destructive to themselves.

The earl of Lennox in the mean time wrote to the queen, to cause Bothwel, and his other complices, to be punished, for murdering the king. The queen, not daring openly to reject the earl of Lennox's solicitation, did appoint a day for the trial of Bothwel by an assize: the members whereof were, the earl of Caithness president, the earl of Cassils (who at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in prison, and under the pain of treason, was present, by the queen's command),

John Hamilton commendator of Aberbrothock, lord Ross, lord Semple, lord Boyd, lord Hennis, lord Oliphant; the master of Forbes, the laird of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambuskenneth, Barnbogle, and Boyn: they, to please the queen, and from fear, did pronounce Bothwel not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidences of the cruel fact committed by Bothwel, who, before the trial, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough. The earl of Marr did retire to Stirling, and had committed to his charge the young prince. All this was done in February.

In April Bothwel called together sundry of the lords, who had come to Edinburgh, to a meeting that was there; and, having gained some before, made them all, either from fear, or by fair promises, first of their private state, and then of advancing the Papists religion, to consent, by their subscriptions, to his marriage with the queen. Then the queen goes to Stirling to see her son; Bothwel makes a shew, as if he was going to the borders to suppress robbers, and so raiseth some men of war; which when he had done, he turneth towards the way to Stirling, where he meets the queen, according to the appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to Dunbar, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the queen's liking. The prime nobility convened at Stirling, and from thence sent to her, to know whether or not she was taken against her will. She answered, That it was true she was taken against her will, but, since her taking, she had no occasion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment she had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. These expressions were used by way of preface to the pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to Bothwel; for, by letters patent, he was pardoned by the queen, for laying violent hands upon her majesty, and for all other crimes: so by this, &c. the murder of the king was pardoned.

During the queen's abode in Dunbar, there were letters of divorce demanded, and granted unto Bothwel from his lady (who afterward was married to the earl Sutherland): she was sister to the earl of Huntley. The ground of the divorce was, the parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joined: next, because Bothwel was an adulterer, the marriage was void. The bill of divorce was granted by the Papistical court of the archbishop of St. Andrews. And here

mark how they juggle in sacred things; for, when it pleaseth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the First Book of this History. When the queen took a distaste to the late king her husband, it was proposed unto her to have divorce upon the same ground from the king; to which, first ear was given, but, after second thoughts, a bill of divorce was too tedious (as we have now said), and could not be staid for, therefore the king must be dispatched.

The queen, when Bothwel had obtained by the archbishop a letter of divorce from his lawful wife, sent a letter, signed with her own hand, to Mr. John Craig minister of Edinburgh, commanding him to publish the bond of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwel. Mr. John Craig, the next sermon-day thereafter, declared in full congregation, that he had received such a command, but in conscience he could not obey it: the marriage was altogether unlawful; and of that he would declare the reasons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwise he would make known his just reasons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, Bothwel sent for Mr. Craig to the council; where Mr. Craig told, first, That by an act of the assembly it was forbidden to allow the marriage of any divorced for adultery: the divorce of Bothwel, from his lawful wife, was by collusion; witness the quick dispatch thereof: for it was sought and had within ten days, and his contracting with the queen instantly thereafter: then his rape of the queen, and the guilt of the king's death, which was confirmed by this marriage: withal, he desired the lords to stop the queen from that infamous marriage. The Sunday after, he told publicly to the people what he had said to the council; and took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous and infamous marriage; and that he discharged his conscience unto the lords, who seemed unto him as so many slaves, what by flattery, what by silence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this he was called to the council again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his calling. Whereunto he answered, 'That the bounds of his commission was the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove this marriage to be scandalous and infamous.' At this he was stopped by Bothwel, and sent from the council. Notwithstanding all this done and said by Mr. Craig, and the opposition of many, who wished well to the queen, and

were jealous of her honour, the marriage went on, and they were married the 15th day of May. This makes good the Latin proverb, *Mala mens subunt Maio*. And a bishop must bless the marriage: the good prelate was bishop of Orkney. If there be a good work to be done, a bishop must do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy minister Mr. Craig, and this base bishop.

The earl of Athol, immediately after the murder of the king, had retired home, waiting for an opportunity to revenge the king's death: but seeing this abominable marriage, he went to Stirling, where other honest lords had a meeting with him, and made a bond, to defend the young prince from the murderers of his father; as already they had had one plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The nobles that entered into this bond, were, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Marr, and Glencairn, the lords Lindsay and Boyd. Argyle thereafter, seduced by some fair words, fell off; and Boyd became a great factious party for Bothwel in all things.

The queen soon after the marriage, was advised to send an ambassador to acquaint her foreign friends and kindred; and this must be a bishop: it is pity that any good work should be done without a bishop. Was not this a worthy employment for a pastor in God's church?

Bothwel, seeing the bond made at Stirling, causeth the queen to write to sundry of the nobility. Divers repaired unto her, where they found a bond tendered unto them, by which they were to bind themselves to defend the queen and Bothwel. Some that were corrupt did willingly subscribe; others from fear did the same: and there was not one that came to court that did refuse, but the earl of Murray; who refusing absolutely to enter into a bond with Bothwel, said, 'It was not the part of a good subject; yet, since he had been made friends with him some time before, he would keep his promise unto the queen: and to enter into a bond with the queen, it was needless and unfit, since he was to obey her in all lawful and just things.' Upon this he got leave, although with great difficulty, to go into France.

The queen now receives Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, into favour, since these changes; who was no less a faithful counsellor to her, than he was a good pastor of Christ's flock; that is, he betrayed her, and disobeyed God. With this a proclamation comes out in favour of the poor Protestants; whereby the queen declares, 'That

‘ she will keep and confirm all that she had promised at her arrival in Scotland.’ This was done to stop the people’s mouths; but all in vain, for they were universally against the abomination of the court.

Within few days, Bothwel and the queen were raising men, under pretext to go to the borders to repress the robbers there; but in effect, to go to Stirling, to have the prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their mind. Then a new proclamation came out, ‘ That the queen hereafter would rule only by the advice of the nobles of the land, as her best predecessors had done.’ The lords at Stirling, hearing of this plot, strive to prevent it, and to this purpose they determined with the lord Home to besiege the castle of Borthwick, where the queen and Bothwel were; but because the earl of Athol did not come at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to invest and encompass the castle; so that Bothwel having notice given him of the business, escaped to Dunbar, and the queen after him in man’s clothes. The lords failing of their design at Borthwick-castle, went to Edinburgh, which they made themselves masters of easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the earl of Huntley and the archbishop of St. Andrews’s persuasion to the contrary: these two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the castle, where they were received by Sir James Balfour, left there by Bothwel.

The twelfth of June, which was the next day following, the lords caused to publish a proclamation, at Edinburgh, whereby they declared, ‘ That the earl of Bothwel, who had been the principal author, deviser, and actor, of the cruel murder of the late king, had since laid hands upon the queen’s person, and had her for the present in Dunbar in his power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good counsel, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawful marriage with himself; yea, that now he was gathering forces, and stirring himself to get the young prince in his hands, that he might murder the child, as he had murdered the father.’ This wicked man the nobles of the land resolved to withstand, and deliver the queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all lieges within the kingdom that could come to them, to be in readiness at three hours warning to assist them, the nobles, for the freeing of the queen from captivity, and bringing the said earl Bothwel to a legal trial, and condign punishment, for the aforesaid murder, and other crimes:

and such as would not side with the lords, were, by this proclamation, commanded to depart from Edinburgh within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this proclamation, the people did not join unto these lords, as was expected; for sundry of the nobles were adversaries to the business, and others stood as neutrals; and withal, these that were convened together were not well provided with arms and ammunition for exploits of war; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their enterprise till another time, and had absolutely done so: but God had ordained otherwise, as the event did shew (if the queen and Bothwel could have had patience to stay at Dunbar for three or four days without any stir); but the queen and Bothwel having gathered together about four or five thousand men, trusting in their force (the queen being puffed up by flatterers), set forth and marched towards Leith; being come forward as far as Gladsmuir, she caused public proclamation against the aforesaid lords, calling them a number of Conspirators, and that she now discerned their inward malice against her and her husband the duke of Orkney (for so they now called Bothwel): after they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her husband at Borthwick, and had made a seditious proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the king her late husband, and to free her from captivity, giving out, ‘ That the duke her husband had a mind to invade the prince her son; all which was false, for the duke her husband had used all means to clear himself, both by a legal way, and by the offer of a combat to any that did accuse him, as they knew well enough. As touching her captivity, she was in none; but was in company with her husband, unto whom she was publicly married in the view of the world, and many of the nobles had given their consent unto this her marriage. As for the prince her son, it was but a specious pretence to the treason and rebellion against her, their natural sovereign, and her posterity, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore she declared herself necessitated to take up arms, hoping that all her faithful subjects would adhere unto her, and that those who were already assembled with her, would, with good hearts and hands, stand to her defence; and for the recompence of their valour, they should have the lands and goods of these unnatural rebels.’ After this proclamation the army went on, and the queen that night came to Seton, where she lay.

About midnight, the lords at Edinburgh were advertised of the queen's approach: presently they took arms; and at the sun-rising they were at Musselburgh, where they refreshed themselves with meat and rest. The queen's camp was not yet stirring. About mid-day the scouts that the lords had sent out, brought word that the enemy was marching towards them: presently they put themselves in two battalions; the first was conducted by the earl Morton and the lord Hume; the second by the earls Athol, Glencairn, the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanquhar, with the lairds Drumlanerk, Tullibardin, Cesford, and Grange, with divers others: their number was almost as great as the queen's, and their men better, being many of them very expert. The queen had gained a hill called Carberry, which the lords (by reason of the steepness of the ascent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about, to get a more convenient place to go to the hill where the enemy was, and to have the sun behind them in the time of the fight. At first the queen seeing them thus going about, did imagine they were flying away to Dalkeith; but when she saw them come directly towards her, she found herself deceived.

The French ambassador seeing them ready to fight, strived to take up the business; and having spoken with the queen, went to the lords, telling them, 'That the queen was disposed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this insurrection; wherefore it was very fit to spare blood, to agree in a peaceable way.' The earl of Morton, in the name of all the rest, answered, 'That they had taken up arms, not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; whom if she would deliver to be punished, or at least put from her company, she should find a continuation of dutiful obedience by them, and all other good subjects; otherwise no peace: besides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us.' The ambassador seeing their resolution to stand to the right of their cause, withdrew, and went to Edinburgh.

While the French ambassador was thus labouring for accommodation, Bothwel came out of the camp (which was in the trench that the English had left when they were last in these places, as we have said in the former Books), well mounted, with a defiance to any that would fight with him. James Murray, brother to the laird of Tullibardin, who before had accepted of Bothwel's challenge, when he made the rodomontade at Edinburgh, immediately after the king's death; but then James

Murray did not make known his name. Bothwel refused to fight with James Murray, alledging he was not his equal. Upon this the elder brother William Murray, kird of Tullibardin, answered, That he would fight with him, as being his better in estate, and in antiquity of house, many degrees above him; yet Bothwel refused him, saying, That he was not a peer of the kingdom, as he was. Then sundry lords would have gone to fight with Bothwel, but the lord Lindsay namely, who said to the rest of the lords and gentlemen, 'That he would take it as a singular favour of them, and as a recompence of his service done to the state, if they would suffer him to fight with the braggadocio.' Bothwel, seeing that there was no more subterfuge or excuse, under-hand made the queen to forbid him.

After this challenge and answers, Bothwel's complices and followers were very earnest to fight; but others, that had come only for the queen's sake, became a little cold, saying, 'That Bothwel would do well to fight himself, and spare the blood of divers gentlemen that were there.' Some advised to delay the battle till the Hamiltons came, whom they did expect. All this the queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burst out into tears, and said, 'They were all cowards and traitors that would not fight.' Immediately after thus vapouring, the queen, perceiving sundry to leave her, advised Bothwel to look unto himself; for she said to him, 'She would render herself unto the noblemen.' Upon this she sent for James Kirkcaldy of Grange, with whom she kept discourse for a while, till that she was assured that Bothwel was out of danger. Then she went to the lords, whom she did entertain with many fair words, telling them, That it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a desire to spare shedding of innocent blood: withal she promised to be ruled and advised by them.

On this she was received with all respect: but shortly after, declaring that she would go to the Hamiltons, with promise to return, they restrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to Edinburgh at night: she was very slow in marching, looking to be rescued by the Hamiltons; but in vain: she lay that night in the provost's house. The next day the lords sent the queen to the castle that is on an island in Lochleven. Sir James Balfour, seeing the queen committed, and Bothwel consequently defeated, capitulated with the lords for the delivery of the castle. Bothwel finding himself thus in disorder, sent a servant to Sir James

Balfour, to save a little silver cabinet, which the queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the messenger, and under-hand gives such advice of it to the lords. In this cabinet had Bothwell kept the letters of privacy he had from the queen: thus he kept her letters, to be an awe-band upon her, in case her affection should change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the queen and Bothwell were clearly discovered: these letters were afterwards printed: they were in French; along with some sonnets of her own making. About this time the earl Bothwell was declared, by open proclamation, not only the murderer of the king, but also the committer of it with his own hand; and a thousand crowns were offered to any man that would bring him in.

Few days after the commitment of the queen, the earl of Glencairn, with his domestics, went to the chapel of Holyrood-house, where he broke down the altars and images; which deed as it did content the zealous Protestants, so did it highly offend the popishly affected. The nobles, who had so proceeded against Bothwell, and dealt so with the queen, hearing that the Hamiltons had a great number of men, and had drawn the earls of Argyle and Huntley to their side, sent to Hamilton, desiring those that were there to join with them, for the redress of the disorders of the kirk and state: but the Hamiltons thinking that now they had a fair occasion to have all again in their hands, and to dispose of all according to their own mind, did refuse audience to the message sent by the lords.

Upon this the lords moved the general assembly, then met at Edinburgh, in the month of June, to write to the lords, that either were actually declared for the Hamiltons, or were neutrals: and so several letters were directed to the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford, and Monteth; to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Graham, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Seton, Glamis, Ochiltrie, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, and Somervell; as also to divers other men of note. Besides the letters of the assembly, commissioners were sent from the assembly to the lords above named; *viz.* John Douglas, John Row, John Craig, and John Knox, who had instructions, conform to the tenor of the letters, to desire these lords, and others, to come to Edinburgh, and join with the lords there, for the settling of God's true worship in the church, and policy reformed according to God's word, a maintenance for the ministers, and support for the poor; but

neither the commissioners, nor the letters, did prevail with these men; they excused themselves, saying, That they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there were so many armed men, and a garrison so strong: but for the church-affairs, they would not be any ways wanting to do what lay in them.

The lords at Edinburgh seeing this, join absolutely with the assembly (which had been prorogued to the 20th of July, upon the occasion of these letters and commissioners aforesaid), and promise to make good all the articles they thought fit to resolve upon in the assembly; but in what manner they performed their promises, God knows. The articles they agreed upon were these;

1. THAT the acts of parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of August 1560, touching religion, and abolishing the pope's authority, should have the force of a public law, and consequently this parliament defended, as a lawful parliament, and confirmed by the first parliament that should be kept next.

2. That the thirds of the tithes, or any more reasonable proportion of benefices, should be allowed towards the maintenance of the ministry; and that there should be a charitable course taken concerning the exacting of the tithes of the poor labourers. Moreover, that nothing should pass in parliament, till the affairs of the kirk be first considered, approved, and established.

3. That none should be received in the universities, colleges, or schools, for instruction of the youth, but after due trial both of capacity and ability.

4. That all crimes and offences against God, should be punished according to God's word; and that there should be a law made thereanent, at the first parliament to be holden.

5. As for the horrible murder of the late king, husband to the queen, which was so heinous before God and man, all true professors, in whatsoever rank or condition, did promise to strive, that all persons should be brought to condign punishment, who are found guilty of the same crime.

6. They all promised to protect the young prince against all violence, lest he should be murdered, as his father was; and that the prince should be committed to the care of four wise and godly men, that, by a good education, he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day.

7. The nobles, barons, and others, do promise to beat down and abolish Popery, idolatry, and

superstition, with any thing that may contribute unto it: as also, to set up and further the true worship of God, his government, the church, and all that may concern the purity of religion and life; and for this to convene and take arms, if need require.

8. And that all princes and kings hereafter in this realm, before their coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.

To these articles subscribed the earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Marr, the lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanguhar, Lindfay, Graham, Innermeth, and Ochiltre, with many other barons, besides the commissioners of the burghs.

This being agreed upon, the assembly was dissolved. Thereafter the lords Lindfay and Ruthven were sent to Lochlevin to the queen, to present unto her two writs; the one contained a renunciation of the crown and royal dignity in favour of the prince her son, with a commission to invest him in the kingdom, according to the manner accustomed; which, after some reluctancy, with tears, she subscribed, by the advice of the earl of Athol, who had sent to her, and of secretary Lethington, who had sent to her Robert Melvil for that purpose: so there was a procuration given to the lords Lindfay and Ruthven, by the queen, to give up and resign the rule of the realm, in presence of the states.

The second writ was, to ordain the earl of Murray regent, during the prince's minority, if he would accept the charge; and, in case he refused to accept the said office upon his single person, that he, with the duke Chattelaraunt, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Marr, should govern conjunctly. These writs were published the 29th of July 1567, at the market-crofs of Edinburgh.

Then at Stirling was the prince crowned king, where John Knox preached the sermon. The earl Morton and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he should constantly live in the profession of the true religion, and maintain it: and that he should govern the kingdom according to the laws thereof, and do justice equally to all.

In the beginning of August, the earl Murray being sent for, cometh home: in all haste he visits the queen at Lochlevin, strives to draw the lords that had taken part with the Hamiltons, or were neutral, to join with those that had bound themselves to stand for the king's authority: he was very earnest with divers, by reason of their old friendship, but to little purpose. The 20th of August he received his regency, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the desire of the queen, and lords that were for the king, and so was publicly proclaimed regent, and obedience shewed unto him by all that stood for the young king.

THE END OF BOOK FIFTH.



T H E
A P P E L L A T I O N

O F

J O H N K N O X,

F R O M

The Cruel and most Unjust SENTENCE pronounced against him, by the False
Bishops and Clergy of SCOTLAND;

W I T H

His Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonalty of the Realm, 1558.

To the NOBILITY and ESTATES of SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

IT is not only the love of this temporal life, right honourable, neither yet the fear of corporal death, that moveth me at this present to expose unto you the injuries done against me, and to crave of you, as of lawful powers by God appointed, redress of the same; but partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to God's eternal truth, and partly from a love which I bear to your salvation, and to the salvation of my brethren abused in that realm, by such as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God of his infinite mercy, not only to illuminate the eyes of my mind, and so to touch my dull heart, that clearly I see, and by his grace unfeignedly believe, That there is no other name given to

men under heaven, in which salvation consisteth, save the name of Jesus alone, 'Who by that sacrifice which he did once offer upon the cross, hath sanctified for ever all those that shall inherit the kingdom promised;' but also, it hath pleased him, of his superabundant grace, to make and appoint me, most wretched of many thousands, a witness, minister, and preacher of the same doctrine; the sum whereof I did not spare to communicate with my brethren, being with them in the realm of Scotland in the year 1556; because I knew myself to be a steward, and that accounts of the talent committed to my charge shall be required of me by him, who will admit no vain excuse which fearful men pretend; I did therefore, as

God's minister, during the time I was conversant with them, God by record and witness, truly and sincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the word of salvation, teaching all men to hate sin, which before God was, and is so odious, that no other sacrifice would satisfy his justice, except the death of his only son; and to manifest the mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his own glory, but did give him to the world, to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross, by that means to reconcile his chosen children to himself: teaching further, what is the duty of such as do believe themselves purged by such a price, from their former blindness; *viz.* That they are bound to walk in soberness of life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying at all times to glorify God by such good works, as he hath prepared his people to walk in.

In doctrine I did further affirm (so taught by my Master Christ Jesus), 'That whosoever denieth him, yea, or is ashamed of him before this wicked generation, him shall Christ Jesus deny, and of him shall he be ashamed, when he shall appear in his majesty;' and therefore I feared not to affirm, That of necessity it is, that such as hope for life everlasting, avoid all superstition, vain religion, and idolatry: vain religion and idolatry I call whatsoever is done in God's service or honour, without the express commandment of his own word.

This doctrine I did believe to be so conformable to God's holy Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been so impudent as to have condemned any point or article of the same: yet nevertheless, me as an heretic, and this doctrine as heretical, have your false bishops and ungodly clergy condemned, pronouncing against me a sentence of death; in testimony whereof, they have burned a picture. From which false and cruel sentence, and from all judgment of that wicked generation, I make it known unto your honours, That I appeal to a lawful and general council, to such, I mean, as the most ancient laws and canons do approve to be holden; by such, as whose manifest impiety is not to be reformed in the same: most humbly requiring of your honours, That as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and, by reason thereof, requireth of your hands the defence of innocents troubled in your dominion, in the mean time, and till the controversies that this day are in religion be lawfully decided, ye receive me, and such others as most unjustly by those cruel

beasts are persecuted, into your defence and protection.

Your honours are not ignorant, That it is not I alone, who do sustain this cause against the pestilent generation of Papists, but that the most part of Germany, the country of Helvetia, the King of Denmark, the nobility of Polonia, together with many other cities and church's reformed, appeal from the tyranny of that Antichrist, and most earnestly call for a lawful and general council, wherein may all controversies in religion be decided, by the authority of God's most sacred word.

And unto this same, as is said, do I appeal yet once again; requiring of your honours to hold my simple and plain Appellation of no less value nor effect, than if it had been made with greater circumstance, solemnity, and ceremony; and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the powers of God ordained, into your protection and defence, against the rage of tyrants; not to maintain me in any iniquity, error, or false opinion, but to let me have such equity, as God by his word, ancient laws and determinations of most godly councils, grant to men accused or injured.

The word of God wills, that no man shall die, except he be found criminal and worthy of death for offence committed, of which he must be manifestly convicted by two or three witnesses. Ancient laws do permit just defences to such as be accused (be their crimes never so horrible). And godly councils will, that neither bishop nor person ecclesiastical whatsoever, accused of any crime, shall sit in judgment, consultation, or council, where the cause of such men as do accuse them is to be tried.

These things require I of your honours to be granted unto me, *viz.* That the doctrine which our adversaries condemn for heresy, may be tried by the simple and plain word of God; that the just defences be admitted to us that sustain the battle against this pestilent generation of Antichrist; and that they be removed from judgment in our cause; seeing that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but against that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his commandment, and against the ordinance of Christ Jesus established in his church by his chief apostles; yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the pope to be the kingdom and power of Antichrist: and therefore, my lords, I cannot cease, in the name of Christ Jesus, to require of you, that the matter may come to examination; and that ye the

estates of the realm, by your authority, compel such as will be called Bishops, not only to desist from their cruel murdering of such as do study to promote God's glory, in detecting and disclosing the damnable impiety of that man of sin the Roman Antichrist; but also, that ye compel them to answer to such crimes as shall be laid to their charge, for not righteously instructing the flock committed to their cares.

But here I know two things shall be doubted; the former, whether that my Appellation is lawful, and to be admitted, seeing that I am condemned as an heretic; and secondly, Whether your honours are bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seeing that your bishops (who, in matters of religion, claim all authority to appertain to them) have by their sentence already condemned me.

The one and the other I nothing doubt most clearly to prove; *First*, That my Appellation is most lawful and just: and *secondly*, That your honours cannot refuse to defend me, thus calling for your aid; for, in refusing, ye declare yourselves rebellious to God, maintainers of murderers, and shedders of innocent blood.

How just cause I have by the civil law (as for their canon, it is accursed of God) to appeal from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse; only I will touch the points which all men confess to be the just causes of appellation: *First*, Lawfully could I not be summoned by them, being for that time absent from their jurisdiction, charged with the preaching of Christ's gospel in a free city, not subject to their tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their summons; but so secret was their furnished malice, that the copy of summons, being required, was denied.

Thirdly, To the realm of Scotland could I have had no free nor sure access, being before compelled to quit the same by their unjust tyranny.

And *lastly*, To me they neither could, nor can be competent and indifferent judges; for that before any summons was raised against me, I had accused them by letters published to the queen-dowager, and had intended against them all crimes, offering myself with hazard of life to prove the same; for the which they are not only unworthy of ecclesiastical authority, but also of any sufferance within a commonwealth professing Christ. This my accusation preceding their summons, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be granted

unto me openly to prove my accusation intended against them, and they be compelled to make answer as criminals: for I will plainly prove, That not only bishops, but also popes, have been removed from all authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themselves of accusations laid against them. Yea, further I will prove, That bishops and popes have most justly been deprived of all honours and administration, for smaller crimes than I have to charge the whole rabble of your bishops.

But because this is not my chief ground, I will stand content for this present to show, That it is lawful to God's prophets, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeal from the sentence and judgment of the visible church, to the knowledge of the temporal magistrate, who, by God's law, is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from tyranny.

The prophet Jeremiah was commanded by God to stand in the court of the house of the Lord, and to preach this sermon in effect, That Jerusalem should be destroyed, and be exposed in opprobry to all nations of the earth; and that also that famous temple of God should be made desolate, like unto Shiloh, because the priests, the prophets, and the people, did not walk in the law which God had proposed unto them, neither would they obey the voice of the prophets, whom God sent to call them to repentance.

For this sermon was Jeremiah apprehended, and a sentence of death pronounced against him, and that by the priests, by the prophets, and by the people: which things being reported in the ears of the princes of Judah, they passed up to the king's house, to the temple of the Lord, and sat down in judgment for further knowledge of the cause: but the priests and prophets continued in their cruel sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, 'This man is worthy of death, for he hath prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard.' But Jeremiah, so moved by the Holy Ghost, began his defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words; 'The Lord (saith he) hath sent me to prophecy against this house, and against this city, all the words which you have heard. Now therefore make good your ways, and hear the voice of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the evil which he hath spoken against you. And as for me, behold, I am in your hands (so doth he speak to the princes), do to me as you think good and right: nevertheless, know you this most assuredly, that if ye

‘murder or slay me, ye shall make yourselves, this city, and the inhabitants of the same, criminal and guilty of innocent blood: for of a truth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your ears all these words.’

‘Then the princes and the people (saith the text) said, This man is not worthy of death, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God.’ And so, after some contention, was the prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and history manifestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed: *viz.* That it is lawful for the servants of God to call for the help of the civil magistrate, against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whomsoever it is pronounced; and also, that the civil sword hath power to repress the fury of the priests, and to absolve whom they have condemned: for the prophet of God was condemned by those, who then only in earth were known to be the visible church; *viz.* the priests and prophets who were in Jerusalem, the successors of Aaron, to whom was given a charge to speak to the people in the name of God, and a precept given to the people to hear the law from their mouths; to the which, if any should be rebellious or inobedient, he should die the death without mercy. These men, I say, thus authorized by God, first did excommunicate Jeremiah, for that he did preach otherwise than did the common sort of the prophets in Jerusalem; and last, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing against him this sentence above written; from the which nevertheless the prophet appealed, that is, sought help and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he crave of the princes: for albeit he saith, ‘I am in your hands, do with me as ye think righteous,’ he doth not contemn or neglect his life, as though he regarded not what should become of him; but in those his words most vehemently did he admonish the princes and rulers of the people, giving them to understand what God should require of them; as if he should say, Ye princes of Judah, and rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to justify the just man, and to condemn the malefactor, you have heard a sentence of death pronounced against me, by those whose lips ought not to speak deceit, because they are sanctified and appointed by God himself, to speak his law, and to pronounce judgment with equity; but as they have left the Living God, and have taught the people vanity, so are they become mortal enemies to all God’s true

servants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apostacy, and defection from God, which is the only cause they seek my life. But a thing most contrary to all equity, law, and justice it is, that I, a man sent of God, to call them his people, and you again to the true service of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my enemies do so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whom God hath made princes; your power is above their tyranny; before you do I expose my cause; I am in your hands, and cannot resist to suffer what ye think just: but lest that my lenity and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me, in my just cause, appealing to your judgment, either yet encourage my enemies in seeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, That if ye murder me (which thing ye do, if ye defend me not), ye make not only my enemies guilty of my blood, but also yourselves, and this whole city.

By these words, I say, it is evident, that the prophet of God, being condemned by the priests, and by the prophets of the visible church, did seek aid, support, and defence, at the princes and temporal magistrates threatening his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their authority, did not defend him from the fury of his enemies; alledging also just causes of his appellation, and why he ought to have been defended; *viz.* That he was sent of God, to rebuke their vices and defection from God; that he taught no doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his law; that he desired their conversion to God, continually calling upon them to walk in the ways which God had approved: and therefore doth he boldly crave of the princes, as of God’s lieutenants, to be defended from the blind rage and tyranny of the priests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves authority to judge all matters of religion. And the same did he when he was cast in prison, and thereafter was brought to the presence of king Zedekiah. After, I say, he had defended his innocence, affirming, That he neither had offended against the king, against his servants, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the king for his life, saying, ‘But now, my lord the king, take heed, I beseech thee, let my prayer fall into thy presence; command me not to be carried again into the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I die not there.’

And the text witnesseth, That the king commanded the place of his imprisonment to be

changed. Whereof it is evident, that the prophet did oftener than once seek help at the civil power; and that first the princes, and thereafter the king, did acknowledge, That it appertained to their office to deliver him from the unjust sentence which was pronounced against him. If any man think that Jeremiah did not appeal, because he only declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence according to his innocence; let the wise man understand, that no otherwise do I appeal from that false and cruel sentence, which your bishops pronounced against me; neither yet can there be any just cause of appellation, but innocence hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption of those, who, under the title of justice, do exercise tyranny. If I were a thief, murderer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender, whom God's word commandeth to suffer for a crime committed, my Appellation were vain, and to be rejected: but I, being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your bishops have condemned in me being God's eternal verity, have no less liberty to crave your defence against that cruelty, than had the prophet Jeremiah to seek aid of the princes and kings of Judah.

But this shall more plainly appear in the fact of St. Paul, who, after that he was apprehended in Jerusalem, did first claim the liberty of the Roman citizens, for avoiding torment, when the captain would have examined him by questions: thereafter in the council, where no righteous judgment was to be hoped for, he affirmed, that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of the resurrection of the dead; and last, in the presence of Festus, he appealed from all knowledge and judgment of the priests at Jerusalem, to the emperor: of which last point, because it doth chiefly appertain to this my cause, I will somewhat speak.

After that Paul had divers times been accused, as in the Acts of the Apostles is manifest, at the last the chief priests, and their faction, came to Cæsarea, with Festus the president, who presented unto them Paul in judgment, whom they accused of horrible crimes, which nevertheless they could not prove: the apostle maintaining, That he had offended neither against the law, neither against the temple, neither yet against the emperor.

But Festus willing to gratify the Jews, said to Paul, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things in my presence? But Paul said, I stand at the justice-seat of the emperor, where it behoveth me to be judged; I

have done no wrong to the Jews, as thou better knowest: if I have done any thing unjustly, or yet committed any crime worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be nothing of these things true whereof they accuse me, no man may give me to them: I appeal to Cæsar.' It may appear at the first sight, that Paul did great injury to Festus the judge, and to the whole order of the priesthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruel tyrant, than in all that session, and learned company; which thing, no doubt, Festus did understand, pronouncing these words: Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? Thou shalt go to Cæsar.' As if he would say, I, as a man willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to go to Jerusalem, where the learned of thine own nation may hear thy cause, and discern in the same. The controversy standeth in matters of religion: thou art accused as an apostate from the law, as a violator of the temple, and a transgressor of the traditions of their fathers, in which matters I am ignorant: and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same religion, whereof the question is: and dost thou refuse so many godly fathers to hear thy cause, and dost appeal to the emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpose, belike, but to delay time? Thus, I say, it might have appeared that Paul did not only injury to the judge and to the priests, but also that the cause was greatly to be suspected, partly for that he did refuse the judgment of those that had most knowledge (as all men supposed) of God's will and religion; and partly, because he appealed to the emperor, who then was at Rome, far absent from Jerusalem, a man ignorant of God, and enemy to all virtue. But the apostle considering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended against him, even from the first day he began freely to speak in the name of Christ, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed gospel, and sought the death of Paul, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracy; and therefore by no means would he admit them either as judges in his cause, or auditors of the same, as Festus required: but grounding himself upon strong reasons, *viz.* That he had not offended the Jews, neither against the law, but that he was innocent; therefore that no judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies; grounding, I say, his appellation upon

these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of Festus, neither yet the report of the ignorant multitude, but boldly did appeal from all cognoscence of them, to the judgment of the emperor, as is said.

By these two examples, I doubt not but your honours do understand, That it is lawful to the servants of God, oppressed by tyrants, to seek remedy against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the help of civil magistrates: for what God hath approved in Jeremiah and Paul, he can condemn in none that are so dealt withal. I might alledge some history of the primitive church, serving to the same purpose; as of Ambrose and Athanasius, of whom the one would not be judged but at Milan, where that his doctrine was heard of all his church, and received and approved by many; and the other would in no ways give place to those councils, where he knew that men conspiring against the truth of God, should sit in judgment and consultation: but because the Scriptures of God are my only foundation and assurance in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimonies sufficient, as well to approve my Appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your honours, that with safe conscience ye cannot refuse to admit the same.

If any think it arrogance or foolishness in me to compare myself with Jeremiah and Paul, let the same man understand, That as God is immutable, so is the verity of his glorious gospel of equal dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weak. What I think touching mine own person, God will reveal, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; and such as with whom I have been conversant, can witness what arrogance or pride they espy in me: but touching the doctrine and cause, which that adulterous and pestilent generation of Antichrist's servants (who will be called Bishops amongst you) have condemned in me, I neither fear nor shame to confess and avow, before man and angel, to be the eternal truth of the Eternal God. And, in that case, I doubt not to compare myself with any member in whom the truth hath been impugned since the beginning: for as it was the truth which Jeremiah did preach in these words, 'The priests have not known me, saith the Lord, but the pastors have treacherously declined and fallen back from me. The prophets have prophesied in Baal, and have gone after those things which cannot help. My people have left the fountain of living

'water, and have digged themselves pits, which can contain no water.'

As it was a truth, That the pastors and watchmen, in the days of Isaiah, were become dumb dogs, blind, ignorant, proud, and avaricious; and finally, as it was a truth, That the princes and the priests were murderers of Jesus Christ, and cruel persecutors of his apostles; so likewise it is a truth, and that most infallible, That those who have condemned me (the whole rabble of the Papistical clergy) have declined from the true faith, have given ear to deceivable spirits, and to doctrine of devils, and are the stars fallen from the heaven to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally, are enemies to Jesus Christ, deniers of his virtue, and horrible blasphemers of his death and passion. And further, As that visible church had no crime whereof justly they could accuse either prophets, or the apostles, except their doctrine only; so have not such as seek my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except that I affirm, as always I offer to prove, That the religion which now is maintained by fire and sword, is no less contrarious to the true religion taught and established by the apostles, than is darkness to light, or the devil to God; and also, That such as now do claim the title and name of church, are no more the elect spouse of Christ Jesus, than was the synagogue of the Jews the true church of God, when it crucified Christ Jesus, condemned his doctrine, and persecuted his apostles. And therefore, seeing that my battle is against the proud and cruel hypocrites of this age, as that battle of those most excellent instruments was against the false prophets and malignant church of their ages; neither ought any man to think it strange that I compare myself with them, with whom I sustain a common cause: neither ought your lordships to judge yourselves less addebted and bound to me, calling for your support, than did the princes of Judah think themselves bound to Jeremiah, whom for that time they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visible church.

And thus much for the right of my Appellation, which, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require your honours not to esteem as a thing superfluous and vain, but that ye admit it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that, by you assured, I may have access to my native country, which I never offended; to the end that freely and openly, in the presence of the whole realm, I may give my confession of all such points as this day be in controversy; and also, that you, by

your authority which ye have of God, compel such as of long time have blinded and deceived both yourselves and the people, to answer to such things as shall be laid to their charge.

But lest that some doubt remain, that I require more of you than you of conscience are bound to grant; in few words, I hope my petition to be such as without God's heavy displeasure ye cannot deny. My petition is, That ye, whom God hath appointed heads in your commonwealth, with single eye do study to promote the glory of God, to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; that they be defended from all oppression and tyranny; that true preachers may be maintained, and such as blind and deceive the people, together also with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppress the flock, may be removed and punished, as God's law prescribeth. And to the performance of every one of these, do your offices and names, the honours and benefits which ye receive, the law of God universally given to all men, and the examples of most godly princes, bind and oblige you.

My purpose is not to labour greatly to prove, that your whole study ought to be to promote the glory of God; neither yet will I study to alledge all reasons that justly may be brought to prove, that ye are not exalted to reign above your brethren, as men without care and sollicitude; for these are principles so grafted in nature, that very Ethnics have confessed the same: for seeing that God only hath placed you in his chair, hath appointed you to be his lieutenants, and by his own seal hath marked you to be magistrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom nature nevertheless hath made you like in all points (for in conception, birth, life, and death, ye differ nothing from the common sort of men; but God only, as is said, hath promoted you, and of his special favour hath given you this prerogative, to be called Gods). How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be found unfaithful to him, that hath thus honoured you! And further, What a monster were it, that you should be proved unmerciful to them above whom ye are appointed to reign, as fathers above their children? Because, I say, that the very Ethnics have granted, that the chief and first care of princes, and of such as are appointed to rule above others, ought to be, to promote the glory and honour of their gods, and to maintain that religion which they supposed to have been true; and that their second care was, to maintain and defend the subjects committed to their

charge in all equity and justice: I will not labour to shew unto you what ought to be your study in maintaining God's true honour, lest that, in so doing, I should seem to make you less careful to God's true religion than were the Ethnics over their idolatry.

But because other petitions may appear more hard and difficult to be granted, I purpose briefly, but yet freely, to speak what God by his word doth assure me to be true; *viz.* *First*, That in conscience you are bound to punish malefactors, and to defend innocents imploiring your help. *Secondly*, That God requireth of you, to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; and that the same be by you reformed, whensoever abuses do creep in by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men. And *lastly*, That ye are bound to remove from honour, and to punish with death, if the crime so require, such as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their souls, I mean, God's lively word. The first and second are most plain by the words of St. Paul, thus speaking of lawful powers:

‘ Let every soul, saith he, submit himself unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: whosoever resisteth therefore the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation: for rulers are not to be feared of those that do well, but those that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? Do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy well: but if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought; for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil.’

As the apostle in these words most strictly commandeth obedience to be given to lawful powers, pronouncing God's wrath and vengeance against such as shall resist the ordinance of God; so doth he assign to the powers their offices, which are, to take vengeance upon evil doers, to maintain the well doers, and so to minister and rule in their office, that the subjects by them may have a benefit, and be praised in well-doing. Now, if ye be powers ordained by God (and that I hope all men will grant), then, by the plain words of the apostle, is the sword given unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for punishment of malefactors: but I, and my brethren with me accused, do offer not only to prove ourselves innocents in all things laid to our charge, but also we offer most evidently to prove your bishops to be the very pestilence, who have infected all Christianity: and therefore by the

plain doctrine of the apostle, you are bound to maintain us, and punish the other, being evidently convicted, and proved criminal.

Moreover, the former words of the apostle do teach, how far high powers are bound to their subjects; *viz.* that because they are God's ministers, by Him ordained for the profit and utility of others, most diligently ought they to attend upon the same: for that cause assigneth the Holy Ghost, commanding subjects to obey, and to pay tribute, saying, 'For this do ye pay tribute and toll;' that is, because they are God's ministers, bearing the sword for your utility. Wherefore it is plain, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I with your wisdoms deeply to consider, That God hath not placed you above your brethren, to reign as tyrants, without respect of either profit or commodity. You hear the Holy Ghost witness the contrary, affirming, That all powers are God's ministers, ordained for the well, profit, and salvation of their subjects, and not for their destruction.

Could it be said, I beseech you, That magistrates including their subjects in a city without all victuals, or giving unto them no other victuals but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profit of their subjects? I trust that none will be so foolish as so to affirm; but that rather every discreet person would boldly affirm, That such as so did, were unworthy of government. If we will not deny that which Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a truth infallible, *viz.* That the soul is greater and more precious than is the body, then shall we easily espy how unworthy of authority are these that this day debar their subjects from hearing of God's word, and by fire and sword compel them to feed upon the very poison of their souls, the damnable doctrine of Antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I cannot cease to admonish your honours diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater than the most part of men suppose.

It is not enough that you abstain from violent wrong and oppression, which ungodly men exercise against their subjects, but ye are further bound, *viz.* That ye rule above them for their well, which ye cannot do, if that ye either by negligence, not providing true pastors, or yet by your maintenance of such as are ravening wolves, suffer their souls to starve and perish for lack of the true food, which is Christ's gospel sincerely preached. It will not excuse you in his presence, who will require account of every talent committed to your charge, to say, That ye supposed that the charge

of the souls had been committed to your bishops: no, no, my lords, so ye cannot escape God's judgment; for if your bishops are proved to be no bishops, but deceivable thieves, and ravening wolves (which I offer myself to prove by God's word, by law, and councils; yea, by the judgment of all the godly learned, from the primitive church to this day), then shall your permission and defence be reputed before God a participation with their theft and murder: for thus accused the prophet Isaiah the princes of Jerusalem: 'Thy princes (saith he) are apostates (that is, obstinate refusers of God), and they are companions of thieves.' This grievous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that city, which sometime was called Holy, where then were the temple, rites, and ordinances of God; because that not only they were wicked themselves, but chiefly because they maintained wicked men, their priests and false prophets, in honours and authority: if they did not escape this accusation of the Holy Ghost in that age, look ye neither to escape the accusation nor the judgment of wicked men; *viz.* That the one and the other shall drink the cup of God's wrath and vengeance together. And lest ye should deceive yourselves, esteeming your bishops to be virtuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer myself to prove the same, That more wicked men than are the whole rabble of your clergy, were never from the beginning universally known in any age; yea, Sodom and Gomorrah may be justified in respect of them, for they permitted just Lot to dwell amongst them, without any violence done to his body, which that pestilent generation of your shaven sort doth not, but most cruelly persecute, by fire and sword, the true members of Christ's body, for no other cause, but for the true service and honouring of God.

And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God will one day justify, That by your offices ye are bound, not only to repress their tyranny, but also to punish them as thieves and murderers, as idolaters and blasphemers of God; and in their rooms ye are bound to place true preachers of Christ's gospel, for the instruction, comfort, and salvation of your subjects, above whom else shall never the Holy Ghost acknowledge, That you rule in justice for their profit. If ye pretend to possess the kingdom with Christ Jesus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of princes, neither by the ungodly and cruel rulers of the earth, of whom some pass their time in sloth, insolence, and riot, without respect had to God's he-

nour, or to the salvation of their brethren; and others most cruelly oppress, with proud Nimrod, such as are subject to them: but your pattern and example must be the practice of those whom God hath approved by the testimony of his word, as after shall be declared.

Of the premises it is evident, That to lawful powers is given the sword, for punishment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their subjects. Now, let us consider, Whether the reformation of religion fallen in decay, and punishment of false teachers, do appertain to the civil magistrate and nobility of any realm. I am not ignorant, that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darkness, hath obtained of the blind world two chief points: the 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 state 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 cognizance. But that no offender may justly be exempted from punishment, and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertain to the civil magistrate, shall God's perfect ordinance, his plain word, and the facts and examples of those that of God are highly praised, most evidently declare.

When God did establish his law, statutes, and ceremonies, in the midst of Israel, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moses; but as he gave him charge over the civil policy, so he put in his mouth and his hand; that is, he first revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice, whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to Aaron, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of Moses; yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himself, or to his children, either in his or their inauguration and sanctification to the priesthood, but all was committed to the care of Moses: and therefore were these words so frequently repeated to Moses, 'Thou shalt separate Aaron and his sons from the midst of the people of Israel, that they may execute the office of the priesthood: thou shalt make unto them garments, thou shalt anoint them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill their hands with sacrifice?' and so forth of every rite

and ceremony, that was to be done unto them, especial commandment was given unto Moses, that he should do it.

Now, if Aaron and his sons were so subject to Moses, that they did nothing but at his commandment, Who dare be so bold as to affirm, 'That the civil magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion?' For seeing that then God did so strictly require, That even those, who did bear the figure of Christ, should receive from the civil power, as it were, their sanctification, and entrance into their office; and seeing also that Moses was so far preferred to Aaron, that the one commanded, and the other did obey; Who dare esteem that the civil power is now become so profane in God's eyes, that it is sequestered from all intromission with the matters of religion? The Holy Ghost, in divers places, declareth the contrary. For one of the chief precepts commanded to the king, when that he should be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the book of the Lord's law; that it should be with him, that he might read in it all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law and his statutes to do them. This precept requireth not only that the king should himself fear God, keep his law and statutes; but that also he, as the chief ruler, should provide that God's true religion should be kept inviolated of the people and flock, which by God was committed to his charge.

And this did not only David and Solomon perfectly understand, but also some godly kings in Judah, after the apostacy and idolatry that infected Israel by the means of Jeroboam, did employ their understanding, and execute their power, in some notable reformations: for Aza and Jehoshaphat, kings in Judah, finding the religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts, faith the Holy Ghost, to serve the Lord, and to walk in his ways: and thereafter did witness, that Aza removed from honours his mother, some say grandmother, because she had committed, and laboured to maintain idolatry. And Jehoshaphat did not only refuse strange gods himself, but also, destroying the chief monuments of idolatry, did send forth the Levites to instruct the people. Whereof it is plain, That the one and the other did understand such reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of Hezekiah, and of Josiah, do more clearly prove the power and duty of the civil magistrate in reformation of religion: before the reign of Hezekiah religion was so corrupt, that the doors of the

house of the Lord were shut up, the lamps were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderly made; but in the first year of his reign, in the first month of the same, did the king open the doors of the temple, bring in the priests and Levites, and assembling them together, did speak unto them as followeth: 'Hear me, O ye Levites! and be ye sanctified now, and sanctify also the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth all filthiness (he meaneth, all monuments and vessels of idolatry), for our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickedness in the eyes of the Eternal our God: they have left him, and turned their faces from the tabernacle of the Lord; and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon Judah and Jerusalem: behold, our fathers have fallen by the sword, our sons, daughters, and wives, are led into captivity; but now have I purposed in my heart to make a covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turn the wrath of his fury from us. And therefore, my sons (he sweetly exhorteth) be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve him.'

Such as are no more than blind, clearly may perceive that the king doth acknowledge, That it appertained to his charge, to reform the religion, to appoint the Levites to their charges, and to admonish them of their duty and office: which thing he most evidently declareth, writing his letters to all Israel, to Ephraim and Manassih, and sent the same by the hands of messengers, having this tenor:

'Ye sons of Israel, return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he shall return to the residue that resteth from the hands of Athur: be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate, as you see. Hold not your heart therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return unto his sanctuary, serve him, and he shall shew mercy unto you, to your sons and daughters that are in bondage; for he is pitiful, and easy to be entreated.'

Thus far did Hezekiah, by letters and messengers, urge the people, declined from God, to repentance; not only in Judah, where he reigned lawful king, but also in Israel, subject then to another king: and albeit that by some wicked men his messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their just punishment (for within six years after Samaria was destroyed, and Israel led captive by Shal-

maneser), so did not the zealous king Hezekiah desist to prosecute his duty, in restoring the religion to God's perfect ordinance, removing all abominations.

The same is to be read of Josiah, who did not only restore the religion, but did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, which of long time had remained: for it is written of him, That after that the book of the law was found, and that he asked counsel at the prophets Huldah, he sent and gathered all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant, That all the people, from the great to the small, should walk after the Lord, should observe his law, statutes, and testimonies, with all their heart, and with all their soul; and that they should ratify and confirm whatsoever was written in the book of God. He further commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the inferior order, that they should carry forth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to Bethel. He did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, yea, even those that had remained from the days of Solomon; he did burn them, stamp them to powder, whereof one part he scattered in the brook Kidron, and the other part upon the sepulchres and graves of the idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they made sacrifice, not only in Judah, but also in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatry: yea, he further proceeded, and did kill the priests of the high places, who were idolaters, and had deceived the people; he did kill them, I say, and burnt their bones upon their own altars, and so returned to Jerusalem. This reformation made Josiah, and for the same obtained this testimony of the Holy Ghost, That neither before him nor after him was there any such king, who returned to God with his whole soul, and with all his strength, according to all the law of Moses.

Of which histories it is evident, That the reformation of religion in all points, together with the punishment of false teachers, doth appertain to the power of the civil magistrate: for what God required of them, his justice must require of others having the like charge and authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who with like zeal and sincerity do enterprise to purge the Lord's temple and sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared, *viz.* that most diligently they should observe his law, statutes, and ceremonies. And how accept-

able were their facts to God, doth he himself witness; for to some he gave most notable victories, without the hand of man; and, in their most desperate dangers, did declare his especial favour towards them, by signs supernatural: to others he so established the kingdom, that their enemies were compelled to sloop under their feet. And the names of all he hath registered, not only in the book of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities since their days, which also shall continue till the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall reward with the crown of immortality, not only them, but also such as unfeignedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly Father, in the midst of this corrupted generation.

In consideration whereof, ought you, my lords, all delay set apart, to provide for the reformation of religion in your dominions and bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christ's institution remaineth in the original purity; and therefore of necessity it is, that speedily ye provide for reformation, or else ye declare yourselves not only void of love towards your subjects, but also to live without care of your own salvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God.

Two things perchance may move you to esteem these histories, before briefly touched, to appertain nothing to you; *first*, Because you are no Jews, but Gentiles; and *secondly*, Because you are no kings, but nobles in your realm.

But be not deceived; for neither of both can excuse you in God's presence from doing your duty: for it is a thing more than certain, that whatsoever God required of the civil magistrate in Israel or Judah, concerning the observation of true religion, during the time of the law, the same doth he require of lawful magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the time of the gospel, as the Holy Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David (Psalm ii.), saying, 'Kiss the Son, lest that the Lord wax angry, and that ye perish away.' This admonition doth not extend to the judges under the law only, but doth also include all such as are promoted to honours in the time of the gospel; when Christ Jesus doth reign and fight in his spiritual kingdom, whose enemies, in that psalm, are first most sharply taxed, their fury expressed, and vanity mocked; and then are kings and judges, who think themselves free from all law and obedience, commanded to repent of their former blind rage; and judges are charged to be learned; and lastly, are commanded

to serve the Eternal God in fear, to rejoice before him in trembling, to kiss the Son, that is, to give him most humble obedience: wherefore it is evident, that the rulers, magistrates, and judges, now in Christ's kingdom, are no less bound to obedience unto God, than were those under the law; And how is it possible that any should be obedient, who despiseth his religion, in which standeth the chief glory that man can give to God, and is a service which God especially requireth of kings and rulers?

Which thing St. Augustine plainly did note, writing to one Bonifacius a man of war, according to the same argument and purpose which I labour to persuade your honours: for after that he hath, in that his epistle, declared the difference betwixt the heresy of the Donatists and Arians, and hath somewhat spoken of their cruelty, he sheweth the way how their fury should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawful for the unjustly afflicted, to seek support and defence at godly magistrates; for thus he writeth, 'Either must the verity be kept close, or else must their cruelty be sustained.' But if the verity should be concealed, not only should none be saved, but also should many be lost through their deceit: but if by preaching of the verity their fury should be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet some were delivered, and made strong; yet should fear hinder many weaklings to follow the verity, if their rage be not staid.

In these first words, Augustine sheweth three reasons why the afflicted church, in those days, called for the help of the emperor, and of godly magistrates, against the fury of the persecutors. The *first*, The verity must be spoken, or else mankind shall perish in error. The *second*, The verity being plainly spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage. And because that some did alledge, that rather we ought to suffer all injury, than to seek support by man, he addeth the third reason, *viz.* That many weak ones are not able to suffer persecution and death for the truth's sake, to whom not the less respect ought to be had, that they may be won from their error, and so be brought to greater strength.

Oh that the rulers of this age would ponder and weigh the reasons of this godly writer, and provide the remedy which he requireth, in these words following! 'Now, when the church was thus afflicted, if any think, that rather they should have sustained all calamity, than that help should have been asked of Christian emperors by the godly, he doth not well advert, that of such negligence no good counts nor reason could be

' given : for where such as would that no just laws
 ' should be made against their impiety, alledged,
 ' that the apostles fought no such things of the
 ' kings of the earth, they do not consider that the
 ' time was otherwise than it is now, and that all
 ' things are done in their own time. What em-
 ' peror then believed in Christ, that he should
 ' serve him in making laws for godliness against
 ' impiety? While that saying of the prophet was
 ' complete,' " Why have the nations raged, and
 ' people have imagined vanity? The kings of the
 ' earth stood up, and princes have convened to-
 ' gether against the Lord, and against his anoint-
 ' ed;" ' that which is after in the same psalm,
 ' was not yet come to pass,' " And now under-
 ' stand, O ye kings! be learned, you that judge
 ' the earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice
 ' to him with trembling." " How do kings serve
 ' the Lord in fear, but in punishing, and by a
 ' godly severity forbidding those things which are
 ' done against the commandment of the Lord?
 ' For otherwise doth he serve the Lord in so far
 ' as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king.
 ' In so far as he is a man, he serveth him by living
 ' faithfully; but because he is also king, he serveth,
 ' establishing laws, that command the things
 ' that be just, and that with a convenient rigour
 ' forbid things contrary. As Hezekiah served,
 ' destroying the groves, the temples of idols, and
 ' the places which were builded against God's com-
 ' mandment; so served also Josiah, doing the same;
 ' so the king of the Ninevites, compelling the
 ' whole city to mitigate the fury of the Lord;
 ' so served Darius, giving into the power of Da-
 ' niel the idol to be broken, and his enemies to
 ' be cast to the lions; so served Nebuchadnezzar,
 ' by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his
 ' realm to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do
 ' kings serve the Lord, in so far as they are kings,
 ' when they do these things to serve him, which
 ' none except kings are able to do.' He further
 ' proceedeth and concludeth, ' That as when wic-
 ' ked kings do reign, impiety cannot be bridled by
 ' laws, but rather is tyranny exercised under the
 ' title of the same; so is it a thing without all
 ' reason, that kings, professing the knowledge and
 ' honour of God, should not regard nor care who
 ' did defend, nor who did oppugn, the kirk of God
 ' in their dominions.'

By these words of this ancient and godly writer,
 your honours may perceive what I require of
 you, *viz.* To repress the tyranny of your bishops,
 and to defend the innocents professing the truth.

He did require of the emperor and kings in his
 days professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth,
 ' That they cannot serve Christ, except that so
 ' they do.' Let not your bishops think that Au-
 gustine speaketh for them, because he nameth the
 kirk: let them read and understand, that Augus-
 tine writeth for that church which professeth the
 truth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence
 of the same, which your bishops do not; but rather,
 with the Donatists and Arians, do cruelly per-
 secute all such as boldly speak Christ's eternal ve-
 rity, to manifest their impiety and abomination.
 But this much we have of Augustine, That it ap-
 pertaineth to the obedience and service which kings
 owe to God, as well now in the time of the gos-
 pel, as before under the law, to defend the afflic-
 ted for matters of religion, and to repress the fury
 of the persecutors by the rigour and severity of
 godly laws. For which cause, no doubt, Isaiah
 the prophet saith, That kings should be nourishers
 of the church of God, that they should abase their
 heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God.
 And thus, I say, your honours may evidently see,
 that the same obedience doth God require of rulers
 and princes in the time of the gospel, that he re-
 quired in the time of the law.

If you do think that the reformation of religion,
 and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertain to
 you, because you are no kings, but nobles and states
 of a realm; in two things you are deceived: *first*,
 In that you do not advert, That David requireth
 as well that the princes and judges of the earth be
 learned, and that they serve and fear God, as that
 he requireth that kings repent: if you therefore be
 judges and princes, as no man can deny you to be,
 then, by the plain words of David, you are charged
 to be learned, to serve and fear God; which ye
 cannot do, if ye despise the reformation of his re-
 ligion. And this is your first error.

The *second* is, That ye neither know your duty
 which ye owe to God, neither yet your authority
 which of him ye have received, if ye, for pleasure
 or fear of any earthly man, despise God's true re-
 ligion, and contemn your brethren that in his
 name call for your support. Your duty is to
 hear the voice of the Eternal, your God, and un-
 feignedly to study to follow his precepts; who,
 as is before said, of special mercy hath promoted
 you to honours and dignity. His chief and prin-
 cipal precept is, That with reverence ye receive
 and embrace his only beloved Son Jesus; that ye
 promote to the uttermost of your powers his true
 religion; and that ye defend your brethren and

subjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now, if your king be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecutor of Christ's members, shall ye be excused, if with silence ye pass over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my lords, ye are placed in authority for another purpose than to flatter your king in his folly and blind rage, *viz.* that as with your bodies, strength, riches, and wisdom, ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things which by your advice he shall take in hand for God's glory, and for the preservation of his commonwealth and subjects; so by your authorities, counsel, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repress whatsoever ye know him to attempt expressly repugning to God's word, honour, and glory, or what ye shall spy him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjects, great or small: of which last part of your obedience, if you defraud your king, ye commit against him no less treason, than if ye did extract from him your due and promised support, when by his enemies unjustly he were pursued.

But this part of their duty, I fear, do a small number of the nobility of this age rightly consider; neither yet will they understand that for that purpose hath God promoted them: for now the common song of all men is, 'We must obey our kings, be they good or bad, for God hath commanded it.' But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shall be poured forth upon such blasphemers of God's holy name and ordinance; for it is no less blasphemy to say, That God hath commanded kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, than to say, That God, by his precept, is author and maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, that in things which they commit against his glory, or when cruelly, without cause, they rage against their brethren the members of Christ's body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatly rewarded such as have opposed themselves to their ungodly commandments and blind rage, as in the examples of the three children, of Daniel, and Ebed-melech, it is evident.

The three children would neither bow nor stoop before the golden image, at the commandment of the great king Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel did openly pray, his windows being open, against the established law of Darius and of his council; and Ebed-melech feared not to enter in before the presence of Zedekiah, and boldly to defend the cause

and innocence of Jeremiah the prophet, whom the king and his council had condemned to death. Every one of these facts should this day be judged foolish, by such as will not understand what God doth require of his children, when his verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt; such men, I say, as prefer man to God, and things present, to the heavenly inheritance, should have judged every one of these stubborn disobedience, foolish presumption and singularity, or else bold controlling of the king and his wise council.

But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their king, the end did witness; for the three children were delivered from the furnace of fire, and Daniel from the den of lions, to the confusion of their enemies, to the better instruction of the ignorant kings, and to the perpetual comfort of God's afflicted children. And Ebed-melech, in the day of the Lord's visitation, when the king and his council did drink the bitter cup of God's vengeance, did find his life for a prey, and did not fall by the edge of the sword, when many thousands did perish: and this was signified unto him by the prophet himself, at the commandment of God, before that Jerusalem was destroyed. This promise and cause were recited unto him, in these words; 'I will bring my words upon this city unto evil, and not unto good; but most assuredly I shall deliver thee, because thou hast trusted in me, saith the Lord.'

The trust and hope which Ebed-melech had in God, made him bold to oppose himself, being but one, to the king and to his whole council, who had condemned to death the prophet, whom his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent: for thus did he speak in presence of the king, sitting in the port of Benjamin; 'My lord the king, saith Ebed-melech, these men do wickedly in all things that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet.'

Advert and take heed, my lords, that the men who had condemned the prophet, were the king, his princes, and council; and yet did one man accuse them all of iniquity, and did boldly speak in the defence of him, of whose innocence he was persuaded: and the same, I say, is the duty of every man in his vocation, but chiefly of the nobility, which are joined with their kings, to bridle and repress their folly and blind rage: which thing if the nobility do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitors to their kings, so do they provoke the wrath of God against themselves, and

against the realm; in which they abuse the authority which they have received of God, to maintain virtue, and to suppress vice. And hereof I would your honours were most certainly persuaded, that God will neither excuse nobility nor people, but the nobility least of all, that obey and follow their kings in manifest iniquity; but with the same vengeance will God punish the prince, people, and nobility, conspiring together against him and his holy ordinances, as in the punishment upon Pharaoh, Israel, Judah, and Babyen, is evidently to be seen; for Pharaoh was not drowned alone, but his captains, chariots, and great army, drank the same cup with him. The kings of Israel and Judah were not punished without company, but with them were murdered the counsellors, their princes imprisoned, and their people led captive: And why? Because none was found so faithful to God, that he durst enterprize to resist, nor gainstand the manifest impiety of their princes. And therefore was God's wrath poured forth upon the one and the other.

But the more ample discourse of this argument I defer to better opportunity; only at this time I thought expedient to admonish you, That, before God, it shall not excuse you to alledge, We are no kings, and therefore neither can we reform religion, nor yet defend such as are persecuted. Consider, my lords, That ye are powers ordained of God (as before is declared), and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defence of such as unjustly are oppressed, appertain to your charge and care; which thing shall the law of God (universally given to be kept of all men) most evidently declare; which is my last and most assured reason, why, I say, ye ought to remove from your honours, and to punish with death, such as God hath condemned by his own mouth.

After that Moses had declared what was true religion, *viz.* To honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his word, neither yet diminishing any thing from it; and after also that vehemently he had exhorted the same law to be observed, he denounced the punishment against the transgressors, in these words; 'If thy brother, son, daughter, wife, or neighbour, whom thou lovest as thine own life, solicit thee secretly, saying, Let us go serve other gods, whom neither thou nor thy fathers have known, consent not to him, hear him not, let not thine eye spare him, shew him no indulgence or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill him; let thy hand be the first upon him, that he may be slain, and after, the hand

'of the whole people.' Of these words of Moses are two things appertaining to our purpose to be noted; the first is, That such as solicit only to idolatry, ought to be punished to death, without favour or respect of person: for he that will not suffer man to spare his son, his daughter, nor his wife, but strictly commandeth punishment to be taken upon the idolatrous (have they never so nigh conjunction with us), will not wink at the idolatry of others, of what state or condition soever they be.

It is not unknown, that the prophets had revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as Samuel had the revelation, that Eli and his posterity should be destroyed; that Saul should first be king, and thereafter that he should be rejected; that David should reign for him: Micah understood by vision, that Ahab should be killed in the battle against the Syrians: Elijah saw that dogs should eat Jezebel in the forts of Jezreel: Elitha did see hunger come upon Israel, for the space of seven years: Jeremiah did foresee the destruction of Jerusalem, and the time of their captivity. And so divers other prophets had divers revelations of God, which the people did not otherwise understand, but by their affirmation; and therefore, in those days, were the prophets named Seers, because that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now, if any man might have claimed any privilege from the rigour of the law, or might have justified his fact, it should have been the prophet: for he might have alledged for himself his single prerogative, that he had above other men, to have God's will revealed unto him by vision or by dream; or that God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleasure was, to be honoured in that manner, in such a place, and by such means. But all such excuses doth God remove, commanding, That the prophet that shall solicit the people to serve strange gods shall die the death, notwithstanding that he alledge for himself dream, vision, or revelation; yea, although he promise miracles; and although that such things as he promised should come to pass; yet, I say, commandeth God that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death, because he teacheth apostacy and defection from God.

Hereby your honours may easily see, That none provoking the people to idolatry ought to be exempted from the punishment of death: for if neither that inseparable conjunction, which God himself hath sanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that unspcakable love grafted in nature, which

is betwixt the father and the son, neither yet that reverence which God's people ought to bear to the prophets, can excuse any man to spare the offender, or to conceal his offence; What excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, That no state, condition, nor honour, can exempt the idolater from the hands of God, when he shall call him to account, or shall inflict punishment upon him for his offence: How shall it then excuse the people, that they, according to God's commandment, punish not to death such as shall solicit, or violently draw the people to idolatry?

And this is the first, which I would your honours should note, of the former words, *viz.* That no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly convicted to have provoked or led the people to idolatry: and this is most evidently declared in that solemn oath and covenant which Asa made with the people, to serve God, and to maintain his religion; adding this penalty to the transgressors of it, *viz.* That whosoever should not seek the Lord God of Israel should be killed, were he great, or were he small; were it man, or were it woman. And of this oath was the Lord well pleased; he was found of them, and gave them rest on every part, because they fought him with their whole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders, according to the precept of his law, without respect of persons. And this is it which, I say, I would your honours should note for the first, That no idolater can be exempted from punishment by God's law.

The *second* is, That the punishment of such crimes as are idolatry, blasphemy, and others that touch the majesty of God, doth not appertain to the king and chief rulers only, but also to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the same, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister, to revenge the injury done against his glory, when that impiety is manifestly known; and that doth Moses more plainly speak in these words, 'If in any city, saith he, which the Lord thy God giveth to thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear this report; There are some men the sons of Belial passed from thee, and have solicited the citizens of their cities by these words, Let us go and serve strange gods, which you have not known; search and inquire diligently, and if it be true that such abomination is done in the midst of thee, thou shalt utterly strike the inhabitants of that city with the sword, thou shalt destroy it, and whatsoever is within it;

'thou shalt gather the spoil of it into the midst of the market-place, thou shalt burn that city with fire, and the spoil of it, to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ever, neither shall it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execution cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from thee the fury of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affection.'

Plain it is, That Moses speaketh not, nor giveth charge to kings, rulers, and judges only, but he commandeth the whole body of the people, yea, and every member of the same, according to their possibility; and who dare be so impudent, as to deny this to be most reasonable and just? For seeing that God had delivered the whole body from bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his law, and to the twelve tribes had he so distributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no family could complain that it was neglected; Was not the whole and every member addetted to confess and acknowledge the benefits of God? Yea, had it not been the part of every man to have studied to keep the possession which he had received? Which thing God did plainly pronounce they should not do, except that in their hearts they did sanctify the Lord God; that they embraced and inviolably kept his religion established; and finally, except they did cut out iniquity from amongst them, declaring themselves earnest enemies to those abominations, which God declared himself so vehemently to hate, that first he commanded the whole inhabitants of that country to be destroyed, and all monuments of their idolatry to be broken down; and thereafter he also strictly commandeth, That a city declining to idolatry should fall by the edge of the sword, and that the whole spoil of the same should be burned, no portion of it reserved,

To the carnal man this may appear a rigorous and severe judgment; yea, it may rather seem to be pronounced in a rage, than in wisdom: for what city was ever yet, in which, to man's judgment, were not to be found many innocent persons, as infants, children, and some simple and ignorant souls, who neither did nor could consent to such impiety? and yet we find no exception, but all are appointed to the cruel death. And as concerning the city, and the spoil of the same, man's reason cannot think, but that it might have been better bestowed than to be consumed with fire, and so to profit no man: but in such cases God's will is, That all creatures stoop, cover their faces, and desist from reasoning, when commandment is given to execute his judgment.

Albeit I could adduce divers causes of such severity, yet will I search none other than the Holy Ghost hath assigned. *First*, That all Israel, hearing the judgment, should fear to commit the like abomination. And *secondly*, That the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be merciful unto them, and multiply them, according to his oath made unto their fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in God's children, to correct the murmuring of the grudging flesh; so ought they to provoke every man, as before I have said, to declare himself enemy to that, which so highly provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people: for where Moses saith, 'Let the city be burned, and let no part of the spoil cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from the fury of his wrath.' &c. He plainly doth signify, That by the defection and idolatry of a few, God's wrath is kindled against the whole, which is never quenched, till such punishment be taken upon the offenders, that whatsoever served them in their idolatry be brought to destruction, because that it is execrable and accursed before God, and therefore he will not that it be reserved for any use of his people.

I am not ignorant that this law was not put in execution as God commanded; but what did thereof ensue and follow, histories declare, *viz.* Plague after plague, till Israel and Judah were led in captivity, as the Books of the Kings do witness. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, That it is the duty of every man, who desireth to escape the plague and punishment of God, to declare himself enemy to idolatry, not only in heart, hating the same; but also in external gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was shewed to the prophet Ezekiel, when he gave him to understand why he would destroy Judah with Israel; and that he would remove his glory from the temple and place that he had chosen, and so pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the city that was full of blood and apostacy, which became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, 'The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not.' At this time, I say, the Lord revealed in vision to his prophet, who they were that should find favour in that miserable destruction, *viz.* Those that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the city, in whose foreheads God did command to print and seal *Tau*, to the end that the destroyer, who was commanded to strike the rest with-

out mercy, should not hurt them in whom that sign was found.

Of these premises, I suppose it is evident, That the punishment of idolatry doth not appertain to kings only, but also to the whole people; yea, to every member of the same, according to his possibility; for that is a thing most assured, That no man can mourn, lament, and bewail, for those things which he will not remove to the uttermost of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his vocation, what shall be required of you, my lords, whom God hath raised up to be princes and rulers above your brethren, whose hands he hath armed with the sword of his justice, yea, whom he hath appointed to be as bridles, to repress the rage and insolence of your kings, whensoever they pretend manifestly to transgress God's blessed ordinance?

If any think that this my affirmation, touching the punishment of idolaters, is contrary to the practice of the apostles, who finding the Gentiles in idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment; let the same man understand, That the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the apostle speaketh, 'Without God in the world,' drowned in idolatry, according to the blindness and ignorance in which then they were holden, as a profane nation, whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his household, neither given unto them laws to be kept in religion nor policy; and therefore did not the Holy Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporal punishment, according to the rigour of the law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that 'were strangers from the commonwealth of Israel.' But if any think, That after that the Gentiles were called from their vain conversation, and, by embracing Christ Jesus, were received in the number of Abraham's children, and so made one people with the Jews believing; if any think, I say, That then they were not bound to the same obedience which God required of his people Israel, when he confirmed his league and covenant with them; the same appeareth to make Christ inferior to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his heavenly Father; for if the contempt or transgression of Moses's law was worthy of death, What should we judge the contempt of Christ's ordinances to be (I mean after they are once received)? And if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to fulfil the law of his heavenly Father, shall the liberty of his gospel be an occasion, that the especial glory of his

Father be trodden under foot, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especial glory of God is, That such as profess themselves to be his people, should hearken to his voice; and amongst all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching punishment of vices, none is more evident, neither more severe, than that which is pronounced against idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the same: and therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean, every city, realm, province, or nation amongst the Gentiles, embracing Christ Jesus and his true religion) be bound to the same league and covenant, that God made with his people Israel, when he promised to root out the nations before them, in these words, 'Beware that thou make any covenant with the inhabitants of the land, to the which thou comest, lest perchance that this come in ruin, that is, be destruction to thee; but thou shalt destroy their altars, break their idols, and cut down their groves: fear no strange gods, nor worship them, neither yet make you sacrifice to them: but the Lord, who in his great power, and out-stretched arm, hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, shall you fear, him shall you honour, him shall you worship, to him shall you make sacrifice, his statutes, judgments, laws, and commandments, you shall keep and observe. This is the covenant which I have made with you, saith the Eternal, forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods; but fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliver you from the hands of all your enemies.'

To this same law and covenant are the Gentiles no less bound than sometime were the Jews. Whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, province, people, or city, and putteth the sword in their own hand, to remove such enormities from amongst them as before God they know to be abominable; then, I say, are they no less bound to purge their dominions, cities, and countries from idolatry, than were the Israelites, at the time they received the possession of the land of Canaan. And moreover, I say, If any go about to erect and set up idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then, not only the magistrates, to whom the sword is committed, but also the people, are bound by that oath which they have made to God, to revenge, to the utmost of their power, the injury done against his majesty.

In universal defections, and in a general revolt, such as was in Israel after Jeroboam, there is a diverse consideration; for then, because the whole

people were together conspired against God, there could none be found that would execute the punishment which God had commanded, till God raised up Jehu, whom he had appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other general defections, such as this day are in the Papistry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, so that no ordinary justice can be executed, but the punishment must be referred to God, and unto such means as he shall appoint; but I speak of such a number, as, after they have received God's perfect religion, do boldly profess the same, notwithstanding that some, or the most part, fall back (as of late days was in England), unto such a number, I say, it is lawful to punish the idolaters with death, if by any means God give them power: for so did Joshua and Israel determine to have done against the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, for their suspected apostacy and defection from God. And the whole tribes did in very deed execute that sharp judgment against the tribe of Benjamin, for a less offence than for idolatry. And the same ought to be done wheresoever Christ Jesus and his gospel is so received in any realm, province, or city, that the magistrates and people have solemnly vowed and promised to defend the same, as under king Edward, of late days, was done in England.

In such places, it is not only lawful to punish to the death, such as labour to subvert the true religion, but the magistrates and people are bound so to do, unless they will provoke the wrath of God against themselves; and therefore, I fear not to affirm, That it had been the duty of the nobility, judges, rulers, and people of England, to have resisted and gain-stood Mary their queen, with all the sort of her idolatrous priests, together with all such as should have assisted her, when that she and they openly began to suppress Christ's gospel, to shed the blood of the saints of God, and to erect that most devilish idolatry, the Papistical abominations, and his usurped tyranny, which once most justly, by common oath, was banished from that realm.

But because I cannot at present discuss this argument as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity; and so returning to your honours, I say, That if ye confess yourselves baptized in the Lord Jesus, as of necessity ye must confess, that the care of religion doth appertain to your charge: and if ye know that in your hands God hath put the sword, for the causes above ex-

pressed, then can ye not deny, but that the punishment of obstinate and malapert idolaters (such as all your bishops are) doth appertain to your office, if after admonition they continue obstinate. I am not ignorant what are the vain defences of your proud prelates: they claim, *first*, A prerogative and privilege, that they are exempted, and that by consent of councils and emperors, from all jurisdiction of the temporality: and *secondly*, When they are convicted of manifest impiety, abuses, and enormities, as well in their manners as in religion, neither fear nor shame they to affirm, That things so long established, cannot suddenly be reformed, although they be corrupted; but with process of time they promise to take order. But in few words,

I answer, That no privilege granted against the ordinance and statutes of God is to be observed, although all councils and men on the earth have appointed the same: but against God's ordinance it is, that idolaters, murderers, false teachers, and blasphemers, shall be exempted from punishment, as before is declared; and therefore in vain it is, that they claim for privilege, when God saith, 'The murderer shalt thou drive from my altar, & that he may die the death.' And as to the order and reformation which they promise, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whose children and slaves they are, can change his nature. This answer, I doubt not, shall suffice the sober and godly reader; but yet, to the end that they may further see their own confusion, and that your honours may better understand what ye ought to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I ask of them, What assurance they have of this their immunity, exemption, or privilege? Who is the author of it? And what fruit hath it produced? And first, I say, That of God they have no assurance, neither yet can he be proved to be author of any such privilege: but the contrary is easy to be seen; for God, in establishing his orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron (in his priesthood, being the figure of Christ) to Moses, that he feared not to call him in judgment, and to constrain him to give account of his wicked deed in consenting to idolatry, as the history doth plainly witness: for thus it is written; 'Then Moses took the calf which they had made, and burned it with fire, and did grind it to powder; and scattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Israel,' declaring thereby the vanity of their idol, and the abomination of the same: and thereafter Moses said to Aaron, 'What hath this people done

' to thee, that thou shouldst bring upon them so great a sin?'

Thus, I say, doth Moses call Aaron, and accuse him of the destruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly understood, that God had appointed him to be the high priest, that he should bear upon his shoulders and upon his breast the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, for whom he was appointed to make sacrifice, prayers, and supplications. He knew his dignity was so great, that only he might enter within the most holy place; but neither could his office nor dignity exempt him from judgment, when he had offended. If any object, Aaron at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to Moses; I have answered, that Moses being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly understand to what dignity Aaron was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgment, and to compel him to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holy Ghost witness further in the matter.

Solomon removed from honour Abiathar, being the high priest, and commanded him to cease from all function, and to live as a private man. Now, if the unction did exempt the priest from jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, Solomon did offend, and injured Abiathar; for he was anointed, and had carried the ark before David: but God doth not reprove the fact of Solomon, neither yet doth Abiathar claim any prerogative by reason of his office; but rather doth the Holy Ghost approve the fact of Solomon, saying, 'Solomon ejected forth Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed, which he spake upon the house of Eli.' And Abiathar did think that he obtained great favour, in that he did escape the present death, which by his conspiracy he had deserved. If any yet reason, that Abiathar was no otherwise subject to the judgment of the king, but as he was appointed to be the executer of that sentence, which God before had pronounced; as I will not greatly deny that reason, so require I that every man consider, that the same God who pronounced sentence against Eli and his house, hath pronounced also, that idolaters, whoremongers, murderers, and blasphemers, shall neither have portion in the kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any rule in his church and congregation.

Now, if the unction and office saved not Abiathar, because that God's sentence must needs be performed, Can any privilege granted by man be

a buckler to malefactors, that they shall not be subject to the punishments pronounced by God? I think no man will be so foolish as so to affirm; for a thing more than evident it is, that the whole priesthood, in the time of the law, was bound to give obedience to the civil powers; and if any member of the same was found criminal, the same was subject to the punishment of the sword, which God had put into the hand of the magistrate. And this ordinance of his Father did not Christ disannul, but rather did confirm the same, commanding tribute to be paid for himself and for Peter; who perfectly knowing the mind of his master, writeth thus in his Epistle; 'Submit yourselves to all manner of ordinance of man (he excepteth such as are expressly repugning to God's commandment) for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as to the chief head, or unto rulers, as unto them that are sent by him, for punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' The same doth the apostle St. Paul most plainly command in these words, 'Let every soul be subject to the superior powers.'

Which places make it evident, That neither Christ, neither his apostles, have given any assurance of this immunity and privilege which men of church (as they will be termed) do this day claim; yea, it was a thing unknown to the primitive church many years after the days of the apostles: for Chrysostom, who served in the church at Constantinople four hundred years after Christ's ascension, and after that corruption was greatly increased, doth yet thus write upon the foresaid words of the apostle, 'This precept (saith he) doth not appertain to such as are called Seculars only, but even to those that are priests and religious men;' and after, he addeth, 'Whether thou be apostle, evangelist, prophet, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this subjection.' Hereof it is plain, Chrysostom did not understand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subjection of the civil power, neither yet that he was author of such exemption and privilege as Papists do this day claim. And the same was the judgment and uniform doctrine of the primitive church for many years after Christ.

Your honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what fountain then did this their immunity (as they term it) and singular privilege spring; I shall shortly touch that, which is evident in their own laws and histories. When the bishops of Rome, the very Antichrists, had, partly by fraud, and partly by violence, usurped the superiority of some places in

Italy, and most unjustly had spoiled the emperors of their rents and possessions, and had also murdered some of their officers, as histories do witness, then began pope after pope to practise and devise how they should be exempted from the judgment of princes, and from the equity of laws; and in this point they were most vigilant, till at length iniquity did so prevail in their hands, according as Daniel had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronounced, 'Neither by the emperor, neither by the clergy, neither yet by the people, shall the judge be judged. God wills (saith Symmachus) that the causes of others be determined by men, but without all question he hath reserved the bishop of this seat (understanding Rome) to his own judgment.' And hereof divers popes, and expositors of their laws, would seem to give reasons: for saith Agatho, 'All the precepts of the apostolic seat are assured, as by the voice of God himself. The author of the Gospels upon their canon affirmeth, That if all the world would pronounce sentence against the pope, yet should his sentence prevail; For, saith he, the pope hath a heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somewhat; and that sentence, which was nothing, that is, by his mind false and unjust, he may make somewhat that is true and just: for, saith he, in all things that please him, his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may ask of him, Why dost thou so? For he may dispense above law, and of injustice he may make justice; for he hath the fulness of all power.' And many other blasphemous sentences did they pronounce every one after another, which, for shortness sake, I omit, till at the end they obtained this most horrible decree, That albeit in life and conversation they were so wicked and detestable, that not only they condemned themselves, but that also they drew to hell and perdition many thousands with them, yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them.

This being established for the head (albeit not without some contradiction, for some emperors did require due obedience of them, as God's word commanded, and ancient bishops had given before to emperors, and to their laws: but Satan so prevailed in his suit before the blind world, that the former sentences were confirmed; which power being granted to the head), then began provision to be made for the rest of the members in all realms and countries, where they made residence; the

result whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation (I mean, the vermin of the Papistical order) will be subject to any civil magistrate, how enormous soever his crime be, but will be referred to their own Ordinary, as they term it: and what fruits have hereof ensued, be the world never so blind, it cannot but witness; for how their head, that Roman Antichrist, hath been occupied, ever since the granting of such privileges, histories do witness; and of late the most part of Europe, subject to the plague of God, to fire and sword, by his procurement, hath felt, and this day doth feel. The pride, ambition, envy, excess, fraud, spoil, oppression, murder, filthy life, and incest, that is used and maintained amongst that rabble of priests, friars, monks, canons, bishops, and cardinals, cannot be expressed.

I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papistical church is further degenerate from the purity of Christ's doctrine, from the footsteps of the apostles, and from the manners of the primitive church, than was the church of the Jews from God's holy statutes, at the time it did crucify Christ Jesus the only Messiah, and most cruelly persecute his apostles: and yet will our Papists claim their privileges and ancient liberties; which if you grant unto them, my lords, ye shall assuredly drink the cup of God's vengeance with them, and shall be reputed before his presence, companions of thieves, and maintainers of murderers, as is before declared: for their immunity and privilege, whereof so greatly they boast, is nothing else, but as if thieves, murderers, or briggands, should conspire amongst themselves, that they would never answer in judgment before any lawful magistrate, to the end that their theft and murder should not be punished; even such, I say, is their wicked privilege, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hath revealed his Father's will to the world, neither yet of the apostles nor primitive church, as before is declared: but it is a thing conspired amongst themselves, to the end that their iniquity, detestable life and tyranny, may never be repressed, nor reformed.

And if they object, That godly emperors did grant and confirm the same; I answer, that the godliness of no man is, or can be sufficient authority to justify a foolish and ungodly fact, such, I mean, as God hath not allowed by his word: for Abraham was a godly man, but the denial of his wife was such a fact, as no godly man ought to imitate: the same might I shew of David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, unto whom I think no man of

judgment will prefer any emperor since Christ, in holiness and wisdom; and yet are not all their facts, not even such as they appeared to have done for good causes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I say, as error and ignorance remain always with the most perfect men in this life, so must their works be examined by another rule than by their own holiness, if they shall be approved.

But if this answer doth not suffice, then will I answer more shortly, That no godly emperor, since Christ's ascension, hath granted any such privilege to any such church or person, as they, the whole generation of Papists, be at this day.

I am not ignorant, that some emperors, of a certain zeal, and for some considerations, granted liberties to the true church, afflicted for their maintenance against tyrants; but what ferveth this for the defence of their tyranny? If the law must be understood according to the mind of the lawgiver, then must they first prove themselves Christ's true and afflicted church, before they can claim any privilege to appertain to them; for only to that church were the privileges granted. It will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the long possession of the name, that can prevail in this so weighty a cause; for all those had the church of Jerusalem, which did crucify Christ, and did condemn his doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and tyranny, by the prophets, and plain Scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, *viz.* unfruitful and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and cast into hell-fire; yea, that they are the very kingdom of Antichrist, of whom we are commanded to beware.

Therefore, my lords, to return to you, seeing that God hath armed your hands with the sword of justice, seeing that his law most strictly commandeth idolaters and false prophets to be punished with death, and that you be placed above your subjects, to reign as fathers over their children; and further, seeing that not only I, but with me many thousand famous, godly, and learned persons, accuse your bishops, and the whole rabble of the Papistical clergy, of idolatry, of murder, and of blasphemy against God committed; it appertaineth to your honours to be vigilant and careful in so weighty a matter. The question is not of earthly substance, but of the glory of God, and of the salvation of yourselves, and of your brethren subject to your charge; in which if you, after this plain admonition, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance; for, in the name of God, I require of you, That the cause

of religion may be tried in your presence, by the plain and simple word of God; that your bishops be compelled to desist from their tyranny; that they be compelled to make answer for the neglecting of their office; for the substance of the poor, which unjustly they usurp, and prodigally they do spend; but principally for the false and deceivable doctrine which is taught and defended by their false prophets, flattering friars, and other such venomous locusts: which thing if with single eyes ye do (preferring God's glory and the salvation of your brethren to all worldly commodity), then shall the same God, who solemnly doth pronounce to honour those that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you; he shall be your buckler, protection, and captain, and shall repress, by his strength and wisdom, whatsoever Satan, by his supports, shall imagine against you.

I am not ignorant that great troubles shall ensue your enterprise; for Satan will not be expelled from the possession of his usurped kingdom without resistance: but if you, as is said, preferring God's glory to your own lives, unfeignedly seek and study to obey his blessed will, then shall your deliverance be such, as evidently it shall be known, that the angels of the Eternal do watch, make war and fight for those that unfeignedly fear the Lord: but if you refuse this my most reasonable and just petition, what defence that ever you appear to have before men, then shall God, whom in me you contemn, refuse you; he shall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your posterity after you; the spirit of boldness and wisdom shall be taken from you, your enemies shall reign, and you shall die in bondage; yea, God shall cut down the unfruitful trees, when they do appear most beautifully to flourish, and shall so burn the root, that after of you shall neither twig nor branch again spring to glory.

Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient histories: for your brethren the nobility of England are a mirror and glass, in the which ye may behold God's just punishment; for as they have refused him and his gospel, which once in mouth they did profess, so hath he refused them, and hath taken from them the spirit of wisdom, boldness, and of counsel: they see and feel their own misery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it: they hate the bondage of strangers, the pride of priests, and the monstrous empire of a wicked woman; and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of

the devil, to obey whatsoever the proud Spaniards and misled Mary list to command; and finally, to stand like slaves, with cap in hand, till the servants of Satan, the heaven fort, call them to council: this fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulness towards God; they are left confused in their own counsels: he whom, in his members, for the pleasure of a wicked woman, they have exiled, persecuted, and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to scorn, suffereth them to be pined in bondage of most wicked men; and finally, shall adjudge them to the fire everlasting, except that speedily and openly they repent of their horrible treason, which against God, against his Son Christ Jesus, and against the liberty of their own native country, they have committed. The same plagues shall fall upon you, be you assured, if ye refuse the defence of his servants that call for your support.

My words are sharp; but consider, my lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatenings of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will perform the voice of his prophets, how that ever carnal men despise his admonitions. The sword of God's wrath is already drawn, which of necessity must needs strike, when grace offered is obstinately refused. You have been long in bondage of the devil, blindness, error, and idolatry prevailing against the simple truth of God in that your realm, in which God hath made you princes and rulers: but now doth God, of his great mercy, call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermost of his vengeance; he crieth to your ears, that your religion is nothing but idolatry; he accuseth you of the blood of his saints, which hath been shed by your permission, assistance, and powers: for the tyranny of these raging beasts should have no force, if by your strength they were not maintained. Of those horrible crimes doth God now accuse you, not of purpose to condemn you, but mercifully to absolve and pardon you, as sometime he did those whom Peter accused to have killed the Son of God, so that ye be not of mind nor purpose to justify your former iniquity. Iniquity I call not only the crimes and offences, which have been, and yet remain, in your manners and lives, but that also which appeareth before men most holy, which, with hazard of my life, I offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole religion to be so corrupt and vain, that no true servant of God can communicate with it, because that, in so doing, he should manifestly deny Christ Jesus and his eternal verity.

I know that your bishops, accompanied with the swarm of the Episcopical vermin, shall cry, 'A damned heretic ought not to be heard.' But remember, my lords, what I protested in the beginning, upon which ground I continually stand, *viz.* That I am no heretic, nor deceivable teacher, but the servant of Christ Jesus, a preacher of his infallible verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine, and therefore by them, being enemies to Christ, I am unjustly condemned: from which cruel sentence I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean time, most humbly requiring your honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my just defences, granting unto me the same liberty which Ahab a wicked king, and Israel at that time a blinded people, granted to Elijah, in the like case; that is, that your bishops, and the whole rabble of your clergy, may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived: that I be not condemned by multitude, by custom, by authority or law devised by man; but that God himself may be judge betwixt me and my adversaries: let God, I say, speak by his law, by his prophets, by Christ Jesus, or by his apostles, and so, let him pronounce what religion he approveth; and then, be my enemies never so many, and appear they never so strong and so learned, no more do I fear victory, than did Elijah, being but one man, against the multitude of Baal's priests.

And if they think to have advantage by their councils and doctors, this I further offer, to admit the one and the other as witnesses in all matters debatable, three things, which justly cannot be denied, being granted unto me: *First*, That the most ancient councils nearest to the primitive church, in which the learned and godly fathers did examine all matters by God's word, may be holden of most authority. *Secondly*, That no determinations of councils, nor man, be admitted against the plain verity of God's word, nor against the determination of those four chief councils, whose authority hath been, and is holden by them equal with the authority of the four evangelists. *And lastly*, That to no doctor be given greater authority, than Augustine requireth to be given to his writings; *viz.* if he plainly prove not his affirma-

tion by God's infallible word, that then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the error of a man.

These things granted and admitted, I shall no more refuse the testimonies of councils and doctors, than shall my adversaries. But if they will justify those councils, which maintain their pride and usurped authority, and will reject those which plainly have condemned all such tyranny, negligence, and wicked life, as bishops now do use: and if further, they will smatch a doubtful sentence of a doctor, and refuse his mind when he speaketh plainly; then will I say, That all men are liars; that credit ought not to be given to an inconstant witness; and that no councils ought to prevail, nor be admitted against the sentence which God hath pronounced.

And thus, my lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a trial of my innocence; I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people, as rulers and princes; I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realm, the verity of Christ Jesus; and, with the hazard of my life, I presently offer to prove the religion which amongst you is maintained by fire and sword, to be false, damnable, and diabolical. Which things if ye refuse, defending tyrants in their tyranny, then I dare not flatter, but as it was commanded to Ezekiel boldly to proclaim, so must I cry to you, That you shall perish in your iniquity; that the Lord Jesus shall refuse so many of you as maliciously withstand his eternal verity; and in the day of his apparition, when all flesh shall appear before him, that he shall repel you from his company, and shall command you to the fire which never shall be quenched; and then, neither shall the multitude be able to resist, neither yet the counsels of man be able to prevail against that sentence, which he shall pronounce.

' God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by
' the power of his Holy Spirit, so rule and dispose
' your hearts, that with simplicity ye may consider
' the things that be offered; and that ye may take
' such order in the same, as God in you may be
' glorified, and Christ's flock by you may be edi-
' fied and comforted, to the praise and glory of our
' Lord Jesus Christ, whose omnipotent Spirit rule
' your hearts in his true fear to the end. Amen.

To his beloved Brethren, the COMMONALTY of SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WHAT I have required of the queen regent, states, and nobility, as of the chief heads, for this present, of the realm, I cannot cease to require of you, dearly beloved brethren, which be the commonalty and body of the same, *viz.* That it (notwithstanding that false and cruel sentence which your disguised bishops have pronounced against me) would please you to be so favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my just purgation; which to do, if God earnestly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your enterprise shall redound to the praise and glory of his holy name; so am I assured, that ye and your posterity shall by that means receive most singular comfort, edification, and profit; for when ye shall hear the matter debated, ye shall easily perceive and understand, upon what ground and foundation is builded that religion, which amongst you is this day defended by fire and sword.

As for mine own conscience, I am most assuredly persuaded, that whatsoever is used in the Papistical church, is altogether repugning to Christ's blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom; of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly persuaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except, by true conversion unto God, he be purged from the same. But because that long silence of God's word hath begotten ignorance almost in all sorts of men, and ignorance, joined with long custom, hath confirmed superstition in the hearts of many; I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, desire audience, as well of you the commonalty, my brethren, as of the states and nobility of the realm, that in public preaching I may have place amongst you at large to utter my mind, in all matters of controversy this day in religion. And further, I desire, that ye, concurring with your nobility, would compel your bishops and clergy to cease their tyranny: and also, that, for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compel your said bishops and false teachers, to answer, by the Scriptures of God, to such objections and crimes, as shall be laid against their vain religion, false doctrine, wicked life, and slanderous conversation.

Here I know that it shall be objected, That I require of you a thing most unreasonable, *viz.* that ye should call your religion in doubt, which hath

been approved and established by so long continuance, and by the consent of so many men before you. But I shortly answer, That neither is the long continuance of time, neither yet the multitude of men, a sufficient approbation, which God will allow for our religion: for as some of the most ancient writers do witness, neither can long process of time justify an error; neither can the multitude of such as follow it, change the nature of the same; but if it was an error in the beginning, so is it in the end; and the longer that it be followed, and the more that do receive it, it is more pestilent, and more to be avoided: for if antiquity or multitude of men could justify any religion, then was the idolatry of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good religion; for antiquity approved the one, and a multitude hath received, and doth defend the other. But otherwise to answer, Godly men may wonder, from what fountain such a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to try his faith and religion by God's word, but that he safely may believe and follow every thing, which antiquity and a multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwise teach us; for the Wisdom of God, Christ Jesus himself, remitted his adversaries to Moses and the Scriptures, to try by them, whether his doctrine was of God or not. The apostles Paul and Peter command men to try the religion which they profess, by God's plain Scriptures, and do praise men for so doing. St. John strictly commandeth, That we believe not every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they be of God or not.

Now, seeing that these evident testimonies of the Holy Ghost will us to try our faith and religion by the plain word of God, wonder it is, that the Papists will not be content, that their religion and doctrine come under the trial of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true (as it is most true, seeing it springeth from the Verity itself), 'Whoso doth evil hateth the light, neither will he come to the light, lest that his works be manifested and rebuked;' then do our Papists, by their own sentence, condemn themselves and their religion; for in so far as they refuse examination and trial, they declare, that they know some fault which the light will utter; which is a cause of their fear, and why they claim that privilege, that no man dispute of

their religion. The verity and truth being of the nature of fine purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the furnace; but the stubble and chaff of man's inventions, such is their religion, may not abide the flame of fire.

True it is, that Mahomet pronounced this sentence, That no man should, on pain of death, dispute or reason of the ground of his religion; which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is observed amongst the Turks, to their mortal blindness, and horrible blaspheming of Christ Jesus, and of his true religion: and from Mahomet (or rather from Satan the father of all lies) hath the pope, and his rabble, learned this former lesson; *viz.* That their religion should not be disputed upon, but what the fathers have believed, that ought and must the children approve: and, in so deviling, Satan lacked not his foresight; for no one thing hath more established the kingdom of that Roman Antichrist, than this most wicked decree, *viz.* That no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his laws in doubt. This is most assured, that whensoever the Papistical religion shall come to examination, it shall be found to have no other ground than hath the religion of Mahomet, *viz.* man's invention, device, and dreams, overthadowed with some colour of God's word; and therefore, brethren, seeing that the religion is to man, as the stomach to the body, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole members, it is necessary that the same be examined; and if it be found replenished with pestilent humours (I mean with the fancies of men), then of necessity it is, that those be purged, else shall your bodies and souls perish for ever: for of this I would ye were most certainly persuaded, that a corrupt religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never so holy.

Neither would I that ye should esteem the reformation and care of religion less to appertain to you, because ye are no kings, rulers, judges, nobles, nor in authority. Beloved brethren, ye are God's creatures, created and formed to his own image and similitude, for whose redemption was shed the most precious blood of the only beloved Son of God, to whom he hath commanded his gospel and glad tidings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly inheritance; so that ye will not obstinately refuse, and disdainfully contemn the means which he hath appointed to obtain the same, *viz.* his blessed gospel, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be saved: for the gospel and glad tidings of the kingdom truly preached, is the power of God to

the salvation of every believer, which to credit and receive, you the commonalty are no less addebted than be your rulers and princes: for albeit God hath put and ordained distinction and difference betwixt the king and subjects, betwixt the rulers and the common people, in the government and administration of civil policies, yet in the hope of the life to come, he hath made all equal: for as in Christ Jesus the Jew hath no greater prerogative than hath the Gentile, the man than hath the woman, the learned than the unlearned, the lord than the servant, but all are one in him; so is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and spiritual graces, which is a lively faith, working by charity.

And therefore I say, that it doth no less appertain to you, beloved brethren, to be assured, that your faith and religion be grounded and established upon the true and undoubted word of God, than to your princes or rulers: for as your bodies cannot escape corporal death, if with your prince ye eat or drink deadly poison (although it be by ignorance or negligence), so shall ye not escape the death everlasting, if with them ye profess a corrupt religion; yea, except in heart ye believe, and with mouth ye confess the Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world (which ye cannot do, except ye embrace his gospel offered), ye cannot escape death and damnation; for as the just liveth by his own faith, so doth the unfaithful perish by his infidelity: and as true faith is engendered, nourished, and maintained, in the hearts of God's elect, by Christ's gospel truly preached; so is infidelity and unbelief fostered, by concealing and repressing the same. And thus, if ye look for the life everlasting, ye must try if ye stand in the faith; and if ye would be assured of a true and lively faith, ye must needs have Christ Jesus truly preached unto you.

And this is the cause, dear brethren, that so oft I repeat, and so constantly I affirm, That to you it doth no less appertain, than to your king or princes, to provide, that Christ Jesus be truly preached amongst you, seeing that without his true knowledge, can neither of you both attain to salvation: and this is the point, wherein, I say, all men are equal, 'That as all are descended from Adam, by whose sin and disobedience did death enter into the world; so it behoved all that shall obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justify many; *viz.* all that unfeignedly believe in him.'

Of this equality, and that God requireth no less of the subject, be he never so poor, than of the

prince and rich men in matters of religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the law of Moses; for when the tabernacle was builded, erected, and set in order, God did provide, how it, and the things pertaining to the same, should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay: and this provision (albeit heaven and earth obey his empire) would he not take from the secret and hid treasures which lie dispersed in the veins of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of the people; but he did command, that every one of the sons of Israel (were he rich, or were he poor), that came in count from twenty years and upward, should yearly pay half a shekel for an oblation to the Lord, in remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or cleansing of their souls: which money God commanded should be bestowed upon the ornaments and necessaries of the tabernacle of testimony. He furthermore added a precept, That the rich should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, than should the poor; neither yet that the poor should give any less than should the rich in that consideration.

This law, to man's reason and judgment, may appear very unreasonable; for some rich man might have given a thousand shekels with less hurt of his substance, than some poor man might have paid the half-shekel: and yet God maketh all equal, and wills that the one shall pay no more than the other, neither yet the poor any less than the rich. This law, I say, may appear very unequal: but if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall find in the same the great mercy and ineffable wisdom of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these words; 'This money received from the children of Israel, thou shalt give in for the service of the tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel, for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be merciful to your souls.' This cause, I say, doth evidently declare, That as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt, by the mighty power of God alone; so was every member of the same, without respect of persons, sanctified by his grace, the richest, in that behalf, nothing preferred to the poorest: for by no merit and worthiness of man was he moved to chuse and to establish his habitation and dwelling amongst them; but their felicity, prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other nations, proceeded only from the fountain of his eternal goodness, who loved them freely, as he freely had chosen them to be his priestly kingdom, and holy people, from all nations of the earth. Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the

midst of them, he neither was moved, I say, by the wisdom of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the virtue and holiness of any state amongst them, but of mere goodness did he love them, and with his presence did he honour that whole people; and therefore, to point out the same, his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occasions of contention, and doubts of conscience, he would receive no more from the rich than from the poor, for the maintenance of his tabernacle, by which was represented his presence and habitation amongst them.

If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then as the one should have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God, by reason of his greater gift; so should the conscience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment, that he could not stand in so perfect favour with God as did the other, because he was not able to give so much as did the rich, to the maintenance of his tabernacle: but he, who of mercy, as is said, did chuse his habitation amongst them, and also that best knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedy for the one, and for the other, making them equal in that behalf, who in other things were most unequal. If the poor should have found himself grieved by reason of that tax, and that as much was imposed upon him as upon the rich, yet had he no small cause of joy, that God himself would please to compare him, and to make him equal (in the maintenance of his tabernacle), to the most rich and potent in Israel.

If this equality was commanded by God, for maintenance of that transitory tabernacle, which was but a shadow of a better to come, Is not the same required of us, who now have the Verity, which is Christ Jesus? who being clad with our nature, is made Immanuel, that is, God with us; whose natural body, albeit it be received into the heavens, where he must abide till all be complete, that is forespoken by the prophets, yet hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world.' And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promise, he hath erected among us here in the earth, the signs of his own presence with us, his spiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his word, and right administration of his sacraments; to the maintenance whereof, is no less bound the subject than the prince, the poor than the rich: for as the price which was given for man's redemption is one, so God requireth of all that shall be partakers of the benefits of the same a like duty; which is a plain con-

feſſion, that by Chriſt Jeſus alone we have received whatſoever was loſt in Adam.

Of the prince doth God require, That he reſuſe himſelf, and that he follow Jeſus Chriſt; of the ſubject he requireth the ſame. Of the kings and judges it is required, That they kiſs the Son; that is, give honour, ſubjection, and obedience to him: and from ſuch reverence doth not God exempt the ſubject that ſhall be ſaved; and this is that equality which is betwixt the kings and ſubjects, the moſt rich or noble, and betwixt the pooreſt and men of loweſt eſtate; *viz.* That as the one is obliged to believe in heart, and with mouth to confeſs the Lord Jeſus to be the only Saviour of the world, ſo alſo is the other. Neither is there any of God's children (who hath attained to the years of diſcretion) ſo poor, but that he hath thus much to beſtow upon the ornaments and maintenance of their ſpiritual tabernacle, when neceſſity requireth; neither yet is there any ſo rich, of whoſe hands God requireth any more: for albeit that David gathered great ſubſtance, for the building of the temple; that Solomon, with earneſt diligence, and incredible expences, erected and finiſhed the ſame; that Hezekiah and Joſiah purged the religion, which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further debtor in that reſpect, than he was to the moſt ſimple of the faithful poſterity of faithful Abraham: for their diligence, zeal, and works, gave rather teſtimony and confeſſion before men, what honour they did bear to God, what love to his word, and reverence to his religion, than that any work proceeding from them did either eſtabliſh, or yet increaſe God's favour towards them, who freely did love them, in Chriſt his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid: ſo that theſe forenamed, by their notable works, gave teſtimony of their unfeigned faith: and the ſame doth the pooreſt, that unfeignedly and openly profeſſeth Chriſt Jeſus, and doth embrace his glad tidings offered, that doth abhor ſuperſtition, and fly from idolatry.

The pooreſt, I ſay, and moſt ſimple that this day on earth, in the days of this cruel perſecution, firmly believeth in Chriſt, and boldly doth confeſs him before this wicked generation, is no leſs acceptable before God, neither is judged in his preſence to have done any leſs in promoting Chriſt's cauſe, than is the king, that by the ſword and power, which he hath received of God, rooteth out idolatry, and ſo advanceth Chriſt's glory. But to return to our former purpoſe, it is no leſs required, I ſay, of the ſubject to believe in Chriſt, and to profeſs his true religion, than of the prince

and king: and therefore I affirm, That in God's preſence it ſhall not excuſe you, to alledge, That ye were no chief rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of religion did not appertain unto you.

Ye, dear brethren, as before is ſaid, are the creatures of God, created to his own image and ſimilitude; to whom it is commanded, to hear the voice of your heavenly Father, to embrace his Son Chriſt Jeſus, to fly from all doctrine and religion which he hath not approved by his own will, revealed to us in his moſt bleſſed word; to which precepts and charges, if ye be found diſobedient, ye ſhall periſh in your iniquity, as rebels and ſtubborn ſervants, that have no pleaſure to obey the good will of their ſovereign Lord, who moſt lovingly doth call for your obedience: and therefore, brethren, in this behalf, it is your part to be careful and diligent; for the queſtion is not of things temporal, which, although they be endangered, yet by diligence and proceſs of time may after be redreſſed; but it is of the damnation of your bodies and ſouls, and of the loſs of life everlaſting, which once loſt can never be recovered: and therefore, I ſay, that it behoveth you to be careful and diligent in this ſo weighty a matter, leſt that ye, contemning this occaſion, which God now offereth, find not the like, although that after, with groaning and ſobs, ye languish for the ſame. And that ye be not ignorant of what occaſion I mean, in few words I ſhall expreſs it.

Not only I, but with me alſo divers other godly and learned men, do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to inſtruct you in the ways of the Eternal, our God, and in the ſincerity of Chriſt's goſpel, which this day, by the peſtilent generation of Antichriſt (I mean, by the pope, and by his moſt ungodly clergy), are almoſt hid from the eyes of men: we offer to jeopard our lives for the ſalvation of your ſouls, and by manifeſt Scriptures to prove that religion, which amongſt you is maintained by fire and ſword, to be falſe, vain, and diabolical. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our doctrine, which is not ours, but the doctrine of ſalvation revealed to the world by the only Son of God; and that ye will examine our reaſons, by which we offer to prove the Papiſtical religion to be abominable before God: and laſtly, we require, That by your power the tyranny of thoſe cruel beaſts (I mean, of prieſts and friars) may be bridled, till we have uttered our minds in all matters this day debatable in religion: if theſe things, in the fear of God, ye grant to me, and unto others that unfeignedly, for your ſalvation,

and for God's glory, require the same, I am assured, that of God ye shall be blessed, whatsoever Satan shall devise against you. But if ye contemn or refuse God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you salvation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues temporal, which shortly shall apprehend you; neither yet the torment prepared for the devil, and for his angels; except by speedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom ye now refuse, if that ye refuse the messengers of his word.

But yet I think ye doubt what ye ought, and may do, in this so weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conscience in the one and in the other: ye ought to prefer the glory of God, the promoting of Christ's gospel, and the salvation of your souls, to all things that be in the earth: and ye, although ye be but subjects, may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers; and that they expel such as, under the name of pastors, devour and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Jesus hath commanded: and if in this point your superiors be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, pastors according to the mind and heart of God, by whom ye may be fed with that most comfortable food of your souls, Christ's gospel truly preached. Ye may moreover, in a peaceable manner, without sedition, withhold the fruits and profits which your false bishops and clergy most unjustly receive of you, unto such time as they shall faithfully do their charge and duties; which is, To preach unto you Christ Jesus truly, rightly to minister the sacraments according to his own institution; and so to watch for the salvation of your souls, as is commanded by Christ Jesus himself, and by his apostles Paul and Peter.

If God shall move your hearts in his true fear, to begin to practise these things, and to demand and crave the same of your superiors, which most lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but, of his great mercy and free grace, he will illuminate the eyes of your minds, that his undoubted verity will be a lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the ways which godly wisdom doth approve: he will make your enemies tremble before your faces: he will establish his gospel amongst you, to the salvation and perpetual comfort of yourselves, and of your posterity after you. But if, as God forbid, the love of friends, the fear of your princes, and the wisdom of the world, draw you back from God, and from his Son Christ Jesus, be ye

certainly persuaded, That ye shall drink the cup of his vengeance; so many, I mean, as shall contemn and despise this loving calling of your heavenly Father.

It will not excuse you, dear brethren, in the presence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his visitation, to say, 'We were but simple subjects; we could not redress the faults and crimes of our rulers, bishops, and clergy; we called for reformation, and wished for the same: but lords brethren were bishops, their sons were abbots, and the friends of great men had the possession of the church, and so were we compelled to give obedience to all that they demanded.' These vain excuses, I say, will nothing avail you in the presence of God, who requireth no less of the subjects, than of their rulers; that they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abstain from idolatry, superstition, blasphemy, murder, and other such horrible crimes, which his law forbiddeth; and yet nevertheless are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable realm.

And if ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the chief actors of such iniquity, ye are utterly deceived; for God doth not only punish the chief offenders, but with them doth he condemn the consenters to such iniquity; and all are judged to consent, that, knowing impiety committed, give no testimony that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more plain, As your princes and rulers are criminal with your bishops of all idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimony of Christ's truth, and that because they maintain them in their tyranny; so are you (I mean so many of you as give no plain confession to the contrary) criminal and guilty with your princes and rulers of the same crimes; because you assist and maintain your princes in their blind rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny displeaseth you.

This doctrine, I know, is strange to the blind world; but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable punishments from the beginning. When the original world perished by water; when Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by fire; and finally, when Jerusalem was horribly destroyed; doth any man think that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is that they were not, if they be judged according to their external facts: for some were young, and could not be oppressors; neither yet could defile themselves with unnatural and beastly lusts; some were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thirst for the blood of Christ,

ror of his apostles: But did any escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witness, and the histories be considered, which plainly do testify, That by the waters all flesh in earth at that time did perish (Noah and his family excepted); that none escaped in Sodom, and in the other cities adjacent, except Lot and his two daughters. And evident it is, That in that famous city Jerusalem, in that last and horrible destruction of the same, none escaped God's vengeance, except so many as before were dispersed.

And what is the cause of this severity, seeing that all were not alike offenders? Let the flesh cease to dispute with God, and let all men, by these examples, learn betimes to fly and avoid the society and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The cause is evident, if we can be subject to God's judgments without grudging, which in themselves are most holy and just: for in the original world none was found, that either did resist tyranny and oppression that universally was used, nor yet that earnestly reprehended the same: in Sodom was none found that did gainstand that furious and beastly multitude, that did compass about and besiege the house of Lot; none would believe Lot, that the city should be destroyed: and finally, in Jerusalem was found none that studied to repress the tyranny of the priests, who were conjured against Christ and his gospel; but all fainted (I except such as gave witness with their blood, or their flying, that such impiety displeased them), all kept silence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joined hands with the tyrants, and so were all arrayed and fet, as it had been, in one battle, against the Omnipotent, and against his Son Jesus Christ: for whosoever gathereth not with Christ in the day of his harvest, is judged to scatter; and therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers.

Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep consideration of your duties in these last and most perilous times. The iniquity of your bishops is more than manifest; their filthy lives infect the air; the innocent blood which they shed, crieth for vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination, which openly they commit, and without punishment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole land,

and none amongst you do unfeignedly study for any redress of such enormities. Will God in this behalf hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren; God hath punished not only the proud tyrants, filthy persons, and cruel murderers, but also such as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjust commandments, or in winking at their manifest iniquity: all such, I say, God once punished with the chief offenders. Be assured, brethren, that, as he is immutable of nature, so will he not pardon you in that which he hath punished in others; and now the less, because he hath plainly admonished you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercy before he pour forth his wrath and displeasure upon the disobedient.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Father of glory, and God of all consolation, give you the Spirit of wisdom, and open unto you the knowledge of himself, by the means of his dear Son, by which ye may attain to the esperance and hope, that after the troubles of this transitory life, ye may be partakers of the glorious inheritance, which is prepared for such as refuse themselves, and fight under the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battle: that in deep consideration of the same, ye may learn to prefer the invisible and eternal joys, to the vain pleasures that are present. God further grant you his Holy Spirit, rightly to consider, what I, in his name, have required of your nobility, and of you the subjects, and move all together so to answer, that my petition be not a testimony of your just condemnation, when the Lord Jesus shall appear to revenge the blood of his saints, and the contempt of his most holy word. Amen.

‘ Sleep not in sin, for vengeance is prepared against the disobedient. Fly from Babylon, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.’

Be witness to my Appellation. Grace be with you.

From Geneva, the 14th
of July, 1558.

Your brother to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

A

FAITHFUL ADMONITION

MADE BY

J O H N K N O X,

TO THE

True Professors of the Gospel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of ENGLAND,
in the Year 1554.

JOHN KNOX *wisbeth Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual Comfort of the Holy Ghost, to be with you for ever and ever, dear Brethren, the afflicted Members of Christ's Church in England.*

HAVING no less desire to comfort such as now be in trouble within the realm of England (and especially you for many causes most dear to me), than hath the natural father to ease the grief and pain of his dearest child; I have considered with myself, what argument or parcel of God's Scriptures was most convenient and meet to be handled for your consolation, in those most dark and dolorous days: and so (as for the same purpose I was turning my book) I chanced to see a note in the margin, written thus in Latin, *Videat Anglia*, Let England beware; which note when I had considered, I found, that the matter written in my book in Latin was this, 'Seldom ' it is that God worketh any notable work to the ' comfort of his church, but that trouble, fear, ' and labour, cometh upon such as God hath used ' for his servants and workmen; and also tribulation most commonly followeth that church where ' Christ Jesus is most truly preached.' This note was made upon a place of Scripture written in the 14th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; which place declareth, That after Christ Jesus had used the apostles as ministers and servants to feed (as it had been by their hands) five thousand men, besides women and children, with five barley-loaves and

two fishes; he sent them to the sea, commanding them to pass over before him to the other side. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the same purpose did travel and row forth in the sea, the night approached, the wind was contrary, the vehement and raging storm arose, and was like to overthrow their poor boat and them. When I considered (as dolour and my simplicity would suffer) the circumstance of the text, I began to reckon and ask account of myself (and, as God knoweth, not without sorrow and fobs), whether at any time I had been so plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy will and wisdom in that matter unto me, as mine own pen and note bear witness to my conscience: and shortly it came to my mind, that the same place of Scripture I had handled in your presence, when God gave opportunity, and time for you to hear God's messenger speak the words of eternal life. Wherefore I thought nothing more expedient, than shortly to call to mind again such things as then I trust were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me so plainly uttered, neither of you so plainly perceived, as these most dolorous days declare the same to us.

It shall not be necessary to handle the text word by word, but of the whole sum to gather certain

notes and observations (which shall not far disagree from the state of these days) it shall be sufficient. And first it is to be observed, That after this great miracle that Christ had wrought, he neither would retain with himself the multitude of people whom he had fed, neither yet his disciples; but the one he sent away, every man to return to his place of accustomed residence, and the others he sent to the danger of the seas, not that he was ignorant what should chance unto them, but knowing and foreseeing the tempest, yea, and appointing the same to trouble them.

It is not to be judged, that the only and true Pastor would remove and send away from him the wandering and weak sheep, neither yet that the only provident Governor and Guide would set out his rude warriors to so great a jeopardy, without sufficient and most just cause.

Why Christ removed and sent away from him the people, the evangelist St. John declareth, saying, 'When Jesus knew that they were come to take him, that they might make him a king, he passed secretly (or alone) to the mountain.' Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Christ to send away the people from him; because that by him they sought a carnal and worldly liberty, regarding nothing his heavenly doctrine of the kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly, shewing them, That such as would follow him must suffer for his name's sake persecution, must be hated of all men, must deny themselves, must be sent forth as sheep among wolves: but no part of this doctrine pleased them, or could enter into their hearts; but their whole mind was upon their bellies, for sufficing whereof they devised and imagined, that they would appoint Christ Jesus to be their worldly king; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleasure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Christ Jesus, he withdrew himself from their company, to avoid all such suspicion, and to let them understand, That no such honours did agree with his vocation, who came to serve, and not to be served: and when this same people sought him again, he sharply rebuked them, because they sought him more to have their bellies fed with corruptible meat, than to have their souls nourished with lively bread that came down from heaven. And thus in the people there was just cause why Christ should withdraw himself from them for a time.

Why the disciples should suffer that great danger, fear, and anguish, St. Mark, in his Gospel,

plainly sheweth, saying, 'That their hearts were blinded, and therefore did neither remember, nor consider the miracle of the loaves;' that is, albeit with their hands they had touched that bread, by which so great a multitude was fed; and albeit also they had gathered up twelve baskets full of that which remained of a few loaves, which, before the miracle, a boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly consider the infinite power of Christ Jesus by this wonderful miracle; and therefore of necessity it was, that in their own bodies they should suffer trouble, for their better instruction.

When I deeply consider, dearly beloved in our Saviour Christ, how abundantly, and how miraculously the poor and sinful flock of Christ Jesus was fed within the realm of England, under that elect and chosen vessel of God to glory and honour, Edward VI. and now again behold, not only the dispersion and scattering abroad, but also the appearing destruction of the same, under these cursed, cruel, and abominable idolaters, methinks I see the same causes to have moved God, not only to withdraw his presence from the multitude, but also to have sent his well-beloved servants to the travels of the seas, wherein they were fore tossed and turmouled, and apparently most like to perish.

What were the affections of the greatest multitude that followed the gospel in this former rest and abundance, is easy to be judged, if the life and conversation of every man should have been thoroughly examined: For who lived (in that rest) as that he had refused himself? Who lived in that rest, as that he had been crucified with Christ? Who lived in that rest, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? Yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and seeking the world and pleasures thereof, caring for the flesh and carnal appetites, as though death and sin had clean been devoured? And what was this else, than to make of Christ an earthly king? The word that we professed, daily cried in our ears, 'That our kingdom, our joy, our rest, and felicity, neither was, is, nor should be upon the earth, neither in any transitory thing thereof, but in heaven, into which we must enter by many tribulations.' But, alas! we slept in such security, that the sound of the trumpet could of many never be perfectly understood, but always we persuaded ourselves of a certain tranquillity, as though the troubles, whereof mention is made within the Scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age, but unto such as of long time are passed

before us; and therefore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the presence of his verity (whose voice in those days we could not believe), to the end that more earnestly we may thirst for the same, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it shall please his infinite goodness in such abundance to restore the same again.

I mean nothing of those that followed Christ only for their bellies; for such, perceiving that they could not obtain their hearts desire of Christ, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing, their blasphemous voices spake against his eternal verity, doth witness and declare. For such, brethren, be ye not moved, for in the time of their profession they were not of us, but were very dissemblers and hypocrites; and therefore God justly permitteth that they blaspheme the truth, which they never loved. I mean not, that ever such dissembling hypocrites shall embrace the verity, but I mean such, as by infirmity of the flesh, and by natural blindness (which in this life is never altogether expelled), then could not give the very obedience which God's word required, neither now, by weakness of faith, dare openly and boldly confess that, which their hearts know to be most true, and yet lament and mourn, both for the imperfection bypast and present; from such shall not the amiable presence of Christ for ever be withdrawn; but yet again shall the eyes of their sore troubled hearts behold and see that light of Christ's gospel, wherein they most delight. We the ministers, who were the distributors of this bread (the true word of God), wherewith the multitude within England was fed, lacked not our offences, which also moved God to send us to the sea. And because the offences of no man are so manifest unto me as mine own, I will only censure myself.

It is not unknown unto many, that I (the most wretched) was once of that number whom God appointed to receive that bread (as it was broken by Christ Jesus), to distribute and give the same to such as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table, where he appointed me to serve. It is not in my knowledge nor judgment to define, nor determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their stomachs; but of this I am assured, That the benediction of Christ Jesus so multiplied the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet (this I write to the praise of his name, and to the accusation of mine own unthankfulness) the bread never failed when the hungry-soul craved or cried for food;

and at the end of the banquet, mine own conscience beareth witness, that mine hands gathered up the crumbs that were left in such abundance, that the banquet was full amongst the rest. To be plain, mine own conscience beareth record to myself, how small was my learning, and how weak I was of judgment, when Christ Jesus called me to be his steward; and how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multiplied his graces with me, if I should conceal, I were most wicked and unthankful.

But, alas! how blinded was my heart, and how little did I consider the dignity of that office, and the power of God that then multiplied and blessed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conscience beareth witness to myself! God I take to record in my conscience, that I delivered the same bread that I received of Christ's hands; and that I mixed no poison with the same; that is, I taught Christ's gospel without any mixture of mens dreams, devices, or phantasies. But, alas! I did it not with such fervency, with such indifferency, and with such diligence, as this day I know my duty was to have done.

Some complained in those days, That the preachers were indiscreet persons (yea, some called them Railers, and worse), because they spake against the manifest iniquity of men, and especially of those that then were placed in authority, as well in court, as in other offices universally throughout the realm, in cities, towns, and villages. And amongst others peradventure my rude plainness displeased some, who did complain, that rashly I did speak of mens faults; so that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But, alas! this day my conscience accuseth me, That I spake not so plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressly by his name, 'Thou shalt die the death.' For I find Jeremiah the prophet to have done so to Pashur the high priest, and to Zedekiah the king. And not only he, but also Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, Christ Jesus himself, and after him his apostles, expressly to have named the blood-thirsty tyrants, abominable idolaters, and dissembling hypocrites of their days. If that we the preachers within the realm of England, were appointed by God to be the salt of the earth (as his other messengers were before us), alas! why with-held we the salt, where manifest compunction did appear? (I accuse none but myself.) The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcase, was the chief cause that I was not fervent and faithful enough in that

behalf: for I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men against me; and therefore so touched I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest, that they might see themselves to be offenders (I dare not say that I was the greatest flatterer); but yet nevertheless, I would not be seen to proclaim manifest war against the manifest wicked: whereof unfeignedly I ask my God mercy.

As I was not so fervent in rebuking manifest iniquity, as it became me to have been; so was I not so indifferent a feeder, as is required of Christ's steward: for in preaching Christ's gospel, albeit mine eye (as knoweth God) was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of some men, with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more residence in one place than in another, having more respect to the pleasure of a few, than to the necessity of many. That day I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle; but this day I know it was my duty to have had consideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, to whom, alas! none took pains to break and distribute the bread of life.

Moreover, remaining in one place, I was not diligent as mine office required; but some time, by counsel of carnal friends, I spared the body; some time I spent in worldly business of particular friends; and some time in taking recreation and pastime by exercise of the body.

And albeit men may judge these to be light and small offences, yet I acknowledge and confess, that unless pardon should be granted to me in Christ's blood, that every one of these three offences aforementioned, that is to say, Lack of fervency in reproving sin, the lack of indifferency in feeding those that were hungry, and the lack of diligence in the execution of mine office, deserved damnation.

And beside these, I was assaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more gross sins; that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation and praise of men; against which, albeit that some time the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lie not) to sob and lament for those imperfections; yet never ceased they to trouble me, when any occasion was offered: and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded, till vain glory had almost gotten the upper-hand.

'O Lord! be merciful to my great offence, and deal not with me according to my great iniquity,

'but according to the multitude of thy mercies, remove from me the burden of my sin; for of purpose and mind, to have avoided the vain displeasure of man, I spared little to offend thy Majesty.'

Think not, beloved in the Lord, that thus I accuse myself without just cause, as though in so doing I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpose and intent, by occasion thereof to accuse others of my brethren, the true preachers of Christ, of like or greater offences: no, God is judge to my conscience, that I do it even from an unfeigned and sore troubled heart, as I that know myself grievously to have offended the majesty of my God, during the time that Christ's gospel had free passage in England. And this I do let you understand, That the taking away of the heavenly bread, and this great tempest that now bloweth against the poor disciples of Christ within the realm of England (as touching our part), cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfeigned repentance; for that neither preacher nor professor did rightly consider the time of our merciful visitation: but altogether so we spent the time, as though God's word had been preached rather to satisfy our fancies, than to reform our evil manners: which thing if we earnestly repent, then shall Jesus Christ appear to our comfort, be the storm never so great. 'Haste, O Lord! for thy name's sake.'

The second thing that I find to be noted, is, The vehemency of the fear which the disciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance than ever they had at any time before.

In St. Matthew's Gospel it appeareth, That another time there arose a great stormy tempest, and sore tossed the boat wherein Christ's disciples were labouring: but that was nigh the day-light, and then they had Christ with them in the ship, whom they awaked, and cried for help unto him (for at that time he slept in the boat), and so were shortly delivered from their sudden fear. But now were they in the midst of the raging sea, and it was night, and Christ their Comforter absent from them, and cometh not to them, neither in the first, second, nor third watch; What fear think ye were they in? And what thoughts arose out of their sore troubled hearts, during that storm? Such as this day are in like danger within the realm of England, do by this storm better understand, than my pen can express. But of one thing I am well assured, That Christ's presence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable than ever it was before; and that patiently they would have

suffered their incredulity to have been rebuked, so that they might have escaped the present death.

But profitable it shall be, and somewhat to our comfort, to consider every parcel of their danger: and first, ye shall understand, That when the disciples passed to the sea, to obey Christ's commandment, it was fair weather, and no such tempest seen; but suddenly the storm arose, with a contrarious blast of wind, when they were in the midst of their voyage: for if the tempest had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the sea, as it was after when they were about the midst of their passage, neither would they have adventured such a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midst of the sea: and so it may be evidently gathered, that the sea was calm when they entered upon their voyage.

Then it is to be remarked, by what means and instruments was this storm moved; Was the plunging of their oars, and force of their small boat, such as might stir the waves of the great sea? No doubtless; but the Holy Ghost declareth, That the seas were moved by a vehement and contrary wind, which blew against their ship in the time of darkness: but seeing the wind is neither the commander nor mover of itself, some other cause is to be inquired, which hereafter we shall touch.

And lastly, it is to be noted and considered, What the disciples did in all this vehement tempest: truly they turned not to be driven back for land or shore, by the vehemency of the contrary wind; for so it might be thought, that they could not have escaped shipwreck and death; but they continually laboured in rowing against the wind, abiding the ceasing of that horrible tempest.

Consider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we read here to have chanced to Christ's disciples, and to their poor boat; and you shall well perceive, that the same thing hath chanced, doth, and shall chance, to the true church and congregation of Christ (which is nothing else in this miserable life but a poor ship), travelling in the seas of this unstable and troublesome world, toward the heavenly port, and haven of eternal felicity, which Christ Jesus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the posterity of Jacob in Egypt; by the Israelites in their captivity; and by the church during the time that Christ himself did preach (and some time after his resurrection and ascension), against whom the vehement storm did not rage immediately after they entered into the ship of their travel and tribulation: for the bloody

sentence of Pharaoh was not pronounced against the seed of Jacob, when he first did enter into Egypt; neither was the cruel counsel and devilish device of proud Haman invented by and by, after Israel and Judah were translated from their possessions: neither yet, in the time of Christ Jesus, being conversant with his apostles in the flesh, was there used any such tyranny against the saints of God, as shortly after followed in the persecution of St. Stephen, and other disciples: but all these, in the beginning of their travel with a contrary wind, had always some calm; that is, albeit they had some trouble, yet had they not extreme persecution.

Even so, most dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted church of God within the realm of England: at all times the true word of God suffered contradiction and repugnancy; and so the wind blew against us, even from the beginning of the late uprising of the gospel in England; but yet it could not stop our course, till now of late days, that the raging wind bloweth without bridle upon the unstable seas, in the midst wherof we are in this hour of darkness.

To write my mind plainly unto you, beloved brethren; This wind that always hath blown against the church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devil, which rightly in this case is compared to the wind: for as the wind is invisible, and yet the poor disciples feel that it troubleth and hindereth their ship; so is the pestilent envy of the devil working always in the hearts of the reprobate, so subtle and crafty, that it cannot be espied by God's elect, nor by his messengers, till first they feel the blasts thereof to blow their ship backward: and as the vehement wind causeth the waves of the sea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it cease nor refrain, so that both it is troubled by the wind, and also itself both it trouble Christ's disciples in their poor ship; so by the envy and malice of the devil, are wicked and cruel, as well subjects as princes (whose hearts are like the raging sea), compelled to persecute and trouble the true church of Christ; and yet so blinded are they, and so enthralled under the bondage of the devil, that neither can they see their manifest iniquity, neither yet can they cease to run to their own destruction. And hereof, England, hast thou manifest experience; for (in the time of king Henry VIII.) how the wolf, and wicked Winchester, and others, by the vehement wind of six bloody articles (by the devil devised), intended to have overthrow the

poor ship and Christ's disciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Christ Jesus with us sleeping in the ship, who did not despise the faithful crying of such as then were in trouble; but by his mighty power, gracious goodness, and invincible force of his holy word, he compelled those wicked winds to cease, and the raging of those seas to be stilled and calm; so that all the hearts of God's elect, within the realm of England, did wonder at that sudden change, while that under a lamb the fearful edge of that devouring sword was taken from the necks of the faithful; and the tyranny of those ravening and blood-thirsty wolves (I mean of wily Winchester, and of some other his brethren, the sons of Belial) was repressed for a time: but yet ceased not the devil to blow his wind, by his wicked instruments, who found the means, how, against nature, the one brother should assent to the death of the other: but that could not hinder the course of the travelling boat, but forth she goeth in despite of the devil, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his own honour and service, that is, his detestable mass, to be disclosed and opened before the people, to be damnable idolatry, and assured damnation to such as put their trust in it; and therefore began he more craftily to work, and finding the same instruments apt enough, whose labours he had used before, he blew such mortal hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the king; for that wretched, alas! and miserable Northumberland could not be satisfied, till such time as simple Somerset most unjustly was bereft of his life. What the devil, and his members, the pestilent Papists, meant, by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one; and specially before you, and in Newcastle, as Sir Robert Bradling did not forget a long time after: God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then, and at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard, whose hedges, ditches, towers, and wine-press, God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit; and that he may remember, that whatever was spoken by my mouth that day, is now complete, and come to pass, except that final destruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unless that he, and some other of his sort, that then were enemies to God's truth, will speedily repent (and that earnestly) of their stubborn disobedience. God compelled my tongue, I say, openly to declare, That the devil and his mi-

nisters intended only the subversion of God's true religion, by that mortal hatred among those which ought to have been most assuredly knit together by Christian charity, and by benefits received; and especially that the wicked and envious Papists (by that ungodly breach of charity) diligently minded the overthrow of him, that to his own destruction procured the death of his innocent friend: thus, I say, I was compelled of conscience oftener than once to affirm, That such as saw, and invented the means how the one should be taken away, saw, and should find the means also to take away the other; and that all that trouble was devised by the devil and his instruments, to stop and hinder Christ's disciples and their poor boat; but that was not able, because she was not yet come to the midst of the sea.

Transubstantiation, the bird that the devil hatched by pope Nicholas, and since that time fostered and nourished by all his children, priests, friars, monks, and others his conjured and sworn soldiers, and in these last days, chiefly by Stephen Gardner, and his black brood in England; transubstantiation, I say, was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God hath put wisdom in the tongues of his ministers and messengers to disclose that vanity; and specially gave such strength to that reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer, to cut the knots of devilish sophistry, linked and knit by the devil's Gardner, and his blind buzzards, to hold the verity of the ever Living God under bondage, that rather I think they shall condemn his works (which notwithstanding shall continue and remain to their confusion), than they shall enterprize to answer the same. And also God gave boldness and knowledge to the court of parliament, to take away the round-clipped god, wherein standeth all the holiness of Papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions (kneeling at the Lord's supper excepted), which before profaned Christ's true religion. Then, dear brethren, was the boat in the midst of the sea, and suddenly ariseth the horrible tempest, most fearful and dolorous; 'Our king is taken away from us:' and the devil bloweth in such organs, as always he had found obedient to his precepts, and by them he inflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man (whom I judge more to be lamented than hated), to covet the imperial crown of England to be established to his posterity; and what thereupon hath succeeded, it is not now necessary to be written.

Of this short discourse, beloved in the Lord, you may consider and perceive two special notes;

1. That the whole malice of the devil hath always this end, to vex and overthrow Christ's afflicted church; for what else intended the devil and his servants, the pestilent Papists, by all these their crafty policies, during the time that Christ's gospel was preached in England, than the subversion of the same gospel, and that they might recover power to persecute the saints of God, as this day, in the hour of darkness, they have obtained for a time, to their own destruction? Let no man wonder though I say, that the crafty policies of pestilent Papists wrought all the mischief; for who could more easier and better work greater mischief than such as bore authority and rule? And who, I pray you, ruled the roost in the court all this time, by stout courage and proudness of stomach, but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under king Edward, ruled all by counsel and wit? Shall I name the man? I will write no more plainly now than my tongue spake, the last sermon that it pleased God that I did make before that innocent and most godly king Edward VI. and before his council at Westminster, and even to the faces of such as of whom I meant; handling this place of Scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem, suscitavit adversus me calcaneum suum*; that is, He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me; I made this affirmation, That commonly it was seen, that the most godly princes had officers and chief counsellors most ungodly, conjured enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their princes; not that their wickedness and ungodliness was speedily perceived and espied out, of the said princes and godly men, but that for a time those crafty colourers could so cloke their malice against God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving masters, that by worldly wisdom and policy at length they attained to high promotions. And, for the proof of this mine affirmation, I recited the histories of Ahithophel, Shebnah, and Judas; of whom the two former had high offices and promotions, with great authority, under the most godly princes David and Hezekiah; and Judas was purse-master with Christ Jesus. And when I had made some discourse on that matter, I moved this question:

Why permitted so godly princes so wicked men to be of their council, and to bear office and authority under them?

To which I answered, That either they so abounded in worldly wisdom, foresight, and expe-

rience, touching the government of a commonwealth, that their counsel appeared to be so necessary, that the commonwealth could not lack them; and so, by the colour to preserve the tranquillity and quietness in realms, they were maintained in authority; or else they kept their malice, which they bore towards their masters and God's true religion, so secret in their breasts, that no man could espy it, till, by God's permission, they waited for such occasion and opportunity, that they uttered all their mischief so plainly, that all the world might perceive it: and that was most evident by Ahithophel and Shebnah; for of Ahithophel it is written, that he was David's most secret counsellor; and that because his counsel in those days was like the oracle of God. And Shebnah was unto good king Hezekiah some time comptroller, some time secretary, and last of all treasurer; to the which offices he had never been promoted under so godly a prince, if the treason and malice which he bore against the king, and against God's true religion, had been manifestly known. No, say I, Shebnah was a crafty fox, and could shew such a fair countenance to the king, that neither he nor his council could espy his malicious treason; but the prophet Isaiah was commanded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traitorous heart and miserable end.

Was David, said I, and Hezekiah, princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abused by crafty counsellors and dissembling hypocrites? What wonder is it then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid, that Ahithophel is counsellor, that Judas bears the purse, and that Shebnah is scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.

This, and somewhat more I spake that day, not in a corner (as many yet can witness), but even before those whom my conscience judged worthy of accusation: and this day no more do I write (albeit I may justly, because they have declared themselves most manifestly), but yet do I affirm, that under that innocent king, pestilent Papists had greatest authority. Oh! who was judged to be the soul and life to the council, in every matter of weighty importance? Who but Shebnah, who could best dispatch business, that the rest of the council might hawk and hunt, and take their pleasure? None like unto Shebnah. Who was most frank and ready to destroy Somerset, and set up Northumberland? Was it not Shebnah? Who was

most bold to cry Bastard, bastard, incestuous bastard, Mary shall never reign over us? And who, I pray you, was most busy to say, Fear not to subscribe with my lords of the King's majesty's most honourable privy council? Agree to his majesty's last will and perfect testament, and let never that obstinate woman come to authority, she is an arrant Papist, she will subvert the true religion, and will bring in strangers, to the destruction of this commonwealth. Which of the council, I say, had these and greater persuasions against Mary, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth? Shebnaah the treasurer. And what intended such traitorous and dissembling hypocrites by all these and such-like crafty flights and counterfeit conveyance? Doubtless, the overthrow of Christ's true religion, which then began to flourish in England, the liberty whereof fretted such pestilent Papists, who now have gotten the days which they long looked for, but yet to their own destruction and shame; for, in the spite of their hearts, the plagues of God shall strike them, they shall be comprehended in the snare which they prepare for others: for their own counsels shall make themselves slaves to a proud, mischievous, unfaithful, and vile nation.

Now to the second note of our discourse, which is this; Albeit the tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevail against God's truth; yet, because they are bound slaves to their master the devil, they cannot cease to persecute the members of Christ, when the devil blows his wind in the darkness of the night; that is, when the light of Christ's gospel is taken away, and the devil reigneth by idolatry, superstition, and tyranny.

This most evidently may be seen from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ, and from thence till this day. Ishmael might have perceived, that he could not prevail against Isaac, because God had made his promise unto him, as no doubt Abraham their father taught to his whole household; Esau likewise understood the fame of Jacob; Pharaoh might plainly have seen, by many miracles, that Israel was God's people, whom he could not utterly destroy: and also the scribes and Pharisees, and chief priests, were utterly convinced in their conscience, that Christ's whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man, his miracles and works were wrought by the power of God; and therefore, that they could never prevail against him; and yet, as the devil stirred them, none of those

could refrain from persecuting him, whom they knew most certainly to be innocent.

This I write, that you shall not wonder, albeit now ye see the poisoned Papists, wicked Winchester, and dreaming Duresme, with the rest of the faction (who sometimes were so confounded, that neither they durst, nor could speak nor write in the defence of their heresies), now so to rage and triumph against the eternal truth of God, as though they had never assayed the power of God speaking by his true messengers.

Wonder not heret. I say, beloved brethren, that the tyrants of this world are so obedient, and ready to follow the cruel counsels of such disguised monsters; for neither can the one nor the other refrain, because both sorts are as subject to obey the devil, their prince and father, as the unstable sea is to lift up the waves, when the vehement wind bloweth upon it.

It is fearful to be heard, that the devil hath such power over any man, but yet the word of God hath so instructed us; and therefore, albeit it be contrary to our fancy, yet we must believe it: for the devil is called the prince and god of this world, because he reigneth, and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He is called the prince of darkness, that hath power in the air; it is said, That he worketh in the children of unbelief, because he stirreth them to trouble God's elect; as he invaded Saul, and compelled him to persecute David; and likewise he entered into the heart of Judas, and moved him to betray his Master. He is called prince over the sons of pride, and father of all those that are liars and enemies to God's truth; over whom he hath no less power this day, than sometimes he had over Annas and Caiaphas, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil, to persecute Christ Jesus and his most true doctrine: and therefore, wonder not, I say, that now the devil rageth in his obedient servants, wily Winchester, dreaming Duresme, and bloody Bonner, with the rest of their bloody butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them; they cannot cease nor allwage their furious fumes, for the devil their fire stirreth and moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this that I declare, the power of the devil working in cruel tyrants, think you that I attribute or give to him or them power at their pleasure? No, not so, brethren, not so: for as the devil hath no power to trouble the elements, but as God shall suffer; so hath worldly tyrants (albeit the devil

hath fully possessed their hearts) no power at all to trouble the saints of God, but as their bridle shall be loosed by God's hands.

And herein, dear brethren, standeth my singular comfort this day, when I hear, that those bloody tyrants, within the realm of England, do kill, murder, destroy, and devour man and woman, as ravenous lions now loosed from bonds; I lift up therefore the eyes of mine heart (as my iniquity and present dolour will suffer), and to my heavenly Father will I say,

‘ O Lord! those cruel tyrants are loosed by thy hand, to punish our former ingratitude, whom, we trust, thou wilt not suffer to prevail for ever; but when thou hast corrected us a little, and hast declared unto the world the tyranny that lurked in their boldened breasts, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt shut them up in their caves again, that the generation and posterity following may praise thy holy name before thy congregation. Amen.’

When I feel any taste or motion of these promises, then think I myself most happy, and that I have received a just compensation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, should suffer present death, knowing, that God shall yet shew mercy to his afflicted church within England, and that he shall repress the pride of these present tyrants, like as he hath done of those that were before our days.

And therefore, beloved brethren, in our Saviour Jesus Christ, hold up to God your hands that are faint through fear; and let your hearts, that have in these dolorous days slept in sorrow, awake, and hear the voice of your God, who sweareth by himself, That he will not suffer his church to be oppressed for ever, neither that he will despite our sobs to the end, if we will row and strive against this vehement wind: I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to idolatry, then shall this storm be asswaged in despite of the devil; Christ Jesus shall come with speed to your deliverance, he shall pierce through the wind, and the raging seas shall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the massy, stable, and dry land. Be not moved from the sure foundation of your faith; for albeit that Christ Jesus be absent from you (as he was from his disciples in that great storm) by his bodily presence, yet is he present by his mighty power and grace: he standeth upon the mountain in security and rest; that is, his flesh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can suffer no such trouble as sometimes he did, and yet he is full

of pity and compassion, and doth consider all our travel, anguish, and labours; wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that he will suddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world cannot keep back his coming, any more than the blustering wind and raging seas could keep Christ from coming to his disciples, when they looked for nothing but present death.

And therefore, yet again I say, beloved in the Lord, let your hearts attend to the promises that God hath made unto true repentant sinners, and be fully persuaded with a constant faith, that God is always true, and just in his performance of his promises. You have heard these days spoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, because you were nigh the land, and the storm was not yet risen; that is, ye were young scholars of Christ, when no persecution was felt or seen: but now ye are come into the midst of the sea, (for what part of England heard not of your profession?) and the vehement storm, whereof we then almost in every exhortation spake of, is now suddenly risen up. But what! Hath God brought you so far forth, that you shall both in souls and bodies every one perish? Nay, my whole trust in God's mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into Egypt, and from thence through the Red Sea, to the intent they should perish, but that he in them should shew a most glorious deliverance: neither sent Christ his apostles into the midst of the sea, and suffering the storm to assault them and their ship, to the intent they should there perish; but because he would the more have his great goodness towards them felt and received, in so mightily delivering them out of the fear of perishing; giving us thereby an example, that he would do the like to us, if we abide constant in our profession and faith, withdrawing ourselves from superstition and idolatry.

We gave you warning of those days long ago: for the reverence of Christ's blood, let these words be noted; ‘The same truth that spake before of these dolorous days, forespake also of the everlasting joy prepared for such as should continue to the end.’ The trouble is come, O dear brethren! look for the comfort, and (after the example of the apostle) abide in resisting this vehement storm a little space.

The third watch is not yet ended: remember that Christ Jesus came not to his disciples till it was the fourth watch, and they were then in no less danger than you are now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But

Christ Jesus came when they looked not for him; and so shall he do to you, if you will continue in the profession that you have made. This dare I be bold to promise, in the name of him whose eternal verity and glorious gospel ye have heard and received, who also putteth into my heart an earnest thirst (God knoweth I lie not) of your salvation, and some care also for your bodies, which now I will not express.

Thus shortly have I passed through the outrageous tempest, when in the disciples of Christ were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Christ led in the desert, omitting many profitable notes which might well have been marked in the text, because my purpose is at this present not to be tedious, nor yet curious, but only to note such things as be agreeable to these most dolorous days.

And so, let us now speak of the end of this storm and trouble, in which I find four things chiefly to be noted:

First, That the disciples, at the presence of Christ, were more afraid than they were before.

Secondly, That Christ useth no other instrument but his word, to pacify their hearts.

Thirdly, That Peter, in a fervency, first left his ship, and yet after feared.

Fourthly and lastly, That Christ permitted neither Peter, nor the rest of his disciples, to perish in that fear, but gloriously delivered all, and pacified the tempest.

Their great fear, and the cause thereof, are expressed in the text, in these words; 'When the disciples saw him walking upon the sea, they were afraid, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried through fear.'

It is not my purpose in this treatise to speak of spirits, nor yet to dispute, whether spirits, good or bad, may appear and trouble men; neither yet to inquire, why man's nature is afraid of spirits, and so vehemently abhorreth their presence and company: but my purpose is only to speak of things necessary for this time.

And, first, let us consider that there were three causes why the disciples knew not Christ, but judged him to be a spirit.

The first cause was, The darkness of the night.

The second was, The unaccustomed vision that appeared.

And the third was, The danger and the tempest, in which they so earnestly laboured for the safeguard of themselves.

The darkness, I say, of the night prevented their eyes from seeing him; and it was above nature,

that a massy, heavy, and weighty body of a man (such as they understood their Master Christ to have) should walk, go upon, or be borne up by the water of the raging sea, and not sink. And finally, the horror of the tempest, and great danger that they were in, persuaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And so all these three things concurring together, contained in them this imagination, 'That Christ Jesus, who came to their great comfort and deliverance, was a fearful and wicked spirit appearing to their destruction.'

What here happened to Christ Jesus himself, that I might prove to have chanced, and daily to happen, to the verity of his blessed word in all ages from the beginning.

For as Christ himself, in this their trouble, was judged and esteemed by his disciples at the first sight a spirit, or fantastical body; so is the truth and sincere preaching of his glorious gospel, sent by God for man's comfort, deliverance from sin, and quietness of conscience, when it is first offered, and truly preached, it is (I say) no less than judged to be heresy and deceivable doctrine, sent by the devil for man's destruction.

The cause hereof is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age, since the beginning, so overwhelmed the world, that sometimes God's very elect were in like blindness and error with the reprobate; as Abraham was an idolater; Moses was instructed in all the ways of the Egyptians; Paul, a proud Pharisee, conjured against Christ and his doctrine: and many in this our age, when the truth of God was offered unto them, were fore afraid, and cried against it, only because the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let pass, till further opportunity.

The chief note that I would have you well observe and mark, in this preposterous fear of the disciples, is this;

'The more high deliverance and salvation approacheth, the more strong and vehement is the temptation of the church of God; and the more high that God's vengeance approacheth to the wicked, the more proud, cruel, and arrogant are they.'

Whereby it commonly cometh to pass, that the very messengers of life are judged and deemed to be the authors of all mischief; and this in many histories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted Israelites, by the hand of Moses, from the tyranny of the Egyptians, and Moses was

sent to the presence of Pharaoh for the same purpose, such was their affliction and anguish by the cruelty which newly was exercised over them, that with open mouths they cursed Moses (and, no doubt, in their hearts they hated God who sent him), alledging, That Moses and Aaron were the whole cause of their last extreme trouble.

The like is to be seen in the Book of the Kings, both under Elisha and Hiaiah the prophets: for in the days of Joram, son of Ahab, was Samaria besieged by the king of Syria: in which Samaria, no doubt (albeit the king and most of the multitude were wicked), there were yet some members of God's elect church, who were brought to such extreme famine, that not only things of small price were sold beyond all measure, but also women, against nature, were compelled to eat their own children: in this same city Elisha the prophet most commonly was conversant, and dwelt, by whose counsel and commandment, no doubt, the city was kept; for it appeareth, the king laid that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman (who, for hunger, had eaten her own son), rent his clothes, with a solemn oath and vow, that the head of Elisha should not stand upon his shoulders that day. If Elisha had not been of counsel, that the city should have been kept, Why should the king have more fumed against him than against others? But whether he was the author of the defending of the city, or not, all is one to my purpose; for before the deliverance was the church in such extremity, that the chief pastor of that time was sought to be killed by such as should have defended him.

The like is read of Hezekiah, who defending his city Jerusalem, and resisting proud Sennacherib, no doubt obeying the counsel of Hiaiah, at length was so oppressed with sorrow and shame, by the blasphemous words of Rabshakeh, that he had no other refuge but in the temple of the Lord, as a man desperate and without comfort, to open the disdainful letters sent unto him by that haughty and proud tyrant.

By these and many histories more, it is most evident, that the more nigh salvation and deliverance approacheth, the more vehement is the temptation and trouble.

This I write to admonish you, that albeit yet you shall see tribulation so abound, that nothing shall appear but extreme misery, without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God: and that albeit sometimes ye be moved to hate the messengers of life, that therefore ye shall not judge

that God will never show mercy after. No, dear brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, so will he deal with you.

God will suffer tribulation and dolour to abound, that no manner of comfort shall be seen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance cometh, the glory may be his, whose only word may pacify the tempest most vehement.

He drowned Pharaoh and his army; he scattered the great multitude of Benhadad; and by his angel killed the host of Sennacherib; and so delivered his afflicted, when nothing appeared to them but utter destruction. So shall he do to you, beloved brethren, if patiently ye will abide his consolation and counsel. God open your eyes, that ye may rightly understand the meaning of my writing. Amen.

But yet peradventure, you wonder not a little why God permitteth such blood-thirsty tyrants to molest and grieve his chosen church: I have recited some causes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold myself content with one.

The justice of God is such, that he will not pour forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, until such time as their iniquity be so manifest, that their very flatterers cannot excuse it. Pharaoh was not destroyed, till his own household-servants and subjects abhorred and condemned his stubborn disobedience.

Jezebel and Athalia were not thrust from this life into death, till all Israel and Judah were witnesses of their cruelty and abominations. Judas was not hanged, till the princes of the priests bore witnesses of his traitorous act and iniquity.

To pass over the tyrants of old times, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the tyrants, which now are within the realm of England, whom God will not long spare: if Stephen Gardner, Cuthbert Tunstal, and butcherly Benner, false bishops of Winchester, Duresme, and of London, had for their false doctrine and traitorous acts suffered death, when they justly deserved the same, then would arrant Papists have alledged (as I and others have heard them do), that they were men reformable; that they were meet instruments for a commonwealth; that they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged; neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man: and of lady Mary, who hath now heard, that she was sober, merciful, and one that loved the commonwealth of England? Had she, I say, and such as now are of her pestilent coun-

eil, been dead before these days, then should not their iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared to the world; For who would have thought, that such cruelty could have entered into the heart of a woman, and into the heart of her that is called a Virgin, that she would thirst for the blood of innocents, and of such as (by just laws and faithful witnesses) can never be proved to have offended?

I find that Athalia (through appetite to reign) murdered the seed of the kings of Judah, and that Herodias' daughter (at the desire of a whorish mother) obtained the head of John the Baptist; but yet that ever a woman suffered herself to be called the most Blessed Virgin, caused so much blood to be spilt for establishing the usurped authority of the pope, I think the like is rare to be found in Scripture or other history.

I find that Jezebel (that cursed idolatress) caused the blood of the prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be murdered unjustly for his own vineyard; but yet I think she never erected half so many gibbets in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone. But you Papists will excuse your Mary the virgin: well, let her be your virgin, and a goddess meet to entertain such idolaters, yet shall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no Papist within England will justify or defend: and therefore, O ye Papists! here I will a little turn my pen unto you: answer unto this question, O ye seed of the serpent! Would any of you have confessed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises (except such promises as she made to your god the pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father)? I am sure you would hardly have thought it of her: And now, doth she not manifestly shew herself to be an open traitress to the imperial crown of England, contrary to the just laws of the realm, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard king, to the shame, dishonour, and destruction of the nobility; to the spoil of their honours, lands, possessions, chief offices, and promotions of them and theirs; to the utter decay of the treasures, commodities, navy, and fortifications of the realm; to the abasing of the yeomanry, to the slavery of the commonalty, to the overthrow of Christianity and God's true religion; and finally, to the utter subversion of the whole public estate and commonwealth of England? Let Norfolk and Suffolk, let her own promise and proclamation, let her father's testament, let the city of

London, let the ancient laws and acts of parliaments before established in England, be judges betwixt my accusation and her most tyrannical iniquity.

First, her promise and proclamation did signify and declare, That neither would she bring in, neither yet marry any stranger; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of London, do testify and witness the same. The ancient laws and acts of parliament pronounce it treason, to transfer the crown of England into the hands of a foreign nation; and the oath made to observe the said statutes, crieth out, That all are perjured who consent to that her traitorous fact.

Speak now, O ye Papists! and defend your monitrous mistress; and deny, if ye can for shame, that she hath not uttered herself, to be born (alas, therefore!) to the ruin and destruction of noble England. Oh! who would ever have believed (I write now in bitterness of heart) that such unnatural cruelty should have had dominion over any reasonable creature! But the saying seems to be true, That the usurped government of an affectionate woman, is a rage without reason.

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that realm, which hath brought forth, which hath nourished, and so nobly maintained that wicked woman, should not have moved her heart with pity? Who seeth not now, that she, in all her doings, declareth most manifestly, that under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart? If God, I say, had not for our scourge, suffered her and her cruel council to have come to authority, then could never these their abominations, cruelty, and treason, against God, against his saints, and against the realm, whose liberties they are sworn to defend, so manifestly have been declared. And who ever could have believed, that proud Gardner, and treacherous Tunstall (whom all Papists praised, for the love they bore to their country), could have become so manifestly traitorous, not only against their solemn oaths, that they should never consent nor agree unto, that a foreign stranger should reign over England; but also, that they would adjudge the imperial crown of the same to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance, or lineal descent? O traiterous traitors! how can you for shame shew your faces!

It cometh to my mind, that upon Christmas-day, 1552, preaching in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and speaking against the obstinacy of the Papists, I made this affirmation, That whosoever in his heart was enemy to Christ's gospel and doctrine,

which then was preached within the realm of England, was enemy also to God, and secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth of England: for as they thirsted after nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquity could procure; so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and action intended against me did declare. But let my very enemies now say from their conscience, if those my words have not proved true.

What is the cause that Winchester, and the rest of his pestilent sect, so greedily would have a Spaniard to reign over England? The cause is manifest; for as that hellish nation furlmounteth all other in pride and whoredom, so, for idolatry, and vain, Papistical, and devilish ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very sons of superstition; and therefore are they found and judged by the progeny of Antichrist, most apt instruments to maintain, establish, and defend the kingdom of that cruel beast, whose head and wound is lately cured within England, which (alas, for pity!) must now be brought into bondage and thralldom, that pestilent Papists may reign without punishment.

But, O thou beast! (I speak to thee, Winchester, more cruel than any tiger) shall neither shame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not ashamed (thou bloody beast) to betray thy native country, and the liberties of the same? Fearest thou not to open such a door to all iniquity, that England should be made a common stew to Spaniards? Wilt thou recompense the benefits which thou hast received of that noble realm with such ingratitude? Rememberest thou not, that England hath brought thee forth; that England nourished thee; that England hath promoted thee to riches, honour, and high dignity? And wilt thou now (O wretched captive!) for all these manifold benefits received, be the cause that England shall not be England? Yea, verily, for so wilt thou gratify thy father the devil, and his lieutenant the pope, whom, with all his baggage, thou labourest now (with tooth and nail) to make flourish again in England; albeit, like a dissembling hypocrite, and double-faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of God's holy word, wrote, long ago, thy Book intituled, *True Obedience*, against that monstrous whore of Babylon, and her falsely usurped power and authority: but now (to thy perpetual shame) thou returnest to thy vomit, and art become an open arch-papist again. Furthermore, why seekest thou the

blood of Thomas Cranmer, of good father Hugh Latimer, and of that most learned and discreet man doctor Ridley? Dost thou not consider, that the lenity, sincere doctrine, pure life, godly conversation, and discreet counsel of these three, is notably known in more realms than England? Art thou not ashamed to seek the destruction of those, who laboured for the safeguard of thy life, and obtained the same, when thou justly deservedst death?

But, O thou son of Belial! well declarest thou, that nothing can modify the cruel malice, nor purge the deadly venom of him, in whose heart wickedness beareth the dominion: thou art like to Cain, and fellow to Judas the traitor; and therefore canst thou do nothing, but thirst for the blood of Abel, and betray Christ Jesus and his eternal verity.

Thus, dear brethren, must the sons of the devil declare their own impiety and ungodliness, that when God's vengeance (which shall not sleep) shall be poured forth upon them, all tongues shall confess, acknowledge, and say, That God is righteous in all his judgments; and to this end are cruel tyrants permitted and suffered for a time, not only to live in wealth and prosperity, but also to prevail and obtain victory, as touching the flesh, over the very saints of God, and over such as enterprize to resist their fury at God's commandment. But now to that which followeth.

The instrument and means wherewith Christ Jesus used to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguish of his disciples, is his holy word; for so it is written, 'But by and by Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good comfort, it is I, be not afraid.' The natural man (that cannot understand the power of God) would have desired some other present comfort in so great a danger; as, either to have had the heavens opened, to shew unto them such light in that darkness, that Christ might have been fully known by his own face; or else, that the winds and raging waves of the seas suddenly should have ceased; or some other miracle that had been subject to all their senses, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truly, equal it had been to Christ Jesus to have done any of these (or any work greater) as to have said, 'It is I, be not afraid;' but willing to teach us the dignity and effectual power of his most holy word, he useth no other instrument to pacify the great and horrible fear of his disciples, but his comfortable word, and lively voice: and this is not done only at one time, but whensoever his church is in such a strait and perplexity, that nothing ap-

pearth but extreme calamity, desolation, and ruin; then the first comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the means of his word and promise; as in the troubles and temptations of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Paul, may appear.

To Abraham was given no other defence, after that he had discomfited four kings (whose posterity and lineage, no doubt, he, being a stranger, greatly feared), but only this promise of God made to him by his holy word, 'Fear not, Abraham, I am thy buckler;' that is, thy protection and defence.

The same we find of Isaac, who flying from the place of his accustomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, got no other comfort nor conduct, but this promise only, 'I will be with thee.'

In all the journeys and temptations of Jacob, the same is to be espied; as when he fled from his father's house, for fear of his brother Esau; when he returned from Laban; and when he feared the inhabitants of the region of the Canaanites and Perizzites, for the slaughter of the Schemites committed by his sons; he received no other defence, but only God's word and promise.

And this in Moses, and in the afflicted church under him, is most evident; for when Moses himself was in such despair, that he was bold to chide with God, saying, 'Why hast thou sent me? For since that time I have come to Pharaoh, to speak in thy name, he hath oppressed this people; neither yet hast thou delivered thy people.'

This same expostulation of Moses declareth how fore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God; that is, That God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from such a tyrant's hand; or else, That he was mutable, and unjust in his promises. And this same, and sorer temptations, assaulted the people; for in anguish of heart, they both refused God and Moses (as we have before partly touched). And what means used God to comfort them in that great extremity? Did he straightway suddenly kill Pharaoh, the great tyrant? No. Did he send them a legion of angels to defend and deliver them? No such thing: but he only reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promises to them, which oftentimes they had before; and yet the rehearsal of the same wrought so mightily in the heart of Moses, that not only was bitterness and despair removed away, but also he was inflamed with such boldness, that without fear he went again to the presence of the king, after he had been threatened and repulsed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye knowing the word of God not only to be that whereby were created heaven and earth, but also to be the power of God to salvation to all that believe, the bright lantern to the feet of those that by nature walk in darkness, the life to those that by sin are dead, a comfort to such as are in tribulation, the tower of defence to such as are most feeble, the wisdom and great felicity of such as delight in the same: and to be short, you know God's word to be of such efficacy and strength, that thereby is sin purged, death vanquished, tyrants suppressed; and finally, the devil, the author of all mischief, overthrown and confounded: this, I say, I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy word, and most blessed gospel and voice of God (which once ye have heard, I trust, to your comfort) may now, in this hour of darkness, and most raging tempest, thirst and pray, that ye may hear yet once again this amiable voice of our Saviour Christ, 'Be of good comfort, it is I, fear not;' and also, that ye may receive some consolation from that blessed gospel which before ye have professed, assuredly knowing, that God shall be no less merciful unto you, than he hath been to others afflicted for his name's sake before you; and albeit that God speedily removeth not this horrible darkness, neither suddenly pacifieth this tempest, yet shall he not suffer his tossed ship to be drowned.

Remember, brethren, that God's vengeance plagued not Pharaoh the first year of his tyranny; neither did the dogs devour and consume both the flesh and bones of wicked Jezebel, when the first erected and set up her idolatry: and yet as none of them escaped due punishment, so did God preserve his afflicted church, in despite of Satan, and of his blind and most wretched servants; as he shall not fail to do in this great tempest and darkness within the realm of England. And therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of God's promises somewhat quicken your dull spirits; exercise yourselves now secretly, in revolving that which sometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your ears; and be every man now a faithful preacher unto his brother: if your communication be of Christ, assuredly he will come before you be aware: his word is like unto sweet-smelling ointment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved or handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of those that stand by; which is not so pleasant, if the ointment remain within the box, and the flowers stand or lie without touching or motion.

Mark well, dear brethren, before that Christ spake, his disciples judged him to have been some wicked spirit, which was to them no delightful favour; but when he speaketh, the sweet sound of his voice pierceth their hearts: for what comfort was in the hearts of his disciples, when they heard these words, 'Be of good comfort, it is I;' that is, Judge not that I am a spirit come to your destruction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: it is I, your Master; yea, your Master most familiar: it is I, whose voice and doctrine you know, for ye are my sheep: it is I, whose works you have seen, although perfectly ye considered not the same: it is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, be not afraid, this storm shall cease, and you shall be delivered.

What comfort, I say, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the disciples, hearing Christ's voice, and knowing him by the same, can neither the tongue or pen of man express, but only such as after long conflict and strife (which is betwixt the flesh and the spirit in the time of extreme troubles, when Christ appeareth to be absent) feel at last the consolation of the Holy Ghost, witness and declare.

And Peter giveth some external sign, what Christ's word wrought inwardly in his heart: for immediately after he heard his Master's voice, he saith, 'Lord, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee upon the waters.' Here it may be seen what Christ's voice had wrought in Peter's heart; truly not only a forgetting and contempt of the great tempest, but also such boldness and love, that he could fear no danger following, but assuredly did believe, that his Master Christ's puissance, power, and might was such, that nothing might resist his word and commandment; and therefore he saith, 'Command me to come;' as though he should say, I desire no more but the assurance of thy commandment: if thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; for assuredly I know, that the waters cannot prevail against me, if thou speak the word: so that whatsoever is possible unto thee, by thy will and word may be possible unto me.

Thus Christ, to instruct Peter further, and us by his example, condescended to his petition, and commanded him to come; and Peter quickly leaving the ship, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Christ. Thus far of Peter's fact, in which lieth great abundance of doctrine; but I will pass over all, that especially

appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the realm of England.

Before it is said, well beloved brethren, That sometimes the messengers of life are judged to be the very messengers of death; and that not only with the reprobate, but also with God's elect; as was Moses with the Israelites, Jeremiah with the city of Jerusalem, and Christ himself with his apostles: but that is not a sin permanent, and that abideth for ever with God's elect; but it vanisheth away in such sort, that not only they know the voice of their pastor, but also they earnestly study to obey and follow it, to the danger of their own lives: for this is the special difference betwixt the children of God, and the reprobate.

The one obeyeth God speaking by his messengers, whom they embrace with unfeigned love; and that they do, sometimes not only against all worldly appearance, but also against civil statutes and ordinances of men: and therefore in their greatest extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation.

The other always resisteth God's messengers, and hateth his word: and therefore, in their great adversity, God either taketh from them the presence of his word, or else they fall into so deadly despair, that although God's messengers be sent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by God's promises, nor follow the counsel of God's true messengers, be it never so perfect and fruitful. Hereof have we many evident testimonies within the Scriptures of God.

Of Saul it is plain, that God so left him, that neither would he give him answer by prophet, dream, nor vision.

To Ahaz king of Judah, in the great anguish and fear which he had conceived from the multitude of those that were combined against him, was sent Isaiah the prophet, to assure him by God's promise, that his enemies should not prevail against him; and to confirm him in the same, the prophet required him to desire a sign of God, either from the heaven, or beneath in the deep: but such was the deadly despair of him, that always had despised God's prophets, and had most abominably defiled himself with idolatry, that no consolation could enter into his heart, but desperately, and with a dissembling and feigned excuse, he refused all the offers of God.

And albeit God relieved this hypocrite for that time (which was not done for his cause, but for safety of the afflicted church), yet after escaped he not the vengeance of God.

The like we read of Zedekiah, the wretched and last king of Judah, before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, who in his great fear and extreme anguish, sent for Jeremiah the prophet, and secretly demanded of him, how he might escape the great danger that appeared, when the Chaldeans besieged the city. And the prophet boldly spake and commanded the king, if he would save his life and the city, to render and give up himself into the hands of the king of Babylon. But the miserable king had no grace to follow the prophet's counsel, because he never delighted in the prophet's doctrine, neither yet had shewed unto him any friendly favour: but even as the enemies of God, the chief priests and false prophets, required of the king, so was the good prophet ill used; sometimes cast into prison, and sometimes judged and condemned to die. The most evident testimony of the wilful blinding of wicked idolaters, is written and recited in the same prophet Jeremiah, as followeth:

After that the city of Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, the king led away prisoner, his sons and chief nobles slain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the disobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the land, to make use of and possess the same, who called upon the prophet Jeremiah, to know the will and pleasure of God concerning them, whether they should remain still in the land of Judah, as was appointed and permitted by the Chaldeans; or if they should depart, and fly into Egypt: to certify them of this their duty, they desire the prophet to pray unto God for them, who, condescending and granting their petition, promised to keep back nothing from them which the Lord God should open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witness, made a solemn vow, to obey whatsoever the Lord should answer unto him. But when the prophet, by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, and assured revelation and knowledge of his will, commanded them to 'remain still in the land' that they were in, promising them, if they would so do, That 'God would there plant them;' and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them; and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the king of Babylon. But contrariwise, 'if they would not obey the voice of the Lord,' but would, against his commandment, go to Egypt, thinking that there they should live in rest and abundance, without any fear of war, and want of victual, when the very plagues which they feared should

come upon them, and take them: for, saith the prophet, it shall come to pass, that all men that obstinately will go to Egypt, there to remain, shall die, either by sword, hunger, or pestilence: but when the prophet of God had declared unto them this plain sentence and will of God, I pray you, what was their answer? The text declared it, saying, 'Thou speakest a lie, neither hath the Lord our God sent thee unto us, commanding that we should not go into Egypt; but Baruch the son of Neriah provoketh thee against us, that he may give us into the power of the Chaldees, that they might kill us, and lead us prisoners into Babylon.' And thus they refused the counsel of God, and followed their own fancies.

Here may be espied in this people great obstinacy and blindness; for nothing which the Lord had before spoken by the prophet Jeremiah had fallen in vain; their own eyes had seen the plagues and miseries which he had threatened take effect in every point, as he had spoken before; yea, they were yet green and fresh both in mind and presence (for the flame and fire wherewith Jerusalem was consumed was then scarcely quenched); and yet could they not believe his threatenings then spoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitful counsel, given for their great wealth and safeguard. And why so? Because they never delighted in God's truth, neither had they repented of their former idolatry, but still continued and rejoiced in the same, as manifestly appeareth in the forty-fourth chapter of the same prophet; and therefore would they and their wives have been in Egypt, where all kind of idolatry and superstition abounded, that they (without reproach or rebuke) might have their bellies full thereof, in despite of God's holy laws and prophets.

In writing hereof it came to my mind, that after the death of that innocent and most godly king Edward VI. while that great tumult was in England, for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority (I mean of Mary that now reigneth in God's wrath), in treating the same argument in a town in Buckinghamshire, named Hammerham, before a great congregation, with sorrowful heart and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation:

'O England! now is God's wrath kindled against thee, now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatened a long while, by his true prophets and messengers; he hath taken from thee the crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head; and this appeareth to be

only the beginning of sorrows, which appeareth to increase; for I perceive, that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division to be in the whole realm, which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O England, England! dost thou not consider, that the commonwealth is like a ship sailing on the sea; if thy mariners and governors shall consume one another, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time? O England, England! (alas!) these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldst not know the most happy time of thy gentle visitation: But wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his fight, and the estate of thy commonwealth shall be preserved.

‘But, O England, England! if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes, as do maintain and advance idolatry (such as the emperor, who is no less enemy unto Christ than ever was Nero); if for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes, thou returnest to thine old abominations, before used under the Papistry, then assuredly, O England! thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favours thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve Antichrist.’

‘This, and much more, in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of such as yet may bear record (through God’s permission), I then pronounced: the thing that I then most feared, and which also my tongue spake (that is, the subversion of the true religion, and bringing in of strangers to reign over that realm), this day I see come to pass in mens counsels and determinations; which if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then so assuredly as my God liveth, and as those Israelites that obstinately returned into Egypt again were plagued to the death, so shall England taste what the Lord hath threatened by his prophets before. God grant us true and unfeigned repentance of our former offences. God, for his great mercies sake, stir up some Phinchas, Elijah, or Jehu, that the blood of abominable idolaters may pacify God’s wrath, that it consume not the whole multitude. Amen.’

But to return to our matter. Of the premises it is plain, That such as contemn God’s eternal verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by God’s messengers; neither yet can they

follow the counsel of God, be it never so profitable; but God giveth them over, and suffereth them to wander in their own vanities, to their own perdition: whereas contrariwise, such as bear a reverence to God’s most holy word, are drawn by the power and virtue of the same, as before is said, to believe, follow, and obey that which God commandeth, be it never so hard, so unapparent or contrary to their affections; and therefore, as God always keepeth appointment with them, so are they wondrously preserved, when God’s vengeance is poured forth upon the disobedient. And this is most evident in Abraham, at God’s commandment, leaving his country, and going forth he knew not whither; which was a thing not so easy to be done, as it is to be spoken or read. It appeareth also in Abraham believing God’s promises, against all appearance; and also in offering his soon Isaac, against all fatherly love and natural affection. The same is shown in Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Micajah, and others of the prophets, who, at the commandment of God’s word, boldly passed to the presence of tyrants, and delivered their message to them, as charge was given.

But lest that some should alledge, that these examples appertain nothing to a multitude, because they were done in singular men; I answer, We will consider what the power of God’s word hath wrought in many at one instance. After that the Israelites had made the golden calf, and so fallen into idolatry; Moses, coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations (the honour that they gave to an idol), and the people spoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and shame, was inflamed with such zeal, indignation, and wrath, that, first, he broke the tables of the commandments; then, he beat their calf to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cause them to understand, that their bellies should receive that which they worshipped for God; and finally, he commanded that every man that was of God should approach and come nigh unto him; and the sons of Levi, saith the text, came to him; to whom he said, ‘Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let every man put his sword upon his thigh, and go in and out from port to port in the tents, and let every man kill his brother, his neighbour, and every man his nigh kinsman: and the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses; and there fell the same day of the people nigh three thousand.’ It is evident by this history, that the power of God’s word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one

time in a great number against nature, and compelled them to be executors of God's vengeance, regarding not the affinity or nearness of blood; and also, that their doing so pleased Moses the ambassador of God, who said unto them, 'Consecrate your hands this day every man in his own son, and in his own brother, that a fortunate benediction may be given to you this day.' As though he should say, Your father Levi profaned and defiled his hands, killing the Shechemites in his blind rage, which moved his father Jacob, in his last testament, to condemn, execrate, and curse that his most vehement and ungodly zeal; but because in this work you have preferred God's commandment before blood, nature, and also affection, in place of that rebuke and curse, you have obtained blessing and praise.

The like puissance and virtue of God's word working in a multitude, is to be read in the prophet Jeremiah; who, perceiving the time of God's vengeance to draw nigh, and the city of Jerusalem to be besieged, boldly crieth out in his open sermon, 'He that remaineth in this city shall die, either by sword, by hunger, or by pestilence. But he that shall go forth to the Chaldeans, shall live, and shall find his soul for a prey.' This might have appeared a deceivable, seditious, and ungodly sermon, to command subjects to depart from the obedience and defence of their native prince, rich citizens and valiant soldiers from their possessions and strong holds, and to desire them to render themselves, without all manner of resistance, into the hands of strangers, being their enemies: What carnal man would not have judged the persuasions of the prophet most foolish and false? And yet in the hearts of such as God had elected and appointed to life, so effectually wrought this sermon, that a great number of Jerusalem left their king, their city, riches, and friends, and obeyed the prophet's counsel; for so may be espied by the answer of Zedekiah the king, when Jeremiah counselled him, that he should render himself into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, he saith, 'I fear these Jews that are fled to the Chaldeans, lest perchance they give me into their hands.'

Hereof it is plain, that many were departed from him, whom he feared more than he did his enemies.

Many more testimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily God's word, spoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes; as in the hearts of the Ninevites, who, at Jonah's preaching, condemned their former religion, con-

versation, and life; and in the hearts of those three thousand, who, at Peter's first sermon, openly made after Christ's ascension, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were soon after baptized. But these premises are sufficient to prove, as well that God's word draweth his elect after it, against worldly appearance, against natural affections, and against evil statutes and constitutions; as also, that such as obey God, speaking by his ministers, never lacketh just reward and recompence: for only such as obeyed the voice of the prophet, found favour and grace, to the praise and glory of God's name, when his just judgments took vengeance upon the disobedient. But now briefly, by notes, we will touch the rest of Peter's act, and Christ's merciful deliverance of him; which is the end of all troubles sustained by God's elect.

And first, That Peter seeing a mighty wind, was afraid, and so when he began to sink, he cried, 'Lord, save me,' are three things principally to be noted.

The first, From whence cometh the fear of God's elect?

The second, What is the cause that they faint and fall in adversity?

The third, What reflecteth with them in the time of this fear and down-sinking?

And first, it is plain, That so long as Peter had his eyes fixed upon Christ, and attended upon no other thing but the voice of Christ, he was bold and without fear: but when he saw a mighty wind (not that the wind was visible, but the vehement storm and waves of the sea that were stirred up and carried by the wind were seen), then began he to fear, and to reason, no doubt, in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his ship, for so might Christ have come to him: but now the storm and rage of wind was so vehement, that he could never come to Christ, and so he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, that the only cause of our fear that have left our ship, and through the storms of the sea would go to Christ with Peter, is, that we more consider the dangers and lets that are in our journey, than we do the almighty power of Him that hath commanded us to come to himself. And this is a sin common to all the elect and chosen children of God, that whensoever they see a vehement trouble appearing to stop them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and doubt of God's power and good will.

With this fear was Abraham struck when he denied his wife. This storm saw Moses, when he

refused to be God's messenger. And Hezekiah's fore complaint declareth, That he more believed, considered, and looked upon the proud voice, and great power of Sennacherib, than he did upon the promises of the prophet.

This I note for this purpose, That albeit this late and most raging storm within the realm of England, hath taken from you the presence of Christ for a time, so that you have doubted whether it was Christ which you saw before, or not; and albeit that the vehemency of this contrary wind, that would drive you from Christ, hath so employed your ears, that almost you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himself, when he cried, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are burdened, and I shall refresh you: pass from Babylon, O my people, &c.' Albeit, I say, that this raging tempest hath struck such fear in your hearts, that almost all is forgotten; yet, dear brethren, despair not, such offences have chanced to God's elect before you. If obstinately ye shall not continue, yet shall you find mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agreeable to your profession, to have looked to Christ alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but such perfection is not always with man, but happy is he that feeleth himself to sink.

The cause that God's elect begin to faint and sink down in the time of great adversity, is fear and unbelief, as in Peter doth appear; for so long as he neither feared danger, neither mistrusted Christ's word, so long the waves (above, and contrary to their nature) did obey and serve his feet, as they had been the dry, solid, and sure ground: but so soon as he began to despair and fear, so soon began he to sink: to instruct us, that lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us through such perils as he is incapable to nature; but when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to sink down in every danger: as in the histories before rehearsed it may appear, and in the prophets it is plain; for Elijah, at God's commandment, passing to the presence of king Ahab, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to consume his sacrifice, by which also he was made so bold, that in the presence of the king he feared not to kill his false prophets. But the same Elijah, hearing of the managing and threatenings of cursed Jezebel, and considering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reasonable means be appeased, saw a storm, and feared the same, and so he prepared to fly; which he doth not without some sinking down; for he began to rea-

son and dispute with God, which never can be done by the creature without foolishness and offence. The same we find in Jeremiah, and many more.

But the question may be asked, 'Seeing Christ knew before what should happen to Peter, why did he not hinder him from coming from his boat? or else, Why did he not so confirm him in faith, that he should not have doubted?'

To which may be answered, Albeit that we could render no reason of this work of Christ's, yet were the work itself a sufficient reason; and it were enough to answer, That so it pleased Him, who is not bound to render a reason for all his works: but yet, if we shall mark with diligence to what office Peter was to be called, and what offences long rested with him, we shall find most just and necessary causes of this work of Christ, and down-sinking of Peter. It is plain, that Peter had many notable virtues, as a zeal and fervency towards Christ's glory, and a readiness and forwardness to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, that of long continuance there rested with Peter a desire of honour and worldly rest (and that moved him to persuade Christ that he should not die). There rested with him pride, presumption, and a trust in himself; which presumption and vain trust in his own strength, unless it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Christ's flock: and such sins can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confessed. Doubtless, so arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know nor confess the infirmity of itself, until such time as it hath a trial by manifest experience: this is most plain by Peter, long after this tempest; for when Christ said to his disciples, 'This night shall ye all be offended in me,' Peter boldly bragged, and said, 'Albeit that all should be offended, and should fly from thee, yet shall not I be offended; but I am ready to go to prison, and to die with thee.' This was a bold presumption, and an arrogant promise, spoken in contempt of all his brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Christ's admonition; but the more that Christ shewed him, that he should deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the contrary; as though his Master Christ (the Author of all truth, yea, rather Truth itself) should make a lie: and therefore of necessity it was, that he should prove in experience, what was the frailty of man's nature, and what was the imbecility and weakness of faith, even in those that were his chief apostles, who had continually heard his heavenly doctrine, seen daily his wonderful mi-

raels, who had got so many admonitions from him, and who also had followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecillity and weakness of faith, if Peter had not proved and felt it in himself, neither could he rightly have praised God's infinite goodness, and embraced his free mercy, neither had he been apt and meet to have been a pastor to the weak sheep and tender lambs of Christ, but he should have been as proud a contemner and despiser of his weak brethren as the arrogant Papists, who contemn and despise all godly and learned men, though they be a thousand times more excellent than themselves.

But to correct and inform both presumptuous arrogance, and frail imbecillity and weakness of faith, Peter was permitted once to sink, and thrice most shamefully to refuse and deny his Master; to the intent, that, by the knowledge of his own weakness, he might be the more able to instruct others of the same; and also, that he might more largely magnify God's free grace and mighty deliverance: and that Christ taught him before his falling, saying, 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:' as though Christ should have said, Peter, yet art thou too proud to be a pastor, thou canst not stoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak sheep, thou dost not yet know thine own infirmity and weakness, and therefore canst thou do nothing but despise the weak ones; but when thou shalt be instructed by experience of thine own self, what hid iniquity lurketh within the nature of man, then shalt thou learn to be humble, and stoop among other sinners; and also shalt be an example to others which after shall offend, as thou didst; so that, if they repent as thou didst, they need not despair of mercy, but may trust most assuredly in Christ to obtain grace, mercy, and forgiveness of sins, as thou didst.

This fruit have we to gather, dear brethren, of Peter's down-sinking in the sea (which was a secret knowledge and privy admonition, that he after should deny Christ), that we are assured by the voice of Christ, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we cry with Peter, we shall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our denial of Christ, as he did, we shall find the same grace and favour at Christ's hand that he found.

But now let us touch the third note, which is this, That with God's elect in their greatest fear and danger there resteth some small spark of faith, which by one means or other declareth itself, albeit the afflicted person, in fear or danger, doth

not presently perceive the same; as here, in Peter, is most clear and manifest: for perceiving himself to sink down, he cried, 'Lord, save me;' which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and fore-perplexed heart, whose nature is (I mean of faith) to hope against hope; that is, against all appearance or likelihood to look for help and deliverance, as the words of Peter witness that he did. He saw nothing but the raging sea ready to swallow him up; he felt nothing but himself sinking down in body, and fore-troubled in heart; and yet he cried, 'Lord, save me;' which words first declare, that he knew the power of Christ was able to deliver him; for foolishness it had been to have called for the help of him, whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

The calling for Christ's help by prayer, in this extreme danger, declared also that Peter had some hope, through his gracious goodness, to obtain deliverance: for, in extreme perils, impossible it is that the heart of man can cry for God's help, without some hope of his mercy.

It is also to be noted, That in his great danger Peter murmureth not against Christ; neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Christ, albeit at his commandment he had left his boat. He saith not, 'Why lettest thou me sink, seeing that I have obeyed thy commandment?' Moreover, Peter asketh help of Christ alone, who, he was persuaded, both could and would help at a pinch. He cried not upon Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David; neither upon any other of the patriarchs, prophets, or saints departed; neither yet upon his own fellows in the boat, but upon Christ, at whose commandment he had left the boat.

All these things together considered, declare, that Peter, in this his extreme fear and danger, had yet some spark of faith (albeit in that present jeopardy he had neither consolation nor comfort); for these premises are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this;

'And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith! wherefore didst thou doubt? And when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased; and they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.'

Hereof first is to be noted, That God is always nigh to those that call upon him faithfully; and

so willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear nor extreme danger hinder his almighty hand: Peter was sinking down, and looked for no other thing but present death, and yet the hand of Christ prevented him. That which was visibly and openly done to Peter in that his great peril, is invisibly and secretly done to Christ's holy church, and to the chosen members of Christ's mystical body, in all ages.

How nigh and ready was the hand of God to deliver his people Israel, when they were almost overwhelmed with despair, in the days of Moses and Esther, the history doth witness! How nigh was God to Daniel amongst the lions, to Jonah in the whale's belly, to Peter in the prison, is likewise most evidently declared in the Holy Scriptures! How suddenly, and beyond all expectation, was David many times delivered from Saul's tyranny, his own heart confessed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to sing, saying, 'He sent from above, and hath delivered me; he hath drawn me forth of many waters!'

Open your ears, dear brethren, and let your hearts understand, that as our God is unchangeable, so is not his gracious hand shorted this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the storm that bloweth against us is fore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but if we unfeignedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lord's hand is nigher than the sword of our enemies.

The sharp rebuke that Christ Jesus gave to Peter, teacheth us, That God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his elect, but maketh them manifest, to the end that the offenders may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

That Christ called Peter of little faith, argueth and declareth (as we before have noted), That Peter was not altogether faithless, but that he fainted, or was uncertain in his faith; for so foundeth the Greek term *ὀλιγόπιστος*; whereof we ought to be admonished, that in passing to Christ through the storms of this world, is not only required a fervent faith in the beginning, but also a constancy to the end, as Christ saith 'He that continueth to the end shall be saved;' and St. Paul, 'Unless a man shall strive lawfully, he shall not be crowned.' The remembrance of this ought to put us in mind, that the most fervent man, and such as have long continued in profession of Christ, is not yet sure to stand at all hours, but that he is subject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty; as the

apostle teacheth us, saying, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall;' for if Peter, that began so fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Christ, what ought we to fear, in whom such fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worst, and by the knowledge of our own weakness, with the apostles incessantly to pray, 'O Lord! increase our faith.' Christ's demand and question, asking Peter, 'Why doubtest thou?' containeth in itself a vehemency, as if he should have said, Whether doubtest thou of my power, or of my promises, or of my good-will? If my power had not been sufficient to have saved thee, then could I neither have come to thee through the stormy sea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou began to come to me; and if my good-will had not been to have delivered thee and thy brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the tempest to devour and swallow you up: but considering that your eye saw me present, your ears heard my voice, and thou Peter especially knew the same, and obeyed my commandment, why then doubtest thou? Beloved brethren, if this same demand and question were laid to our charge, we should have less pretence of excuse than had Peter; for he might have alledged, That he was not advertised that any great storm should have risen betwixt him and Christ, which justly we cannot alledge; for since that time that Christ hath appeared unto us by the brightness of his word, and called upon us by his lively voice, he hath continually blown in our ears, that persecution and trouble should follow the word that we professed; which days are now present. 'Alas! then, why doubt we through this storm to go to Christ? Support, O Lord! and let us sink no further.'

Albeit that Peter fainted in faith, and therefore was worthy most sharply to be rebuked, yet doth not Christ leave him in the sea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempest to continue; but first they entered both into the ship, and thereafter the wind ceased; and lastly, their ship arrived, without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured.

O blessed and happy are those that patiently abide this deliverance of the Lord! The raging sea shall not devour them; albeit they have fainted, yet shall not Christ Jesus leave them behind in the stormy sea, but suddenly he shall stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall place them in the ship amongst their brethren; that is, he shall conduct

them to the number of his elect and afflicted church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world.

The majesty of his presence shall put to silence this boisterous wind, the malice and envy of the devil, which so bloweth in the hearts of princes, prelates, kings, and of earthly men, that altogether they are combined against the Lord, and against his Anointed Christ; in despite of whom, he safely shall conduct, convey, and carry his fore troubled flock to the life and rest for which they travel.

Albeit, I say, that sometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit that weakness in faith permitted them to sink, yet from the hand of Christ can they not be rent; he may not suffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them: but for the glory of his own name he must deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection, and keeping; and therefore must he keep and defend such as he hath received of his Father, from sin, from death, from devil and hell.

The remembrance of these promises is to mine own heart such occasion of comfort, as neither can any tongue or pen express: but yet peradventure some there are of God's elect, that cannot be comforted in this tempest, by any meditations of God's election or defence; but rather beholding such as sometimes boldly have professed Christ's verity, now to be returned to their accustomed abominations; and also, themselves to be overcome with fear, that against their knowledge and conscience they stoop to an idol, and with their presence maintain the same; and being at this point, they begin to reason, whether it be possible that the members of Christ's body may be permitted so horribly to fall to the denial of their Head, and in the same to remain for long continuance: and from this reasoning they enter in dolour, and from dolour they begin to sink to the gates of hell and ports of despair.

The dolour and fear of such I grant to be most just: for, Oh! how fearful is it, for the love of this transitory life, in the presence of man, to deny Christ Jesus, and his known and undoubted verity!

But yet to such as be not obstinate contemners of God, and of all godliness, I would give this my weak counsel, That rather they should appeal to mercy, than, by the severe judgments of God, to pronounce against themselves the fearful sentence of condemnation; and to consider, that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: that the Lord killeth, and giveth life; he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again.

But I will not that any man think, that, by this my counsel, I either justify such as horribly are returned back to their vomit, either yet that I flatter such as maintain that abominable idol with their daily presence: God forbid; for then were I but a blind guide, leading the blind headlong to perdition: only, God knoweth the dolour and sobs of my heart, for such as I hear daily to turn back. But the cause of my counsel is, That I know the conscience of some to be so tender, that whensoever they feel themselves troubled with fear, wounded with anguish, or to have slidden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themselves to be unworthy of God's mercies for ever; to such direct I my counsel, to those, I mean, that rather offend by weakness and infirmity, than of malice and set purpose. And I would that such should understand and consider, That all Christ's apostles fled from him, and denied him in their hearts: and also I would they should consider, That no man from the beginning stood in greater fear, greater danger, nor greater doubt, than Peter did, when Christ's presence was taken from him; yea, no man felt less comfort, nor saw less appearance of deliverance; and yet neither were the disciples rejected for ever, neither was Peter permitted to drown in that deep.

But some shall object, Faith was not utterly quenched in them; and therefore they got deliverance, and were restored to comfort.

Answer. That is it which I would that the afflicted and troubled consciences in this age should consider, That neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting nor backsliding, can utterly destroy and quench the faith of God's elect, but that always there remaineth with them some root and spark of faith, howbeit in their anguish they neither feel nor can discern the same. Yet some may demand, How shall it be known in whom the spark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, seeing that all fly from Christ, and bow down to idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impossible, that one man should wittingly judge of another (for that could not Elijah do of the Israelites in his days), but every man may easily judge of himself: for the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of necessity, in process of time, it will send forth some branches that may be seen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in Peter, compelling him to cry upon Christ, when he was in greatest necessity. Wilt thou have a trial, whether the root of faith remaineth with thee or

not? (I speak to such as are weak, and not to proud contemptuers of God.)

1. Feelest thou thy soul fainting in faith, as Peter felt his body sink down in the waters?

2. Art thou as fore afraid that thy soul should drown in hell, if thou consentest to, or obeyest idolatry, as Peter was that his body should drown in the waters?

3. Desirest thou as earnestly the deliverance of thy soul, as Peter did the deliverance of his body?

4. Believest thou that Christ is able to deliver thy soul, and that he will do the same according to his promise?

5. Dost thou call upon him without hypocrisy, now in the day of thy trouble?

6. Dost thou thirst for his presence, and for the liberty of his word again?

7. Mournest thou for the great abominations that now overflow the realm of England?

If these premises, I say, remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether destitute of faith, neither shalt thou descend to perdition for ever; but mercifully shall the Lord stretch forth his mighty hand, and shall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell: but by what means he shall perform that his merciful work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define; but this is requisite, and is our bounden duty, that such means as the hand of our God shall offer (to avoid idolatry) we refuse not, but that willingly we embrace the same, albeit it partly disagree to our affections. Neither yet think I that suddenly, and by one means, shall all the faithful in England be delivered from idolatry: no, it may be that God will so strengthen the hearts of some of those that have fainted before, that they will resist idolatry to the death; and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance: of others God may so touch the hearts, that they will rather chuse to walk and go as pilgrims, from realm to realm, suffering hunger, cold, heat, thirst, weariness, and poverty, than that they will abide (having all abundance) in subjection to idolatry; to some may God offer such occasion, that in despite of idolaters (be they princes or prelates), they may remain within their own dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to Bael, neither yet lack the lively food of God's most holy word.

If God offer unto us any such means, let us assuredly know, That Christ Jesus stretcheth forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to perish; and therefore let us not refuse it, but with gladness let us

take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thousand means (very unlikely to man's judgment) whereby he will deliver, support, and comfort his afflicted church. And therefore, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, considering that the remembrance of Christ's banquet (whereof, I doubt not, some of you have tasted with comfort and joy) is not yet utterly taken from your mind, and that we have entered in this journey at Christ's commandment; considering that we find the sea-winds blow contrary and against us, as before was prophesied unto us, and that we see the same tempest rage against us, that ever hath raged against Christ's elect church; and considering also, that we feel ourselves ready to faint, and like to be oppressed by these stormy seas; let us prostrate ourselves before the throne of grace, in the presence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitterness of our hearts let us confess our offences, and for Christ Jesus' sake let us ask deliverance and mercy, saying, with sobs and groanings from our troubled hearts:

COMPLAINT.

O GOD! the Heathen are entered into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, and have profaned thy blessed ordinance: in place of thy joyful signs, they have erected their abominable idolatry: the deadly cup of all blasphemy is restored again to their harlot's hand, thy prophets are persecuted, and none are permitted to speak thy word freely: the poor sheep of thy pasture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of men's traditions. But, O Lord! thou knowest how sore they grieve us; but such is the tyranny of these most cruel beasts, that plainly they say, 'They shall root us out at once, so that no remembrance shall remain of us on earth.'

O Lord! thou knowest that we are but flesh, and that we have no power of ourselves to withstand their tyranny; and therefore, O Father! open the eyes of thy mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confess, O Lord! that we are punished most justly, because we lightly regarded the time of our merciful visitation. Thy blessed gospel was in our ears like a lover's song, pleasing us for a time, but, alas! our lives did not agree with thy statutes and holy commandments; and thus we acknowledge, that our iniquity hath compelled thy justice to take the light of thy word from the whole realm of England. But be thou mindful, O Lord! that it is thy truth

which we have professed, and that thy enemies blaspheme thy holy name, and our profession, without cause: thy holy gospel is called heresy, and we are accused as traitors, for professing the same. Be merciful therefore, O Lord! and be salvation unto us in this time of our anguish; albeit our sins accuse and condemn us, yet do thou according to thine own name. We have offended against thee, our sins and iniquities are without number, and yet art thou in the midst of us. O Lord! albeit that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirst our souls for the comfort of thy word: correct us therefore, but not in thy hot displeasure; spare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance to be in rebuke for ever. Let such, O Lord! as now are most afflicted, yet once again praise thy holy name before thy congregation: repress the pride of those blood-thirsty tyrants; consume them in their anger, according to the reproach which they have laid against thy holy name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy saints required of their hands: delay not thy vengeance, O Lord! but let death devour them in haste; let the earth swallow them up, and let them go down quick to the hells: for there is no hope of their amendment, the fear and reverence of thy holy name is quite banished from their hearts; and therefore yet again, O Lord! consume them; consume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counsels to effect; but, according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the snare which they have prepared for thine elect. Look upon us, O Lord! with the eyes of thy mercy, and shew pity upon us thy weak and sore oppressed flock: gather us yet once again to the wholesome treasures of thy most holy word, that openly we may confess thy blessed name within the realm of England. Grant this, O heavenly Father! for Christ Jesus thy Son's sake. Amen.

If on this manner, or otherwise (as God shall put in our hearts), without hypocrisy, in the presence of our God (respecting more his glory than our private wealth), continually we pour forth our complaint, confession, and prayers; then, so assuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel these present troubles, shall our God himself rise to our defence; he shall confound the counsels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of such as most wrongfully trouble us. He shall send Jehu to execute his just judgments against idolaters, and against such as obstinately defend them. Yea, the chief men

of our times shall not escape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The siterers and maintainers of her abominations shall drink the cup of God's wrath. And, in despite of the devil, shall yet the glory of Christ Jesus, and the brightness of his countenance, so shine in our hearts by the presence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his gospel, that altogether we shall fall before him, and say, 'O Lord! thou art our God, we shall extol thee, and shall confess thy name, for thou hast brought wonderful things to pass according to thy counsels, which albeit they appear to be far off, yet are they true and most assured. Thou hast brought to ruin the places of tyrants; and therefore shall the afflicted magnify thee, and the city of tyrannical nations shall fear thee. Thou hast been, O Lord! a strong defence to the poor, a sure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time of his anguish.'

This, no doubt, dear brethren, shall one day be the song of God's elect within the realm of England, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon these disobedient and blood-thirsty tyrants, who now triumph in all abominations: and therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, abide patiently the Lord's deliverance, avoiding and flying such offences as may separate and divide you from the blessed fellowship of the Lord Jesus at his second coming. Watch and pray, resist the devil, and row against this vehement tempest, and shortly shall the Lord come to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppressed with anguish and care; but then shall ye so rejoice, that through gladness you shall say, 'Behold, this is our God, we have waited upon him, and he hath saved us:' this is our Lord, we have long thirsted for his coming, now shall we rejoice and be glad in his salvation. Amen. The great Bishop of our souls, Jesus our Lord, so strengthen and assist your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of the Holy Ghost, that earthly tyrants, nor worldly torments, have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that kingdom, which for the elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom be all praise and honour, now and ever. Amen.

Remember me, dear brethren, in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Yours, with sorrowful heart,

JOHN KNOX.

L E T T E R

DELIVERED TO

QUEEN MARY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

JOHN KNOX, Minister of GOD'S Word, in the Year of our Lord 1556: And augmented and explained by the Author, 1558.

To the most Excellent Princess MARY, Dowager Regent of SCOTLAND.

MADAM,

THE cause which moved me to present this my Supplication unto your majesty, enlarged, and in some places explained (being in the realm of Scotland in the month of May 1556, I caused to be presented to your majesty), is the incredible rage of such as bear the title of Bishops, who, against all justice and equity, have pronounced against me a most cruel sentence, condemning my body to fire, my soul to damnation, and all doctrine taught by me, to be false, deceivable, and heretical: if this injury did tend to me alone, having the testimony of a good conscience, with silence I could pass the matter, being assured, that such as they curse and expel their synagogues, for such causes, shall God bless, and Christ Jesus receive into his eternal society: but considering that this their blasphemy is vomited forth against the eternal truth of Christ's gospel (whereof it hath pleased the great mercy of God to make me a minister), I cannot cease to notify, as well to your majesty, as to them, that so little am I afraid of their tyrannical and furnished sentence, that in place of the picture (if God impede not my purpose) they shall have the body to justify that doc-

trine, which they (members of Satan) blasphemously do condemn. Advertising your majesty in the mean time, That from them, their sentence and tyranny, and from all those that list to maintain them in the same, I do appeal to a lawful and general council; beseeching your majesty to take in good part, that I call you for witness, that I have required the liberty of tongue, and my cause to be heard before your majesty, and the body of the realm, before that any such process was laid against me, as this my letter directed to your majesty doth testify.

The Beginning of the LETTER.

THE eternal providence of the same God, who hath appointed his chosen children to fight in this transitory and wretched life, a battle strong and difficult, hath also appointed their final victory by a marvellous fashion, and the manner of their preservation in their battle more marvellous. Their victory standeth not in refusing, but in suffering; as our Sovereign Master pronounceth to his disciples, that 'in patience they should possess their souls.' And the same foresaw the prophet Isaiah,

when that he painteth forth all other battles to be with violence, tumult, and blood-shedding; but the victory of God's people to be in quietness, silence, and hope; meaning, that all others that obtain victory, do not see themselves to resist their adversaries, to shed blood, and to murder; but so do not the elect of God, but all things they sustain at the commandment of him, who hath appointed them to suffer; being most assuredly persuaded, that then only they triumph, when all men judge them oppressed: for in the cross of Christ always is included a secret and hid victory, never well known, till the sufferer appear altogether to be, as it were, exterminated; for then only did the blood of Abel cry to God, when proud Cain judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguished: and so, I say, their victory is marvellous; and how that they can be preserved, and not brought to utter confusion, the eye of man perceiveth not: but he, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions, toucheth the hearts of such as to man's judgment have power to destroy them, with very pity and compulsion, to save his people, as (in times past) he did the hearts of the Egyptian midwives, to preserve the men-children of the Israelites, when command was given by Pharaoh for their destruction; the heart of Pharaoh's daughter likewise, to pity Moses in his infancy, exposed to the danger of the waters; the heart of Nebuchadnezzar, to preserve the captives alive, and liberally to nourish the children that were found apt to letters; and finally, the heart of Cyrus, to set at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thralldom. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God manifest itself towards his elect from time to time; for two causes especially: *First*, To comfort his weak warriors in their manifold temptations, letting them understand, that he is able to compel such as sometimes were enemies to his people, to fight their cause, and to promote their deliverance. And *secondly*, To give a testimony of his favour to them, that by all appearance did live before (as St. Paul speaketh) wanting God in the world, as strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, and without the league of his merciful promise and free grace made to his church: for who would have affirmed, That any of these persons before named, had been of that nature and clemency, before occasions were offered unto them? But the works of mercy shewed to the afflicted, have left to us assurance, that God used them as vessels of his honour: for pity and mercy shewed to Christ's afflicted flock, as they never lacked re-

ward temporal; so, if they be continued, and be not changed into cruelty, are assured signs and seals of everlasting mercy to be received from God, who by his Holy Spirit moveth their hearts to shew mercy to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.

ADDITION.

THIS preface I used, to give your majesty occasion more deeply to consider, what hath been the condition of Christ's members from the beginning, that, in so doing, ye might see, that it is no new thing, that the saints of God are oppressed in the world; that ye, moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might also study rather to save them from murder (although by the wicked counsels of many ye were provoked to the contrary), than to engage yourself to the corrupt clergy, who are servants to sin and Satan, whose fury is bent against God and his verity. But this after followeth in our letter, which thus proceedeth:

LETTER.

YOUR majesty perchance doth wonder, to what purpose those things are recited; and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occasion is offered to me (a worm most wretched) to recite the same at this present; for I have looked rather for the sentence of death, than to have written to your majesty in these last and most wicked days, in which Satan so blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are condemned, their cause never being tried.

ADDITION.

HEREOF ye cannot be ignorant: for besides these whom ye hear from time to time most cruelly to be murdered in France, Italy, Spain, Flanders, and now of late years beside you in England, for no other cause, but that they profess Christ Jesus to be the only Saviour of the world, the only Mediator betwixt God and man, the only sacrifice acceptable for the sins of all the faithful; and finally, the only Head to his church: besides these, I say (of whom ye hear the report), ye have been witness, that some within the realm of Scotland, for the same cause, most cruelly have been murdered, whose cause was never heard with indifference; but murderers, sitting in the seat of justice, have shed the blood of Christ's true witnesses; which albeit did then appear to be consumed with

fire, yet it is recent in the presence of Him for whose cause they did suffer, and ceaseth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abel, to fall upon not only such as were immediate and next authors of that murder; but also, upon all those, that maintain those tyrants in their tyranny, or that do consent to their beastly cruelty, or that do not stop, having the power in hand. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but hear and consider the voice of the Son of God; 'Fulfill, saith he, the measure of your fathers, that all the blood, which hath been shed since the blood of Abel the Just, till the blood of Zacharias, &c. may come upon this generation.' Hereby it is evident, that the murderers of our time, as well as in the time of Christ, are guilty of all the blood that hath been shed from the beginning. Fearful I grant is the sentence, yet it is most equal and just; for whosoever sheddeth the blood of any one of Christ Jesus' members, for professing of his truth, consenteth to all the murder which hath been made since the beginning for that cause. So that as there is one communion of all God's elect, of whom every member is participant of the holy justice of Christ, so is there a communion among the reprobate, by which every one of the serpent's seed are criminal and guilty of all iniquity which the whole body committeth, because they are altogether against Christ Jesus, and against his eternal verity, every one serving Satan the prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree, and estate. The murderers of their brethren which this day live, are guilty with Cain of the blood of Abel: the kings and princes, which by power oppress the people of God, and will not suffer that the people truly worship God as he hath commanded, but will retain them in Egypt, are brethren and companions to Pharaoh: the prelates and priests, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life have infected all realms where they reign, have, with their fathers the old Pharisees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; so that neither they themselves will enter, neither yet will they suffer others to enter into the same: and the multitude, blinded, some by ignorance, some by fear, and by insatiable appetite of their part of the spoil (for Christ being crucified, the soldiers parted amongst them his garments), are conjured to defend those murderers, proud pestilent prelates, against Christ Jesus, and against his poor flock; and therefore, because of one crime, they are all guilty (which is, of treason and rebellion against Christ), of one torment they

shall all taste, which is, of the fire that never shall be quenched.

And herein ought you, madam, to be circumspect and careful, if that ye hope for the life to come: for if the consent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindness, bringeth destruction and death (as Christ our Master doth witness, saying, 'If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch'), what shall become of the proud and malicious contemners of God's verity offered? But our doctrine, perchance, shall be denied to be the verity. Whereunto I answer, That so was the doctrine of Noah, of Moses, of the prophets, of Christ Jesus, and of his apostles; and yet the original world perished by water; Sodom and Gomorrah by fire descending from heaven; Pharaoh and his adherents in the Red Sea; the city of Jerusalem, and the whole nation of the Jews, by punishment and plagues, notwithstanding that the whole multitude cried, 'This is a new doctrine, this is heresy, and tendeth to sedition. Our petition is, That our doctrine may be tried by the plain word of God; that liberty be granted to utter and declare our minds at large in every article and point which now are in controversy: which if ye deny, giving ear to Christ's enemies (who condemn his doctrine for heresy), ye shall drink the cup of God's wrath with them. But now to the former letter.

LETTER.

I DOUBT not but the rumours which have come to your majesty's ears of me have been such, that, if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live upon the earth; and wonder it is, that the voice of the multitude should not so have inflamed your majesty's heart with just hatred of such an one, as I am accused to be, that all access to pity should have been shut up. I am traduced as an heretic, accused as a false teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldly honour and estimation) may easily kindle the wrath of magistrates, where innocence is not known. But blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fire of displeasure as yet in your majesty's heart (which of late days I have understood), that Satan is frustrated of his enterprise and purpose, which is to my heart no small comfort; not so much (God is my witness) for any benefit that I can receive in this miserable life, by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink, is ap-

pointed by the wisdom of him whose counsels are not changeable), as that I am for that benefit, which I am assured your majesty shall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others, that most unjustly are and shall be accused, as that your majesty hath begun towards me, and my most desperate cause; that is, if that by godly wisdom ye shall study to bridle the fury and rage of them, who, for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard not the cruel murders of simple innocents: then shall he, who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the merciful, and promiseth that a cup of cold water, given for his name's sake, shall not lack reward, first cause your happy government to be praised in this present age, and in posterities to come; and lastly, recompense your godly pains and study with that joy and glory, which 'eye hath not seen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortal creature.'

ADDITION.

IF Christ's words were esteemed true, that of every idle word an account shall be given, and that nothing is so secretly done which shall not come to knowledge and light, I suppose that the tongues of men should be better bridled, than impudently to speak their pleasure in matters unknown; for albeit that the true fear of God should not move them to speak truth, yet would I think (if any spark of humanity remained) that worldly shame should prevent them from lying. When reasoning was before your majesty, what man it was that preached in Ayr, and divers were of diverse opinions; some affirming, that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrary; a prelate, not of the least pride, said, Nay, No Englishman, but it is Knox that knave. It was my lord's pleasure so to baptize a poor man, the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things like uncertain to him, *viz.* of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit, lamenting more that such pestilent tongues have liberty to speak in the presence of princes, than that I am sorry for any hurt that their venom can do to me in body or fame; for what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of the Papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please. The report of your majesty's moderation, as well at that time as after, when suit was made for my taking, moved me to

write this my other Letter; in which albeit I have not played the orator, trimming and decking the matter for the pleasure of itching and delicate ears, yet doth my conscience bear me record, That with simplicity I have advertised you of a mortal danger, as this portion subsequent shall prove.

LETTER.

SUPERFLUOUS and foolish it shall appear to many, that I, a man of low estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonish a princess so honourable, endued with wisdom and graces singular: but when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be given to magistrates, which, no doubt (if it be true honour), containeth in itself, in lawful things, obedience, and in all things love and reverence; when further I consider the troublesome state of Christ's true religion, this day oppressed by blindness of men; and lastly, the great multitude of flatterers, and the small number of them that boldly and plainly dare speak the naked verity in presence of their princess, and principally in the cause of Christ Jesus: these things, I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my enterprise, I am compelled to say, That,

Unless in your government, and in using of power, your majesty be found different from the multitude of princes and head-rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed, shall be your dejection to torment and pain everlasting. This proposition is sore, but, alas! it is so true, that, if I should conceal and hide it from your majesty, I committed no less treason against your majesty, than if I did see you by imprudence take a cup which I knew to be poisoned or invenomed, and yet would not admonish you to abstain from drinking of the same.

The religion which this day men defend by fire and sword, is a cup invenomed, of which whosoever drinketh (except that, by true repentance, he after drink of the water of life), drinketh therewith damnation and death.

How, and by whom it hath been invenomed, if it were no more tedious to your majesty to read or hear, than it is painful to me to write or rehearse, I would not spare the labour. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admonish your majesty of the danger; which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferring your majesty's salvation, and the

salvation of the people (now committed to your charge), before any corporal benefit that can rebound to myself.

ADDITION.

As Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holy ordinances of God's precepts, I mean of the first table, in the place of the spiritual honouring of God, introducing men's dreams, inventions, and phantasies; so hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted this precept of the second table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers: for now the devil hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at least will not learn what appertaineth to God, and what to Cesar. But because the Spirit of God hath said, Honour the king; therefore, whatsoever they command, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But heavy shall the judgment be, which shall apprehend such blasphemers of God's Majesty, who dare be so bold as to affirm, that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed against himself. Against God it is, that, for the commandment of any prince, be he never so potent, men shall commit idolatry, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his word, or confirm by their silence, wicked, and blasphemous laws, made against the honour of his majesty: men, I say, that so do, give no true obedience; but as they are apostates from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling against God: only they which to the death resist such wicked laws and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithful to their princes; as were the three children in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, and Daniel in the days of Darius (the Persian emperor), whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notify as well to those tyrants, as to all ages following, the great blasphemy, which in their rage and fury they committed against God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both so suddenly should have been called, if the three children had bowed amongst the rest, and Daniel had not declared the confession of his faith; which was, with windows open to pray towards Jerusalem, manifestly thereby declaring, that he did not consent to the blasphemous law and decree, which was established by the king and his-council. Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus, of his eternal verity, do invent and devise against such as begin to

detect their impiety; they are accused to be authors of sedition, raisers of tumults, violators of common orders, &c.

I answer with the prophet Isaiah, That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjunction which the foolish multitude so esteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of public order contrary to God's commandment; for Christ Jesus himself coming to take the spoil from the strong-armed, who before did keep his house in quietness, is not coming to send peace, but a sword, and to make a man dissent from his father, &c. His prophets before him, and apostles after him, feared not to break public order, established against God, and in so doing, to move, as it were, the one-half of people, nations, and cities against the other; and yet I trust that none, except the hired servant of Satan, will accuse Christ of sedition, nor the apostles of the troubling of commonwealths. True it is, that the most wholesome medicine most troubleth (for a time) the body replenished with wicked and corrupted humours; but the cause thereof is known to be, not in the medicine, but in the body subject to malady: even so the true word of God, when it entereth to fight where Satan hath borne dominion (as he still doth in the whole Papistry) cannot but appear to be occasion of great trouble. But, madam, more profitable it is, that the pestilent humours be expelled with pain, than that they be nourished to the destruction of the body. The Papistical religion is a mortal pestilence, which shall assuredly bring to death eternal the bodies and souls from the which it is not purged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes, God calleth upon you, beware that ye shut not up your ears; judge not the matter after the vileneis of my body, whom God hath appointed ambassador and messenger unto you, but with reverence and fear consider Him whose message I bear. I come to you in the name of the Eternal God, and of Christ Jesus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath established Sovereign Judge over all flesh, before whose throne you must make account with what reverence you hear such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or think, That you doubt whether I be sent of God or no; I cry unto you, That the religion which the princes and blinded Papists maintain with fire and sword, is not the religion of Christ; that your proud prelates are none of Christ's bishops; I admonish you, that Christ's flock is oppressed by them: and therefore I require, and that yet again in the name of the Lord Jesus, that with us-

differency I may be heard to preach, to reason, and to dispute in that cause; which if you deny, you declare yourself to bear no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true religion.

LETTER.

BUT you think, peradventure, That the care of religion is not committed to magistrates, but to the bishops and state ecclesiastical, as they term it: but deceive not yourself, for the negligence of bishops shall no less be required of the hands of the magistrates, than shall the oppression of false judges; for they unjustly promote, foster, and maintain the one and the other; the false and corrupt judge to spoil the goods, and to oppress the bodies of the simple; but the proud prelates do kings maintain to murder the souls, for which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed; and that they do, either by with-holding from them the true word of life, or else by causing a pestilent doctrine to be taught unto them, such as now is taught in the Papistical churches. I know that you wonder, how that the religion which is universally received can be so damnable and corrupted: but if you consider, That ever from the beginning the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people, to whom he spake by his law and prophets); if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holy Ghost, complaining, that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth have raged, made conspiracies, and holden counsels against the Lord, and against his Anointed Christ Jesus; further, if ye shall consider the question which Jesus himself doth move in these words, 'When the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth?' and lastly, if your majesty shall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of all his holy precepts, which this day reign without punishment, upon the face of the whole earth; for, as Hosea complaineth, there is no verity, there is no mercy, there is no truth this day among men, but lies, perjury, and oppression overflow all, and blood toucheth blood; that is, every iniquity is joined to another: if deeply, I say, your majesty will contemplate the universal corruption that this day reigneth in all states, then shall your majesty cease to wonder, that many are called, and few chosen, and you shall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition: the universal defection, whereof St. Paul doth prophesy, is easy to be espied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident, and religion is not

judged nor measured by the plain word of God, but by custom, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's heart to be vain at all times, accept the counsels and consents of men, for a religion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your majesty be deceived, God cannot lie, God cannot deny himself; he hath witnessed from the beginning, That no religion pleaseth him, except that which he by his own word hath commanded and established: the verity itself pronounceth this sentence, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men;' and also, 'All plantation, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.' Before the coming of his well-beloved Son in the flesh, severely he punished all such as durst enterprise to alter or change his ceremonies and statutes; as in Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, Abihu, is to be read: and will he now, after that he hath opened his counsel to the world by his only Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his Holy Spirit, speaking in his apostles, he hath established the religion, in which he would have his true worshippers to abide unto the end; will he now, I say, admit mens inventions, in the matter of religion, which he reputed for damnable idolatry? If men and angels would affirm, That he will or may do it, his own verity shall convict them of a lie; for this sentence he pronounceth, 'Not that which seemeth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; add nothing unto it, diminish nothing from it.' Which, sealing up his New Testament, he repeateth in these words; 'That which ye have, hold till I come,' &c. And therefore yet again, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, which is chief and principal, your majesty must dissent from the multitude of rulers, or else you can possess no portion with Christ Jesus in his kingdom and glory.

ADDITION.

KNOWING by what craft Satan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindness, I added these two former points, *viz.* That ye should not think yourself free from the reformation of religion, because ye have bishops within your realm; neither yet that ye should judge that religion most perfect, which the multitude by wrong custom have embraced. In these two points doth Satan

bushly labour; *First*, That no civil magistrate presume to take cognizance in the cause of religion, for that must be deferred to the determination of the church: *secondly*, That impossible it is that that religion should be false, which so long time, so many councils, so great a multitude of men, and so diverse nations, have allowed, authorized, and confirmed. What is the duty of magistrates, and what power the people have in such cases granted by God, my purpose is to write in a Letter to the nobility and Estates of the realm; and therefore, to avoid tediousness and repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching the second, if ye rightly consider the testimonies of Scriptures, which I have before alledged, I trust ye shall find that objection sufficiently answered; for if the opinion of the multitude ought always to be preferred, then did God injury to the original world, for they were all of one mind, *viz.* conjured against God (except Noah and his family). And if antiquity of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not only the idolatry of the Gentiles, but also the false religion of Mahomet, be preferred to the Papistry; for both the one and the other is more ancient than is the Papiistical religion: yea, Mahomet had established his Alcoran before any pope in Rome was crowned with a triple crown. But as touching antiquity, I am content with Tertullian to say, Let that be the most pure and perfect religion, which shall be proved most ancient; for this is a chief point, wherein I will join with all the Papiists on the earth, that their religion (such as it is this day) is not of such antiquity, as is that which we contend to be the true and only religion, acceptable before God; neither yet that their church is the catholic church; but that it is of late days, in respect of Christ's institution, crept in and devised by man, and therefore am bold to affirm it odious and abominable: for this is our chief proposition, that in the religion of God, his own word ought only to be considered; that no authority of man or angel ought in that case to be respected. And as for their councils, when the matter shall come to trial, it shall be easily seen for whom the most godly and most ancient councils shall most plainly speak. I will prove by a council, that of more authority is the sentence of one man (founded upon the simple truth of God) than is the determination of the whole council, without the assurance of God's word: but that all their determinations, which we oppugn, are not only maintained without any assurance of Scriptures, but also are established against the truth

of the same; yea, and for the most part against the decrees of the former councils, I offer myself evidently to prove. But now to the rest of the former letter.

L E T T E R.

AN orator and God's messenger also might justly require of you now (by God's hand promoted to high dignity) a motherly pity upon your subjects; a justice inflexible to be used against murderers and common oppressors; a heart void of avarice and partiality; a mind studious and careful for maintenance of that realm and commonwealth (above whom God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honourable), with the rest of virtues, which not only God's Scriptures, but also writers (illuminated only with the light of nature) require in godly rulers: but vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where religion is corrupted; for like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till first he have a being and life, so to do works pleasing in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of Jesus Christ, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolaters: and therefore the most godly princes, Josiah, Hezekiah, and Jehoshaphat, seeking God's favour to rest upon them, and upon their people, before all things, began to reform the religion; for it is as the stomach within the body, which, if it be corrupted, of necessity it infecteth the whole body: and therefore (often I repeat that, which to be done is most necessary) if your majesty pretend to reign with Christ Jesus, then it becometh you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realm is so deformed, that no part of Christ's ordinances remain in their first strength and original purity; which, I praise God, to me is less difficult to prove, than dangerous to speak: and yet neither the one nor the other I fear; partly, because the love of eternal life quencheth the terror of temporal death; and partly, because I would, with St. Paul, with myself accursed from Christ (as touching earthly pleasure), for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your majesty; which thing, word, and very deed, and not bare word or writing, shall witness and declare, if I may purchase the liberty of tongue but forty days only.

A D D I T I O N.

The wise and eloquent Democritus had sometimes a familiar sentence, 'That honest it was to commend such works as were worthy of praise; but to

‘ praise things that were wicked, could not proceed ‘ but from a deceivable mind :’ and Themistius, a philosopher of great fame, seeing the hall of Iovian the Roman emperor replenished with flatterers, said, ‘ Of their manners it may be espied, that ‘ more they worship the sceptre and the purple than ‘ God ;’ signifying, that they little regarded whether the emperor was godly or ungodly, so that they might retain themselves in favour with him. Albeit that those were Ethnics, and neither had the knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given so plain a confession, to declare themselves enemies to all iniquity (as we have done by baptism, and by our whole profession of Christianity), yet do their words condemn no small number of us, and chiefly such as be conversant with princes : for who in these miserable days judgeth himself to have offended, albeit he praise, allow, and maintain whatsoever the princes and higher powers devise ; yea, although it be to oppress and spoil the poor, to pull from them their very skins, and, as the prophet saith, ‘ To break their bones, and ‘ to cut them in pieces, as flesh for the cauldron or ‘ pot ;’ yet, I say, that the princes shall not lack judges to cry, It is right, it is for the commonwealth, for defence of the realm, and ease of the subjects ; so that the state of times is even now such, as when the prophet complained, saying, ‘ The princes ask, and the judge is ready to give,’ not his own, but the life and blood of the poor. As soon as a great man hath spoken the corruption of his mind, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatsoever he speaketh. And let the princes be of what religion they please, that is all one to the most part of men ; so that, with denial of God, of his honour, and religion, they may retain the friendship of the court. But, alas ! how miserable be princes that are so abused, and how contagious a pestilence be such flatterers to commonwealths, empires, and realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to paint out the mischief, which from them proceedeth to such as give ear unto them. The ancient writers compare them to harlots, to ravens, and to more ravenous beasts ; and not without cause : for as harlots can never abide, that their lovers should return to repentance and soberness of mind ; so cannot flatterers sustain, that such as they deceive shall come to right judgment : and as ravens pick out the eyes of carrion, and ravenous beasts devour the same ; so do flatterers, being more cruel, pick at the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their understanding and judgment, do expose

them to be devoured in body and soul to Satan.

This we have by profane writers only : but the Holy Spirit teacheth us this infallible truth, That where iniquity reigneth in a commonwealth, and none is found boldly and openly to reprehend the same, that there shall sudden vengeance and destruction follow. For thus it is written and pronounced by the prophet Ezekiel, ‘ Shalt thou not ‘ judge the city of blood, which hath made idols ; ‘ whose rulers shed blood to the uttermost of their ‘ power ? They have despised my holy things ; ‘ they have devised iniquity, and have performed ‘ the same. The conjuration of prophets hath ‘ gathered up the riches, and whatsoever is precious within the same. The priests violently ‘ have torn and rent my law. The people of the ‘ land have wrought deceitfully ; they have oppressed the poor, and have done violence to the ‘ stranger without judgment : and I have sought ‘ of them a man to repair the hedge, and to stand ‘ in the gap before me, but I have found none ; ‘ therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon ‘ them, and in the fire of my hot displeasure I ‘ have consumed them.’ Advert, madam, for these are not the words of mortal man, but of the Eternal God ; and were not spoken against Jerusalem only, but against every realm and nation that so offendeth. The sins that here be named, are idolatry in all, avarice and cruelty in the princes and rulers, conjuration of the prophets, to defend the wicked deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people ; and finally, an universal silence of all men, none being found to reprehend these enormities. Would to God, that I might with safety of conscience excuse you, your council, and the idolaters of that realm, from any of these crimes before named !

The idolatry which is committed, is more evident than that it can be denied : the avarice and cruelty, as well of yourself, as of such as be in authority, may be known by the facts ; for same carrieth the voice of the poor (oppressed by intolerable taxes) not only to us here, in a strange country, but, I am assured, to the ears of the God of Hosts. The conspiracy and conjuration of your false prophets is known to the world ; and yet is none found so faithful to God, nor merciful to your majesty, that freely will and dare admonish you to repent, before that God rise himself in judgment. When I name repentance, I mean no outward shew of holiness, which commonly is found in hypocrites ; but I mean a true conversion to the Lord God

from your whole heart, with a condemning of all superstition and idolatry, in which ye have been nourished, which with your presence ye have recommended, and to your power maintained and defended. Unless, I say, that this poison be purged from your heart (be your outward life never so glittering before the world), yet, in the presence of God, it is but abominable. Yea, further, I say, That where this venom of the serpent (idolatry I mean) lurketh in the heart, it is impossible but that, at one time or other, it shall produce pestilent fruits, albeit peradventure not openly before men, yet before God no less odious, than the facts of murderers, publicans, and harlots; and therefore, in my former Letter, I said, that superfluous it was to require reformation of manners, where the religion is corrupted; which yet again I repeat, to the end, that your majesty more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the rest of my former Letter.

LETTER.

I AM not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion; and partly I consider, that your power, madam, is not so free, as a public reformation perchance would require. But if your majesty shall consider the danger and damnation perpetual, which inevitably hangeth upon all maintainers of a false religion, then shall the greatest danger easily devour and swallow up the smaller; if ye shall consider, that either you must serve God to life everlasting, or else serve the world to death and damnation; then, albeit that man and angel should dissuade you, ye will chuse life, and refuse death. And if further ye shall consider, that the very life consisteth in the knowledge of the only true God, and of his Son Christ Jesus; and that true knowledge hath annexed with it God's true worship and honour, which requireth a testimony of his own will, expressed by his word, that such honour doth please him: if you do earnestly meditate these things aforesaid, then, albeit ye cannot do suddenly what ye would, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye may. Your majesty cannot hastily abolish superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastors, of whom speaketh Ezekiel the prophet, which to a public reformation is requisite and necessary; but if the zeal of God's glory be fervent in your majesty's heart, ye will not by wicked laws maintain idolatry, neither will ye suffer the fury of bishops to murder and devour the poor members of Christ's body, as in times past

they have been accustomed: which thing if either by blind ignorance ye do, or yet for the pleasure of others within this realm permit to be done, then, except you speedily repent, ye and your posterity shall suddenly feel the depressing hand of Him who hath exalted you: you shall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternal, against whom ye address the battle; and that it is he that moderateth the times, and disposeth kingdoms, ejecting from authority such as be disobedient, and placing others according to his good pleasure: that it is he that glorifieth them that do glorify Him, and poureth forth contempt upon princes that rebel against his graces offered.

ADDITION.

IN writing of this parcel, as I remembered the impediments which might call you back from God, and from his true obedience; so did I consider what occasion you had to tremble and to fear before his Majesty, and to undergo the loss of all worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do consider, that your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and unstable, for you have it but by permission of others; and seldom it is, that women do long reign with felicity and joy. Your most special friends moreover, blinded by the vanity of this world, yea, being drunken with the blood of that Roman harlot, are mortal enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his true religion. These things may easily abash the mind of a woman not confirmed by grace; but yet if you will a little consider with me the causes why that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrors shall suddenly vanish. I do not esteem that thing greatest, which peradventure some others do, *viz.* That if ye shall enterprise to innovate any thing in matters of religion, that then ye shall lose your authority, and also the favour of your carnal friends.

I look further, *viz.* To the judgments of God, who hath begun already to declare himself angry with you, with your seed and posterity; yea, with the whole realm, above which it should have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two sons were suddenly taken from you, within the space of six hour., and after your husband bereft, as it were, by violence, of life and honour; the memorial of his name, succession, and royal dignity, perishing with himself: for albeit the usurped abuse, or rather tyranny of some realms, have permitted women to succeed to the honour of

their fathers, yet must their glory be transferred to the house of a stranger: and so I say, That with himself was buried, his name, succession, and royal dignity, as he himself did apprehend in dying: and in this, if ye espy not the anger and hot displeasure of God (threatening you, and the rest of your posterity, with the same plague), ye are more obstinate than I would wish you to be. I would ye should ponder and consider deeply with yourself, that God useth not to punish realms and nations with such rare plagues without great cause; neither useth he to restore to honours and glory the house which he beginneth once to cast down, till repentance of the former crimes be found. You may perchance doubt, what crimes should have been in your husband, you, or the realm, for the which God should so grievously have punished you.

I answer, The maintenance and defence of most horrible idolatry, with the shedding of the blood of the saints of God, who laboured to notify and rebuke the same; this, I say (other iniquities omitted), is such a crime before the eyes of his Majesty, that for the same he hath poured forth his extreme vengeance upon kings, and upon their posterity, depriving them of honours and dignity for ever; as by the histories of the Books of the Kings is most evident. To Jeroboam it is said, 'Because I have exalted thee from the midst of the people, and have made thee prince over my people Israel, I have rent the kingdom from the house of David, for idolatry also, and have given it unto thee: but thou hast not been as David my servant, &c. but thou hast done wickedly above all that have gone before thee; for thou hast made to thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me, and hast cast me behind thy back: therefore shall I bring affliction upon the house of Jeroboam, and I shall destroy to Jeroboam all that piss against the wall (signifying thereby the male-children), and shall cast forth the posterity of Jeroboam, as dung is cast forth, till it be consumed.'

This sentence was not only executed against this idolater, but also against the rest of idolaters in that realm, as they succeeded one after another: for to Baasha, whom God used as an instrument to root out the seed of Jeroboam, it is said, 'Because thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast caused my people to sin, that thou shouldst provoke me in their sins; therefore shall I cut down the posterity of Baasha, and the posterity of his house, and shall make thy house as the

'house of Jeroboam. He that shall die to Baasha in the city, him shall dogs eat; and he that shall die in the field, him shall the fowls devour.' Of the same cup, and for the same cause, drank Elah and Ahab; yea, and the posterity of Jehu, following the footsteps of their forefathers.

By these examples you may evidently espy, That idolatry is the cause why God destroyeth the posterity of princes; not only of those that first invent abominations, but also of such as follow and defend the same. Consider, madam, that God hath begun very sharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband: he hath begun, I say, to declare himself angry; beware that ye provoke not the eyes of his Majesty. It will not be the haughty looks of the proud, the strength of your friends, nor multitude of men, that can justify your cause in his presence; if you presume to rebel against him (and against him you rebel) if you deny my most humble request which I make in his name, and it is this; With the hazard of mine own life I offer to prove, That religion which now you maintain, to be false, deceivable, and abomination before God; and that I shall do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holy, and infallible word: if this, I say, you deny (rebelling against God), the favour of your friends shall little avail you, when he shall declare himself enemy to you; which, assure yourself, he will shortly do, if you begin to display the banner of your malice against him. Let not the prosperity of others, be they princes, queens, kings, or emperors, imbolden you to contemn God, and his loving admonition: they shall drink the cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realm in these quarters (except it that next lieth to you) hath he so manifestly stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you, and your realm; and therefore it becometh you first to stoop, except that you will have the threatenings pronounced by Isaiah the prophet, ratified unto you; *viz.* That your sudden destruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking of a potherd, which is broken without pity; so that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water: whereby the prophet doth signify, that the proud contemnors of God, and of his admonitions, shall so perish from all honours, that they shall have nothing worthy of memorial behind them in the earth; yea, if they do leave any thing, as it shall be unprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God; and therefore, thus proceedeth my former Letter:

LETTER.

How dangerous soever it shall appear to the flesh, to obey God, and to make war against the devil, the prince of darkness, pride, and superstition; yet if your majesty look to have yourself and seed to continue in honour worldly and everlasting, subject yourself betimes under the hand of Him that is omnipotent, embrace his will, despise not his testament, refuse not his graces offered; when he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear. Be not led away with the vain opinion, that your church cannot err: be ye most assuredly persuaded, that so far as in life ye see them degenerate from Christ's true apostles, so in religion are they further corrupted. Lay the book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that which I say: which if ye, with fear and reverence, obey, as did Josiah the admonitions of the prophets, then shall he, by whom kings do reign, crown your battle with double benediction, and reward you with wisdom, riches, glory, honour, and long life, in this government temporal; and with life everlasting, when the King of kings (whose members now do cry for your help), the Lord Jesus, shall appear in judgment, accompanied with his angels, before whom ye shall make account of your present government, when the proud and disobedient shall cry, 'Mountains, fall upon us, and hide us from the face of the Lord.' But then it shall be too late, because they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, move your heart so to consider, and accept the things that be said, that they be not a testimony of your just condemnation in that great day of the Lord Jesus, to whose omnipotent Spirit I unfeignedly commit your majesty.

ADDITION.

WHEN Jeremiah the prophet, at the commandment of God, had written the sermons, threatenings, and plagues, which he had spoken against Israel and Judah, and had commanded them to be read by Baruch his scribe, because himself was excommunicated, and forbidden to enter into the temple; by the providence of God it came to pass, that Michaiah the son of Gemariah, hearing the the said sermons, passed to the king's house, and did communicate the matter with the rest of the princes; who also, after they had read the same volume of Jeremiah's preachings, did not conceal

the truth from Jehoiakim, who then did reign in Jerusalem. But the proud and desperate prince commanding the book to be read in his presence, before he had heard three or four leaves of the same, did cut it, and cast it into the fire, notwithstanding that some of the princes, I think not all, made request in the contrary. But the prophet was charged by God to write again, and to say to Jehoiakim, 'Thus saith the Lord, thou hast burnt this book, saying, Why hast thou written in it according to this sentence? Assuredly the king of Babylon shall come, and shall destroy this land, and shall make it void of men and beasts: therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim the king, There shall not be one left alive, to sit in the seat of David: their carcases shall be cast to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night (whereby the prophet did signify the most vile death, and most cruel torment), and I shall visit the iniquity of himself, and of his seed and servants: and I shall bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have spoken against them: albeit they would not hear.'

This is not written, madam, for that time only, but to assure us, that the like punishment abideth the like contemners, of what state, condition, or degree, that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having testimony of a good conscience, that I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion of his Holy Spirit (for the request of the faithful brethren, in things lawful, and appertaining to God's glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the Holy Ghost). But how ye did accept the same my former writing, I do not otherwise than by conjectures understand: whether ye did read it to the end, or not, I am uncertain: one thing I know, That ye did deliver it to one of your prelates, saying, 'My lord, will ye read a pasquil?' As charity persuadeth me to interpret things doubtfully spoken in the best sense, so my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince on earth) compelleth me to say, That if no more ye esteem the admonition of God, than the cardinals do the scolding of pasquils, that then he shall shortly send you messengers with whom ye shall not be able in that manner to jest. If my person be considered, I grant my threatenings are no more to be feared, than be the merry sports which fearful men do father upon Pasquillas in Rome.

But, madam, if ye shall deeply consider, that God useth men (yea, and most commonly those

that are of lowest degree, and most abject before the world) to be his messengers and ambassadors, not only to notify his will to the simple people, but also to rebuke the most proud tyrants and potent princes, then will ye not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the vessel. For ye are not ignorant, that the most noble wine is inclosed within the tun made of frail wood, and that the precious ointment is often kept within the pot made of clay. If further ye shall consider, that God will do nothing, touching the punishment of realm, and nations, which he will not reveal to his servants; the prophets, whose tongues he will compel to speak sometimes contrary to the appetites and desires of their own hearts, and whose words he will perform, be they never so unlikely to the judgment of men; if these ye do deeply weigh, then will ye fear the thing which presently is not seen. Elias was but a man, as St. James doth witness, like to his brethren; and yet at his prayer was Ahab the idolater, and all Israel with him, punished three years and six months; God shutting up the heaven, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth for the space before written. And, in the end, God so wrought by him, that Baal's priests were first confounded, and after justly punished. And albeit that Jezebel sought his blood, and by oath had determined his death; yet as she was frustrated of her intent, so could she not keep her own bones from the dogs; which punishment the prophet (God so ruling his tongue) had before appointed to that wicked woman.

Albeit, madam, that the messengers of God are not sent this day with visible miracles, because they

teach no other doctrine than that which is confirmed with miracles, from the beginning of the world; yet will not he (who hath promised to take charge over his poor and little flock to the end) suffer the contempt of their embassage to escape punishment and vengeance: for the Truth itself hath said, 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that contemneth you, contemneth me.' I did not speak unto you, madam, by my former letter, neither yet do I now as Pasquillus doth to the pope, and his carnal cardinals, in the behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come in the name of Christ Jesus, affirming, That the religion which ye maintain, is damnable idolatry; which I offer myself to prove by the most evident testimony of God's Scriptures: and, in this quarrel, I present myself against all the Papists in the realm; desiring no other armour but God's holy word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to understand my petition, to know the truth, and unfeignedly to follow the same. Amen.

REVELATION, xxi. 6, 7, 8.

'I am the beginning and the end. I will give to him that is athirst of the water of life freely. He that overcometh, shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.'

EXHORTATION TO ENGLAND,

For the speedy Embracing of CHRIST's Gospel, heretofore, by the Tyranny of MARY, suppressed and banished. 1559.

HEBREWS, vi. 7, 8.

The Earth which drinketh in the Rain, that oft cometh upon it, and bringeth forth Herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth Blessing of God: But the Ground which beareth Thorns, is reprov'd, and near unto Cursing, whose End is to be burned.

To the Realm of ENGLAND, and to all the Estates within the same, JOHN KNOX wisheth true Repentance to be given from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of Wisdom, Dilection, and Understanding.

AFTER that I had somewhat considered, what from the beginning have been the great mercies of God towards his afflicted people; and what also have been his severe judgments executed against such as, either preferring darknes to light, did follow the devices and inventions of men; either that, enraged by the malice of Satan, have declared themselves open enemies to God, and to his verity revealed; I thought it my duty, in few words, to require of thee, and that in God's name, O England! in general, the same repentance and true conversion unto God, that I have required of these to whom before particularly I wrote: for, in very deed, when in dolour of heart I wrote this former Letter, I neither looked, nor could believe, that the Lord Jesus would so suddenly knock at thy gate, or call upon thee in thy open streets, offering himself to pardon thy iniquity; yea, to enter into thy house, and so to abide, and make his habitation with thee, who so disobediently had rejected his yoke, so disdainfully had trodden under foot the blood of his testament, and so cruelly had murdered these that were sent to call thee to repentance. This thy horrible ingratitude considered, I did rather look for punishments and plagues, univ'rsally to have been poured forth, than for mercy, by the sound of his trumpet, so suddenly to have been offered to any within that miserable Ile. But when I did more deeply weigh, that such is the infinite goodness of God, and that such also are the weight

beams of his most just judgments, that whensoever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his word, any realm, nation, province, or city (so that of mercy he becometh to them Conductor, Teacher, Protector, and Father), he never casteth off the same care and fatherly affection, which in his word he doth once pronounce, until they do utterly declare themselves unworthy of his presence.

When this, I say, I did consider and weigh, I was in judgment somewhat reformed; for I find that such was his care and constant love to the whole seed of Abraham (I mean, of those that descended of Jacob), that, albeit in many things they provoked him to anger, yet did his infinite goodness ever find, and make a way by which his mercy was sensibly felt of the people, even in their greatest extremities: for not only did he often pardon their offences, long keep them in the land which he had promised, and given to the seed of Abraham, but also he was with them in fire and water; yea, when they were as rotten carrion (buried, as it had been in their graves, in Babylon) yet did he lay in pledge the glory of his own name for their deliverance, yea, and faithfully, above man's expectation, did he perform it; for he broke down the pride of Babylon, and so did open the prison, and broke up the iron-gates which held them in that thralldom. And why so? For my own name's sake, saith he, will I do this, and my glory will I give to no

‘ other.’ Thus was his love and fatherly care fo constant and immoveable, that nothing could utterly change it from his people, until his dearest Son, Christ Jesus, did come of them and amongst them, to notify and declare that sovereign felicity promised to Abraham; I mean, that all nations should be blessed in his seed, which was Christ Jesus, who coming amongst his own, was of them rejected, denied, refused, and shamefully put to death upon a cross betwixt two thieves. And yet so tender was God’s care over them, that (before their wicked and polluted hands were externally almost washed from his blood) he sent unto them the message of reconciliation, not only unto those that were at Jerusalem, but even to such as were dispersed amongst the Gentiles; as in the Acts of the Apostles is plainly witnessed: for this prerogative had ever the Jews, that first to them were offered the glad tidings of the kingdom of Christ, until such a time as they declared themselves, by open blasphemies, continual resistance, and cruel persecution, most worthy to be deprived of that honour. This long sufferance and careful calling of that unthankful people, proceeded from the same fountain, from which their first vocation did proceed and flow, that is, from his eternal goodness; which did so long fight against their malice, that all creatures must justify God in his fearful, but yet most just judgments once executed, and yet remaining upon that rebellious people.

The same order, I see, doth God keep with thee, O thou happy and most unhappy England! Happy! not only because thy God, by his own hand, hath oft delivered thee from corporal bondage of divers and strange nations, as of Saxons Romans, Goths, and Danes; but especially, for that by the power of his eternal verity (and that of his free grace without thy deserving) he did of late years break and destroy the intolerable yoke of thy spiritual captivity, and brought thee forth as it had been from the bottom of hell, and from the thraldom of Satan (in which thou wast held blind by idolatry and superstition), to the fellowship of his angels, and to the possession of that rich inheritance prepared to his dearest children, with Christ Jesus his Son. But, O unhappy, and more than unhappy! that hast declared thyself so unthankful and rebellious to so loving and merciful a Father, who first gave thee life, when thou didst lie polluted in thy blood, and dead in thy sin, and now doth suffer himself to be thy God, Governor, and Father, after that thou most traiterously, conspiring with Satan by solemn oath, hast renounced his verity. O unhappy, and more

than unhappy art thou! I say, if that this thy treasonable defection, and God’s loving kindness, yet calling thee to his favours, doth not pierce thy heart with unfeigned repentance; for as this mercy and love of thy God surmounteth the reach of all mens understanding, so cannot his justice long delay to pour forth these horrible vengeance, which thy monstrous unthankfulness hath long deserved, if thou (as God forbid) now shut up thine ears, blind thine eyes, and so harden thine heart, that neither thou wilt hear, see, nor understand, the greatness of thy fall, and that inestimable goodness of thy God, thus lovingly calling thee to thine ancient honours and dignities again. I neither dare nor will cease now by my pen, be it never so rude, to cry unto thee that which sometime, from the mouth of my Master Christ Jesus, I have pronounced in the hearing of many, That if thou shalt not know this merciful visitation of the Lord thy God, and so prepare thyself with a penitent and thankful heart to receive (yet while time is) his large graces offered, that then thy habitation shall be left desolate; and where thou hast, of a long time, been a delightful garden, planted by the Lord’s own hand, thou shalt become a barren wilderness, fit for nothing but to be burnt and consumed with fire.

The warrant of this my proclamation and sentence (how foolish and vain soever it appear to man’s reason) I have not by the conjecture nor opinion of man, but from the mouth of my God, thus speaking by Moses; ‘ Beware, saith he, that amongst you be not a root that beareth gall and wormwood; so that when he shall hear the words of this execration, shall yet promise to himself felicity in his heart, saying, Peace shall be to me, although I walk after the lust of mine own heart, &c. The Lord will not be merciful, saith Moses, to such an one, but the fury of the Eternal, and his hot displeasure, shall burst forth against such a man, and upon him shall lie (that is, continually abide) all the execrations that be written in this book. And the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven.’ Thus far speaketh he against particular men: and against the whole multitude, he proceedeth in this manner; ‘ The generation following, your sons which shall arise after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far country, when they shall see the plagues of this land, and the incurable diseases, by which it shall languish and consume, as it were by brimstone and salt, burning the whole land; so that it cannot be sown, neither yet in it doth any herb spring nor arise, &c. Then shall

all nations say, Why hath the Lord done thus to this land? O what meaneth the wrath of God's great fury! And they shall answer, Because they have left the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, which he did make with them when he brought them out of Egypt; for they have gone and served other gods whom they knew not; and therefore was the fury of the Lord kindled against this land, so that he brought upon it all the execrations and curses written in this book; and the Lord, in his wrath, fury, and great indignation, hath rooted them out of their own land, and hath dispersed them into another land, as this day doth witness.' This same is written, with greater circumstances, in the Book of Leviticus (Lev. xxvi.); which if you compare with this, and consider God's eternal verity to have its effect in every age and nation, which fo doth offend, then shalt thou see, O England! that this is the judgment which thou shalt not, nor canst not escape, if speedily thou repent not of thy shameful defection, and with all humility return to the Lord, whom so traiterously and so publicly of late days thou hast refused: for these severe judgments once executed against Israel and Judah, may be to thee (who once hast professed thyself subject to God, and hast unthankfully departed from his service, and yet of mercy is again called) a mirror and glass, in which thou mayest behold what shall be thy final and miserable destruction, if, by unfeigned and speedy repentance, thou remove not the vengeance which hangeth over thy head: and, to the end that thou mayest the better try and examine thyself, I will shortly touch the stubborn disobedience of that people, the long patience and gentle dealing of God, and their most miserable and lamentable destruction.

Three hundred years and more, from the departure of the ten tribes from the house and royal seat of David, did Judah provoke God to displeasure, now by idolatry, now by hill-altars, now by confederacy and joining of hands with wicked princes and ungodly nations, by whom they were ever drawn, from depending and trusting upon God, to the vain trust and confidence of men. Against these and other vices, from time to time, did God send his prophets to call them to repentance, and did also raise up sometimes good and godly kings to make public reformation, as touching the religion: but what reformation was found in life, manners, and conversation, what reverence the multitude did bear unto God, how the religion was embraced in their hearts, and how long it was retained in such perfection as was com-

manded, the prophets do teach, and histories bear witness: for it is plainly affirmed, that even in the days of the most godly kings (I mean, of Hezekiah and Josiah), the scribes and lawyers did write deceitfully, to thrust out the weak ones from their cause, to spoil the widow, and to oppress the orphan; their judges were bribers, and their princes were partakers with thieves. They said, That evil was good, and good evil; they would have pleasant things spoken unto them, and commanded that no mention should be made of the Holy One of Israel, for his word was a burden unto them. Of the nobility some were traitors, some avaricious, some incontinent as wavering reeds, some greedy dogs and insatiable wolves, devouring the prey, wherefoever they might catch it. The people of the land were deceitful; all handicrafts, merchandize, and victuals, were corrupted by their covetous practices: they were ready, but it was to slander and oppress the poor, the needy, and the stranger. The conjuration of prophets was in the midst of them, even as a roaring lion. They healed the sores and botches of the people, princes, and governors, with unprofitable plasters; and laid soft pillows under the heads of such as securely slept in all iniquity. The priests had violently rent asunder the law of God: they had profaned his sanctuary by their own inventions; and by retaining such a mixed and invenomed religion, as from old idolaters they had received, and because it pleased their kings, chief rulers, and governors, it must needs be good and please them. They made no difference betwixt that which was holy and clean, which proceeded from God, and that which was profane and filthy, which wicked idolaters had invented and devised. The pastors, finally, were become dumb dogs; their watchmen were blind, given to excess, slothfulness, and sleep. To be short, they came to that corruption that the lord did seek a man to repair his ledge again, and to stand in the gap before him, that the land should not be wasted; but yet he found none: for all were declined, all sought their own advantage; no man called for justice and equity, no man was judged of faith and verity; they brought forth cockatrice-eggs; their feet ran to mischief; they made haste to shed innocent blood; they neither knew, neither yet would know the way of peace. yea, all things came to such horrible confusion, that the truth was banished, and whosoever departed from iniquity was made a prey to all men: which things, when the Lord considered, and did see that none would set themselves to oppose such horrible iniquity, his own arm gave him salvation,

and his own justice did hold him up. He poured forth (after divers plagues) his fury upon that nation at once, and in the hot fire of his anger he consumed them, and so did reward their wicked ways upon their own heads, as before was threatened by the mouth of Moses.

These testimonies, and many more which (to avoid prolixity) I omit, we have of the prophets, declaring how corrupt the whole body was even in the days of the most godly kings, yea, even in the days when plagues were upon them. And histories do witness, that no sooner did ever any idolater rise, but that so soon, from the highest degree to the lowest, from the prince to the prophet, a small number excepted, were all ready to obey whatsoever was commanded by such as were placed in honour and authority. The histories do further witness, that the princes of Judah after the death of Jehoiada, by whose wife Joash was preserved in that most cruel murder of all the kingly seed made by Athaliah, and by whose most faithful diligence the same Joash was in the seventh year of his age made king over Judah, the covenant and league, before broken by idolatry, was renewed again betwixt God and the people, and betwixt the people and the king, *viz.* That the one and the other should be the people of the Lord; by renewing of which covenant, unhappy and cruel Athaliah was killed, the people did enter into the house of Baal, broke it down, with its altars and images, even to powder; and finally, before the altars of Baal, did most justly kill Mattan, Baal's great priest. After the death, I say, of Jehoiada, by whose godly providence all these things were brought to pass, the princes of Judah came and bowed themselves unto the king, making no doubt this petition unto him, That they might have the religion which long had been retained amongst the kings of Judah, even from the days of Solomon, and that they should not be so strictly bound as the covenant made by Jehoiada commanded, so they would not return (as may appear they did alledge) to Baal, but stand content with their hill-altars, their thickets of wood, and ancient idols. And that this was their petition, the history giveth plain light; for it saith, 'And the king heard them; and they, leaving the house of the Lord God of their fathers, served thickets and idols;' which thing, albeit it did so displease the Lord, that he sent his prophets sharply to rebuke their unthankful defection, yet was there no redress; for the king, princes, and people, were conspired against God, and so from idolatry proceeded to cruel murder, as the histories do witness, in the days of Ahaz. The same

abominations remained in all estates: for Urijah the high priest himself, at the commandment of the king, built an altar, as the king had sent him a pattern from Damascus, and so left the altar of the Lord, and burnt sacrifice upon that great altar.

In the days of Hezekiah, that zealous and godly king, how the hearts of the nobility and people were set towards God's true religion, may appear by the sequel; for straight after his death, the whole multitude did return with Manasseh unto idolatry, abominations, and cruel murder; yea, even while the king did leave that traitor Shebna (enemy to God, to his true worship, and to his prophets) as treasurer, and in highest authority. Jeremiah and Ezekiel do witness, that the princes, prophets, and people, were so corrupt, even to the very day of the destruction; yea, and after the same, that Zedekiah (of nature by all appearance not very cruel, but yet faint-hearted for lack of faith) was compelled at their commandment to put Jeremiah in prison, and to give them permission to put him to death at their pleasures; whose life by God's mighty providence being yet preserved, and he being called to the presence of the king, to whom he gave in God's name most wholesome counsel, yet durst not the king, for fear of his princes, neither follow the same, neither yet let them understand what communication was betwixt the prophet and him. Ezekiel, in his vision, saw the people and princes declined from God, and did hear also these words spoken by God; 'The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is great above measure: the earth is full of blood, and the city full of defection; for they have said, The Lord hath left the earth, and the Lord seeth us not.'

After that most miserable destruction of Jerusalem, when a remnant of the poor people and nobility (who had escaped the edge of the sword) were left in the land with the prophet Jeremiah, and Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, their old venom of rebellion against God and his revealed will was nowise purged: for albeit Johanan the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, with the whole people, had promised unto Jeremiah by a solemn oath, to do whatsoever the Lord should command them by his mouth; yet, when he commanded them in the name of the Lord to abide in the land, and not to carry the people to Egypt, they were neither afraid nor ashamed to say unto him, 'Thou speakest a lie, the Lord hath not sent thee to us, commanding that we should not go to Egypt. To Egypt will we go, and we will serve the queen of heaven, even as our ancient kings

'and fathers did before us.' And so, in despite of God, of his prophet, and of his word revealed unto them, departed from the land, which the Lord had given to the seed of Abraham, unto Egypt infected with all idolatry. And thus, from their original, they continued in their rebellion even to the end, till they did utterly forsake God: for whatsoever they pretended, it was nothing else but a plain denial of God, of his league and covenant, to contract familiarity, alliance, or peace, against his plain precept, with that nation from whose tyranny the Lord had before delivered their fathers; and therefore he gave them most strict commandment, that they should never return to that bondage.

How long and how patiently God did fight against their rebellion, is easy to be understood by the histories and prophets; but how severe in the end were the plagues and just vengeance poured out upon the kings, princes, and people, the very Ethnics themselves did give testimony and record. Their land and cities were spoiled, burnt, and left desolate, and women for hunger were compelled to eat their own children. Often were they brought into thralldom and subjection of strangers. And finally, the glory of the Lord was removed from his sanctuary, which he himself did swear that he would profane, by reason of their great abominations. And so he did; for it was burnt, the vessels and ornaments of it carried to Babylon, and the whole nobility of Judah and the king's sons were killed in his own presence; after which most miserable sight, his own eyes were put out, and himself led captive to Babylon, where he remained prisoner till his death. They that departed to Egypt did never return again to Jerusalem, but perished most miserably, as the prophet did threaten.

This is the glass, this is the mirror, O England! in which I would that daily thou shouldst behold what shall be the final end of these that do abuse the long suffering of God, most mercifully calling all to repentance. If thou shalt think thyself pure and clean from any of the crimes which before is noted in that people, alas! thou shalt declare thyself more than impudent; for all your other iniquities omitted, this your last and universal turning from God, by the open denial of his gospel professed, declareth you, from the highest to the lowest, manifest traitors against his Divine Majesty. It is you all together, who most cruelly have shed the blood of a number of your brethren and sisters, which from under the altar cry to be revenged. There is no person guiltless in God's presence, who have bowed their knees to idolatry (whatsoever excuse they may pretend); but as all

are idolaters, so they are, and shall be reputed murderers before God, who do not wash away that infamous and innocent blood by unfeigned repentance.

No other assurance will I require, that your plagues are at hand, and that your destruction approacheth, than that I shall understand, that ye do justify yourselves in this your former iniquity. Absolve and flatter you who will, God the Father, his Son Christ Jesus, his holy angels, the creatures sensible and insensible in heaven and earth, shall rise in judgment, and shall condemn you, if in time you repent not. The cause why I wrap you all in idolatry, all in murder, and all in one and the same iniquity, is, That none of you hath done your duty, none hath remembered his office and charge, which was to have resisted to the uttermost of your power that impiety at the beginning: but ye have all followed the wicked commandment, and all have consented to cruel murder, in so far as, in your eyes, your brethren have most unjustly suffered, and none opened his mouth to complain of that injury, cruelty, and murder. I do ever except such as either by their death, by abstaining from idolatry, or by avoiding the realm, for iniquity in the same committed, did give testimony that such an horrible falling from God did inwardly grieve them; but all the rest, even from the highest to the lowest, I fear no more to accuse of idolatry, of treason against God committed, and of cruel murdering of their brethren, than did Zechariah the son of Jehoiada fear to say to the king, princes, and people of Judah, 'Why have ye transgressed the commandments of the Eternal God? it shall not prosper: only succeed unto you, but even as ye have left the Lord, so shall he leave you.'

And albeit my blood should be shed for this my affirmation, as his was, yet having the testimony of a good conscience, that I speak not, nor write not, of private malice against any man's person, I will still cry as before: for at your hands (unless that speedily and unfeignedly ye repent) shall God require, not only all the blood that lately hath been shed by your most wicked permission, but also of all those that for the same cause have suffered from the beginning. Tremble therefore, fear, confess, and unfeignedly repent, that ye may escape the vengeance prepared. Your humiliation, confession, and repentance, may now obtain no less of God's great mercy, than did Josiah, his nobles, and people, in the same case, to whom in all things ye are as like as one beam is to another; for no crime is so heinous, which God will not cast into the bottom of the sea, and bury in perpetual oblivion, if

ye, with unfeigned hearts, turn to the Lord your God, whom so grievously ye have offended. This conversion and repentance requireth, no doubt, a reformation, a removing and suppressing of all abuses, all wrong, all violence, all oppression and fraud, how long, in whom, and by whomsoever they have been maintained, practised, or committed.

But remitting all other things to such as God shall further move with his Holy Spirit to instruct you, I say, that your conversion to God, and unfeigned repentance, requireth two things: *First*, That the religion, and true honour of God, may be once brought to that purity which his word requireth. *Secondly*, That order may be taken, so far as in you lieth, that the same religion, which God approveth, may be kept inviolable amongst you for ever, and that the people universally may be instructed in the same. For the first point, touching the reformation of religion, ye must at once so purge and expel all dregs of Papiſtry, superſtition, and idolatry, that thou, O England! must judge and hold execrable and accursed, whatsoever God hath not sanctified to thee by his blessed word, or by the action of our Master Christ Jesus. The glittering beauty of vain ceremonies, the heaps of things pertaining nothing to edification, by whomsoever they were invented, justified, or maintained, ought at once to be removed, and so trodden under the obedience of God's word, that continually this sentence should be present in thy heart, and ready in thy mouth, 'Not that which appeareth good in thine own eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, &c.' Let not then the king and his proceedings, whatsoever they be, not agreeable to the Lord's holy word, be a snare to thy conscience.

O cursed were the hearts that ever devised that phrase in matters of religion, whereby the simple people were brought to one of these two inconveniences! *viz.* That either they did esteem every religion good and acceptable to God, which the king and parliament did approve; or else, that God's religion, honour, and service, was nothing else but devices of men. O England, England! let this blasphemy first of all others be removed; for O how horrible is it to remember, that the religion and honouring of the Eternal God, shall be subject to the appetite of foolish and inconstant men! Let God's blessed word alone be the rule and line to measure his majesty's religion: what it commandeth, let it be obeyed; what it commandeth not, let that be execrable, because it hath not the sanctification of God's word, under what title

or name soever it be published. Halt no longer on both parts: let not these voices prevail in your parliament, This to our judgment is good and godly; this the people cannot well bear; this repugneth not to God's word; and when the people are better instructed, then may we proceed further.

O messengers of Satan! now do I write, which sometimes I have said to your faces, That whatsoever God, in matters of religion, hath not sanctified by his express word, the same, I say, before his majesty, remaineth execrable, polluted, and defiled. And so, in few words, this is the first point which your true conversion requireth, *viz.* That his own only word reform his religion.

The inviolable preservation of God's religion (which is the second point) requireth two principal things; the one is, That no power nor liberty be permitted to any (of what estate, degree, or authority soever they be), either to live without the yoke of discipline by God's word commanded, either yet to alter, change, disannul, or dissolve the least jot in religion, which from God's mouth thou hast received: but let his holy and blessed ordinances, by Christ Jesus commanded to his kirk, be within thy limits and bounds so sure and established, that if prince, king, or emperor, would enterprise to change or disannul the same, that he be by thee reputed enemy to God; and therefore unworthy to reign above his people: yea, that the same man, or men, that go about to destroy God's true religion once established, and to erect idolatry, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commandment; the negligence of which part hath made you all (these only excepted which before I have expressed) murderers of your brethren, deniers of Christ Jesus, and manifest traitors to God's Sovereign Majesty.

Which horrible crimes if ye will avoid in time coming, then must ye (I mean the princes, rulers, and people of the realm), by solemn covenant, renew the oath betwixt God and you, in that form, and as Aſa king of Judah did in the like case; 'They made a covenant (saith the history, 2 Chron. xv.) that they would seek the Lord God of their fathers, with all their hearts, and with all their souls; and that whosoever should not seek the Lord God of Israel, he should die the death, whether he were great or small, man or woman. And they did swear unto the Lord with a great oath, and with the found of a trumpet, and with psalms; and at this oath did all the Jews rejoice: for with their whole heart they did swear, and they sought God with unfeigned affection, and he was found; and the Lord gave them rest on

‘ every side.’ This is thy duty, and this is the only remedy, O England! to stay God’s vengeance, which long thou hast deserved, and shall not escape, if his religion and honour be subject to mutation and change as oft as thy rulers chuse, or as by reason of death they shall be changed. And so this briefly is the first thing, which thou must, with invocation of God’s name, provide for establishing of his true religion.

The other part, touching the instruction of the people, standeth much in the faithful diligence of those to whom the charge of preaching shall be committed: but when I remember that horrible confusion which before was maintained, even by those who would be esteemed chief pillars of religion, I do more fear to be plain in this matter, than in all which before I have spoken; for it may be, that, in speaking the simple truth, I may displease these, whom willingly for no earthly profit I would offend: nevertheless, seeing the cause is not mine, but appertaineth to Christ Jesus, and to the feeding of that flock, which so earnestly and tenderly he recommended to Peter, and to all his faithful pastors to the world’s end, whatsoever man shall judge, I dare not cease, in God’s name, to require of you a severe reformation of these things, which before were utterly disordered.

And *first*, In the name of the Lord Jesus, I require of you, that no dumb dog, no poisoned and pestilent Papist, none who before hath persecuted God’s children, or obstinately maintained idolatry, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poison (for other profit they shall do none) the souls of those whom Christ Jesus hath redeemed with his precious blood.

Secondly, That benefice upon benefice be heaped upon no man, but that a sufficient charge, with a competent stipend, be assigned to the workmen; for O how horrible was that confusion, that one man should be permitted to have two, three, four, five, six, or seven benefices, who scarcely in the year did so often preach! yea, that a man should have the charge of them whose faces he never saw. Let that pestilence, proceeding from avarice, be utterly avoided! let not men at their pleasure preach when and where they please; but so soon as a godly order may be established, let the parts and bounds be assigned to every man. London, in time past, was indifferently provided for; but, alas! what barbarous ignorance was in the rest of the realm?

Thirdly, Let no man be charged, in preaching of Christ Jesus, above that which a man may do: I mean, That your bishoprics be so divided, that of every one (as they are now, for the most part) may

be made ten; and so in every city and great town there may be placed a godly learned man, with so many joined with him, for preaching and instruction, as shall be thought sufficient for the bounds committed to their charge; the utility whereof you shall understand, within few years, greatly to redound to the profit of the simple flock: for the great dominions and charge of your proud prelates (impossible by one man to be discharged) are no parts of Christ’s true ministry, but are the maintenance of the tyranny first invented, and yet retained by the Roman Antichrist.

Fourthly, That diligent heed be taken, that such to whom the office of preaching is committed, discharge and do their duties; for it is not, nor will not be, the chanting nor numbing over of certain psalters, the reading of chapters for mattins and evening-song, or of homilies only (be they never so godly), that can feed the souls of the hungry sheep: Christ himself, his holy apostles, and that elect vessel Paul, do teach us another lesson, all commanding us to preach, yea, to preach Christ crucified. What efficacy the living voice hath above the naked letter which is read, the hungry and thirsty do feel to their comfort. But the other maketh for Mr. Parson’s purpose, who, retaining in his hand a number of benefices, appointed such in his place as are altogether destitute of the gift of preaching; but let all such belly-gods be whipped out of God’s holy temple.

Fifthly, Let none that are appointed to labour in Christ’s vineyard, be entangled with civil affairs (and, as you call them, the affairs of the realm), except it be when the civil magistrate and the ministers of the word assemble together for execution of discipline, which is a thing easy to be done, without withdrawing any person from his charge, if that which was before expressed be observed: for as touching their yearly coming to parliament, for matters of religion, it shall be superfluous and vain, if God’s true religion be once so established, that after it never be called in controversy; and as touching execution of discipline, that must be done in every city and shire, where the magistrates and ministers are joined together, without any respect of persons; so that the ministers, albeit they lack the glorious title of lords, and the devilish pomp which before appeared in proud prelates, yet must they be so stout and so bold in God’s cause, that if the king would usurp any other authority in God’s religion, than becometh a member of Christ’s body, that first he be admonished according to God’s word; and after, if he condemn the same, that he be subject to the yoke of discipline, to whom

they shall boldly say, as Azariah the high priest said unto Uzziah king of Judah, 'It is not lawful for thee, Uzziah, to offer incense, but it apper-
'taineth to the priests, and the sons of Aaron,
'who are consecrated, to burn it: pass out there-
'fore, for thou hast offended; which thing shall
'not rebound to thy glory.' This, I say, is the duty of all Christ's faithful ministers, whensoever any man, be he king or emperor, usurpeth to him-
self authority against God, to rebuke him openly, to rebuke and withstand him to the uttermost of their power, when the Lord, by the Spirit of his mouth and power of his word, shall confound, even as he did the pride of Uzziah, if they be strong and valiant in God's cause.

Now, *less* of all (omitting things of no less importance to your wisdoms), for the preservation of religion, it is most expedient, that schools be universally erected in cities and all chief towns, the oversight whereof to be committed to the magistrates, and godly learned men, of the said cities and towns, that, of the youth religiously instructed amongst them, a seed may be reserved and continued, for the profit of Christ's kirk in all ages.

It remaineth briefly to answer to *two* things, which may give you occasion to saie in the Lord's work: *First*, The lack of workmen to put things in such order as is requisite: and *secondly*, The fear of tumult and sedition within yourselves, or invasion of foreign nations. In God's name I fear not to affirm, that neither the one nor the other shall hurt you in the end, if with your whole hearts ye seek God's glory to be promoted, and all sorts of abominations to be rooted out: for if ye pray with earnest affection, he shall endue such as ye know not, with wisdom and knowledge, to rule in his kirk to the comfort of his flock. There are more labourers than the eyes of men see, that profitably would work in the Lord's harvest: and as for fear of enemies, they may, with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, conspire against Moses and Aaron; with the Moabites and Ammonites, against Jeshua, Iai; or with proud Sennacherib, against Hezekiah and afflicted Zion: but rather, ere thou shalt be confounded (if with a perfect heart thou seek the Lord thy God), shall the earth open and devour such rebel; rather shall thine enemies every one murder another, and rather shall the angels of the Lord fight for thy deliverance, ere the work be hindered, and perish in thine hands.

But if thou, O England! for any respect, delay thy repentance and conversion unto God; if thou

shalt still foster in thy bosom the generation of vipers; if thou shalt retain in honour and authority such as have declared themselves enemies to God and to his eternal truth, not by any infirmity, but of determined malice and set purpose, to murder and destroy God's children; if, finally, thou shalt not study to root out and cut off such rotten members as can do nothing but infect the whole body; then call I to witness against thee both heaven and earth, that I and others, the servants of God, who faithfully, and in time, have warned thee of thy duty, and vengeance to come, are, and shall be clean from the blood which shortly shall perish, if thou contemn the admonition of God's messengers. Too late shall it be for thee to howl, when the flame of God's hot displeasure shall begin to burn: it will not then be the flattering enticements and vain policies of such as seek more themselves than Christ's glory, that will extinguish it; no, it shall burn, and shall destroy the head and the tail, the prince and the false prophet, the root and the branches of such impiety. Be warned therefore, if thou list, and escape vengeance, which is already prepared for the disobedient.

But O ye that in sorrow of heart see these abominations, that lament and do not pollute yourselves with them, let your hearts rest upon the Eternal, who shall be unto you a rock and a strong castle of defence!

And then, although heaven and earth should be confounded, yet shall his mercy deliver you from danger; and in very experience and joy of heart ye shall sing, 'O Lord! thou art our God, we shall exalt and confess thy name, for thou hast done wondrous things. Thy counsels are profound, far off to man's judgment, but yet are they true and sure. The strong tents and palaces of the proud hast thou brought to ruin, so that they shall never be restored again: and therefore the strong people shall glorify thee; yea, the cities of tyrannous nations shall fear thee. Behold, this is our God, we have waited for him, and he hath saved us. This is the Lord whom we looked for, we shall rejoice and be joyful in his salvation.' This, I say, shall be the song, which, in experience of the Lord's deliverance, your hearts shall sing, even when God's most severe judgments shall, in your eyes, be executed against the ungodly: and therefore, call thou for strength to continue to the end.

From Geneva, the 12th
of January, 1559.

T H E
F I R S T B L A S T
O F T H E
T R U M P E T

AGAINST THE
MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
THE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BLAST;

A N D
A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF EDINBURGH, *Anno 1571.*

BY MR. JOHN KNOX,
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT EDINBURGH.

1 TIMOTHY, ii. 12. *But I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the Man, &c.*

T H E
P R E F A C E.

The Kingdom appertaineth to our GOD:

WONDER it is, that amongst so many pregnant wits as the isle of Great Britain hath produced, so many godly and zealous preachers as England did sometime nourish, and amongst so many learned, and men of grave judgment as at this day by Jezebel are exiled, none is found so stout of courage, so faithful to God, nor loving to their native country, that they dare admonish the inhabitants of that isle, how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea, of a traitorefs and bastard, and what a people or nation left destitute of a lawful head may do, by the authority of God's word, in electing and appointing common rulers and magistrates. That isle, alas! for the contempt and horrible abuse of God's mercies offered, and for the shameful revolting to Satan from Christ Jesus, and from his gospel once professed, doth justly merit to be left in the hands of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion, and bondage of strangers. But yet I fear, that this universal negligence of such as were sometimes esteemed watchmen, shall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, than excuse this our universal ungodly silence in so weighty a matter. We see our country set forth for a prey to foreign nations; we hear the blood of our brethren, the members of Christ Jesus, most cruelly to be shed, and the monstrous empire of a cruel woman (the secret counsell of God excepted) we know to be the only occasion of all these miseries; and yet with silence we pass the time as though the matter appertained nothing to us. But the contrary examples of the ancient prophets move me to doubt of this fact: for Israel did universally decline from God by embracing idolatry under Jeroboam, in which they continued even to the destruction of their commonwealth*; and Judah with Jerusalem did follow the vile superstition and open iniquity of Samaria: yet the prophets of God ceased not to admonish the one and the other, yea, even after God had poured forth his plagues upon them. For Jeremiah † did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainly instructing them who did remain in that idolatrous nation. Ezekiel ‡, from the midst of his brethren prisoners of Chaldaea, did write his vision to those that were in Jerusalem; and, sharply rebuking their vices, assured them, that they should not escape God's vengeance, by reason of their abominations committed. The same prophets, for comfort of God's afflicted saints, who lay hid amongst the reprobate of that age (as corn doth commonly amongst the chaff), did prophesy the changes of kingdoms, the punishment of tyrants, and the vengeance which God would execute upon the oppressors of

* Ezek. xvi.

† Jerem. xxix.

‡ Ezek. vii. viii. ix.

his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the prophets, every one in their season * : by whose examples, and by the plain precept which was given to Ezekiel, commanding that he shall say to the wicked, ‘ Thou shalt die the death ;’ we, in this miserable age, are bound to admonish the world, and tyrants thereof, of their sudden destruction ; and to assure them, and to cry to them, whether they will hear or not, That the blood of the faints, which by them is shed, continually crieth and craveth vengeance, in the presence of the Lord of Hosts. And further, it is our duty to open the thing revealed to us, unto the ignorant and blind world ; unless that, to our own condemnation, we list to wrap up and hide the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath revealed to some in this our age, That it is more than a monster in nature, that a woman shall reign and have empire above man. And yet with us all there is such silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The natural man, enemy to God, shall find, I know, many causes why no such doctrine ought to be published. *First*, For that it may seem to tend to sedition. *Secondly*, It shall be dangerous, not only to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall read or favour the same. *Thirdly*, It shall not amend the chief offenders, partly because it shall never come to their ears, partly because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, If any of these be a sufficient reason that truth known shall be concealed, then were the ancient prophets of God very fools, who provided not better for their own quietness, than to hazard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were not known to the world ; and Christ Jesus did injury to his apostles, commanding them to preach ‘ repentance and remission of sins in his name to every realm and ‘ nation ;’ and Paul did not understand his own liberty, when he cried †, ‘ Wo to me, if I ‘ preach not the gospel.’ If fear, I say, of persecution, slander, or any inconvenience before named, might have excused and discharged the servants of God, from plainly rebuking the sins of the world, just cause had every one of them to have ceased from their office ; for suddenly their doctrine was accused by terms of *sedition*, of *new learning*, and of *treason* ‡. Persecution and vehement trouble did shortly come upon the professors, with the preachers ; kings, princes, and worldly rulers, did conspire against God, and his Anointed Christ Jesus. But did any of these move the prophets and apostles to faint in their vocation ? No ; but by the resistance which the devil made by his supports, were they the more inflamed to publish the truth revealed unto them ; and to witness with their blood that grievous condemnation and God’s heavy vengeance should follow the proud contempt of graces offered. The fidelity, bold courage, and constancy of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to follow their footsteps, unless we look for another kingdom than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in the profession of his name to the end. If any think that the empire of women is not of such importance, that, for the suppressing of the same, any man is bound to hazard his life ; I answer, That to suppress it is in the hand of God alone ; but to utter the impiety and abomination thereof, I say, it is in the hand of every true messenger of God, to whom the truth is revealed in that behalf. God’s messengers must preach repentance, and admonish the offenders of their offences ; but neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. And therefore, I say, that of necessity it is, that this monstrous empire of women (which among all enormities this day abounding is most detestable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. Now, to such as think that it will be long before such doctrine come to the ears of these offenders,

* Isa. xliii. Jer. xlvii. Ezek. xxxvi.

† 1 Cor. ix.

‡ Matth. xxvi. Acts xviii. xxi. Psal. ii. Acts iv.

I answer, That the verity of God is of that nature, that one time or other it will purchase to itself audience; it is an odour and a smell that cannot be suppressed; yea, it is a Trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversaries; it will compel the very enemies, to their confusion, to testify and bear witness of it: for I find that the prophecy and preaching of Elisha was declared in the hall of the king of Syria, by the servant and flatterers of the same wicked king, making mention, that Elisha declared to the king of Israel, whatsoever the said king of Syria spoke in his most secret chamber*. And the wonderful works of Jesus Christ were notified to Herod, not in any great commendation of his doctrine; but rather to signify, that Christ called that tyrant *a fox*, and that he did no more regard his authority than John the Baptist, whom Herod before had beheaded for the liberty of his tongue †. Thus it is certain, that the fame, as well of Christ's doctrine as of his works, came to the ears of Herod. Even so may the sound of our weak Trumpet, by the support of some wind (blow it from the south or from the north), come to the ears of those offenders. But whether it does or not, yet we dare not cease to blow as God will give strength: for we are debtors to more than to princes, *viz.* to the multitude of our brethren, of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent, and help, to establish women in their kingdoms and empire, notwithstanding how abominable, odious, and detestable, is all such usurped authority in God's presence. And therefore must the truth be plainly spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished, and all, concerning the danger which may hereof ensue. I have laid mine account what the finishing of this work may cost me for my own part. *First*, I am not ignorant how difficult and dangerous it is to speak against a common error, especially when the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's simple commandment: for to the most part of men, lawful and godly appeareth whatsoever antiquity hath received. *Secondly*, I look to have mine adversaries not only of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, polite, and quiet spirits of the world: and thus I am most certainly persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remember the accounts of the talents received must be made to him, who neither respecteth the multitude, neither yet approveth the wisdom, policy, peace, nor antiquity, concluding or determining any thing against his eternal will, revealed to us in his most blessed word, I am compelled to cover mine eyes, and shut mine ears, that I neither see the multitude that in this matter shall withstand me, neither hear the opprobries, nor consider the dangers, which I may incur for uttering the same. I shall be called foolish, curious, spiteful, and a sower of sedition; and one day perchance (although now I be nameless) I may be attainted of treason: but seeing impossible it is, but that either I shall offend daily, calling to my conscience, that I ought to manifest the verity known, or else that I shall displease the world for doing the same; I am determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world should rage thereat. I know that the world offended may (by God's permission) kill the body; but God's Majesty being offended, hath power to punish soul and body for ever. God is offended when his precepts are contemned, and his threatenings esteemed to be of no effect: and amongst his manifold precepts given to his prophets, and amongst his threatenings, none is more vehement than that which is pronounced to Ezekiel in these words ‡; 'Set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man! thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked

* 2 Kings vi. 12.

† Matth. xiv.

‡ Ezek. xxxiii.

‘ man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand : nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul.’ This precept, I say, with the threatening annexed, together with the rest that is spoken in the same chapter, not to Ezekiel only, but to every one whom God placeth watchman over his people and flock (and watchmen are they, whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonish the ungodly), compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole world should be offended with me for so doing.

If any wonder why I do conceal my name, let him be assured, that the fear of corporal punishment is neither the only, neither the chief cause. My purpose is Thrice to Blow the Trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit. Twice I intend to do it without name; but at the Last Blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged.

The FIRST BLAST, to awake WOMEN Degenerate.

TO promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.

First, I say and affirm, That the empire of a woman is *repugnant to nature*: for who can deny but it repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see; that the weak, sick, and impotent persons, should nourish and keep the hail and strong; and finally, that the foolish, mad, and frantic, shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as are of sober mind? And such are all women compared to men in bearing authority: for their sight in civil government is but blindness, their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness, and judgment frenzy, if it be rightly considered. I except such as God by singular privilege, and for certain causes, known only to himself, hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women, as nature and experience do this day declare them.

Nature, I say, doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel, and void of the spirit of counsel and government. For these notable faults which in all ages have been espied in them, men have not only removed them from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel and empire of their wives, were unworthy of all public office. What difference shall we put (saith Aristotle, in the second of his *Politics**) whether women bear authority, or husbands that obey the empire of their wives be appointed to be magistrates? For the injustice, confusion, and disorder, which doth follow the one, must needs follow the other. The same author further reasoneth, That the policy or government of the Lacedemonians (who otherwise amongst the Grecians were most excellent)

was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongst the number of commonwealths well governed, because the magistrates and rulers of the same were too much given to please and obey their wives. What would this writer, I pray you, have said to that realm or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in parliament among the midst of men. O fearful and terrible are thy judgments! O Lord! who hath thus abased man for his iniquity. If Aristotle and others, illuminated only by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women ought not to bear rule or authority, I am sure, if they were living this day, to see a woman sitting in judgment, or riding from parliament in the midst of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the sword and sceptre borne before her, in sign that administration of justice was in her power, they would be so astonished with such a sight, that they would judge the world to be transformed into Amazons†; and that such a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do feign was made of all the companions of Ulysses; or at least, that albeit the outward form of men remains, yet should they judge that their hearts were changed from the wisdom, understanding, and courage of men, to the foolish fondness and cowardice of women: yea, they further should pronounce, That where women reign and are in authority, their vanity must needs be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modesty; and finally, that avarice, the mother of all mischief, must needs there devour equity and justice. But let us hear what others have seen and decreed in this matter. In the rules of the law thus it is written, ‘Women are removed from all civil and public office, so that they neither may be judges, neither may occupy the place of the magistrate, neither yet may be speakers for others.’ The same is repeated in the third and sixteenth books of the Di-

* 2 Pol. Arist. † Amazons were monitrous women, that could not abide the government of men, and therefore killed their husbands. Justin. Arist. 2 Pol. Lib. 50. De Regulis Juris.

gests* ; there, among certain persons which are forbidden, *ne pro aliis p'sulent*, that is, That they be no speakers nor advocates for others, women are forbidden ; and this cause is added, That they do not against shamefacedness intermeddle themselves with the causes of others ; neither yet that they presume to use the offices due to men. The law in the same place doth further declare, That a natural shamefacedness ought to be in womankind, which most certainly she loseth, whensoever she taketh upon her the office and estate of man ; as in Calphurnia was evidently declared : for she having licence to speak before the senate, at length becomes so impudent and importunate, that by her babbling she troubled the whole assembly, and so gave occasion that this law was established. In the first book of the Digests †, the condition of the woman is pronounced in many cases to be worse than of the man ; as in jurisdiction (saith the law), in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in public accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power, which she hath not upon her own sons. The law further will not permit, that a woman give any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to presume to give any thing to her head. The law doth moreover pronounce womankind to be most avaricious ; which is a vice intolerable in those that should rule or minister justice. And Aristotle ‡, as before is touched, doth plainly affirm, That whensoever women bear dominion, there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, excess, and vanity ; and in the end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruin. Would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections, natural weakness, and inordinate appetites of women ! I might adduce histories §, proving some women to have died for sudden joy ; some for impatience have murdered themselves ; some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that, for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city ; and to

have been so desirous of dominion §, that, for obtaining thereof, they have murdered the children of their own sons ; yea, some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children. But to me it is sufficient (because this part of nature is not my most sure foundation) to have proved, that men, illuminated only by the light of nature, have seen and determined, That it is a thing most repugnant to nature, that a woman rule and govern over man ; for these that will not permit a woman to have power over her own sons, will far less permit her to have rule over a realm. And these that will not suffer her to speak in defence of those that be accused, nor admit her accusation intended against man, for less would suffer her to sit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, usurping the authority in the midst of men ¶.

But now to the second part of nature, in which I include the revealed will and perfect ordinance of God ; (Against this part of nature, I say, it doth manifestly repugn, that any woman shall reign or bear dominion over man : for God first by order of the creation, and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman, by reason of her rebellion, hath declared the contrary. First, I say, The woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him.) ‘ Man is not of the woman (saith Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10.), but the woman of the man. And man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man : for this cause ‘ ought the woman to have power on her head ;’ this is a coverture in sign of subjection. But after her fall and rebellion against God, there was put upon her a new necessity, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these words (Gen. iii. 16.), ‘ I will ‘ greatly multiply thy sorrow and conception ; ‘ with sorrow shalt thou bear thy children, and thy ‘ will shall be subject to thy man : and he shall ‘ have dominion over thee.’ From the former part of this malediction, neither art, nobility, policy, nor law made by man, can deliver womankind. For whosoever attaineth to that honour to be a mother,

* Lib. 3. 16. Digestorum ad Senatuseonful. Velleianum. Lib. 2. De Postulatione, Tit. 1.

† De Statu Hominum, Tit. 8. By the civil law, power is taken from women over their own children, Dig. Lib. 24. De Donatione inter Vnum et Vnum. Lib. 1. Dig. de Legibus et Senatuseon. Tit. 3.

‡ Politic. 2. Great imperfections of women.

§ Romilda, the wife of Githulphus, betrayed to Cacus the dekedom of Frival in Italy : Jane, queen of Naples, hanged her husband : Atalia destroyed all the seed royal, 2 Kings, ii.

¶ Jerem. Anton. Isabell.

¶ The lesser things are denied to women, therefore the greater cannot be granted.

proveth by experience the effect and strength of God's word. But, alas! ignorance of God, ambition, and tyranny, have studied to abolish and destroy the second part of God's punishment; for women are lifted up to be heads over realms, and to rule above men at their pleasure and appetites; but horrible is the vengeance which is prepared for the promoters, and for the persons promoted, except they speedily repent; for they shall be dejected from the glory of the sons of God to the slavery of the devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all such as do exalt themselves against God. Against God can nothing be more manifest, than that a woman should be exalted to reign above man; for the contrary sentence hath God pronounced in these words, 'Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and he shall bear dominion over thee.' Thus did God not only make Adam lord and governor over Eve's body, but even over her appetites and will, and thereby dejected all women from empire and dominion above man: so that no woman can ever presume to reign, but the same she must needs do in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and malediction. I am not ignorant, that the most part of men understand this part of malediction to be meant of the subjection of the wife to her husband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holy Ghost taketh from all women all kind of superiority and power over man, speaking by the mouth of St. Paul (1 Tim. ii.) as follows, 'I suffer not a woman to teach, neither yet to usurp authority above man.' Here he nameth women in general, excepting none: and in the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. the apostle permittech that all persons may prophesy one after another, that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and, lest the plurality of speakers should have bred confusion, he addeth, 'The spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets;' as if he should say, God shall always raise up some to whom the verity shall be revealed, and to such you shall give place, albeit they sit in the lowest place. And thus the apostle would have prophesying an exercise to be free to the whole church, that every one should communicate with the congregation what God had revealed to them, providing it were done orderly. But from this general privilege he secludeth all women, saying (1 Cor. xiv.), 'Let women keep silence in the congregation:' and why, I pray you? Was it because he thought no wo-

men to have any knowlege? No; he giveth another, saying, 'Let her be subject, as the law saith.' In the words is first to be noted, That the apostle calleth the former sentence, pronounced against women, a *law*; that is, the immutable decree of God, who, by his own voice, hath subjected her to one member of the congregation, that is, to her husband. Whereupon the Holy Ghost concludeth, That she may never rule, nor bear empire above man; for she that is made subject to one, may never be preferred to many: and that by the Holy Ghost is manifestly expressed in these words, 'I suffer not a woman to usurp authority above man.' So both by God's law, and the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, women are utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God in the offices foresaid, which he has assigned to man, whom he hath appointed to be his lieutenant on earth. The apostle taketh power from all women to speak in the assembly*: *ergo*, He permittech no woman to rule above man. The former part of the argument is evident, and so the conclusion doth of necessity follow; for he that taketh from woman the least part of authority, will not permit unto her that which is greatest: but greater it is † to reign above realms and nations, to publish and make laws, to appoint judges and ministers, than to speak in the congregation. Woman's judgment, sentence, or opinion, proposed in the congregation, may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godly; but woman being promoted in sovereign authority, her laws must be obeyed, her opinion followed, and her tyranny maintained, suppose it be expressly against God and the profit of the commonwealth. And therefore yet again I repeat, That a woman promoted to sit in the seat of God, that is, to teach, to judge, or to reign above the man, is a monster in nature, contumely to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. That you may understand this my judgment to be no new interpretation of God's Scriptures, I will recite the minds of some ancient writers in the same matter. Tertullian ‡, in his book of *Woman's Apparel*, after he hath shewed many causes why gorgeous apparel is abominable and odious in a woman, he addeth these words, speaking, as it were, to every woman by name, 'Dost thou not know (saith he) that thou art Eve? The sentence of God liveth, and is effectual against thy kind; and in this world of necessity it is that the punishment also live: thou

* A strong argument.

† Note.

‡ Tertul. de Habitu Mulierum.

‘ art the port and gate of the devil; thou art the first transgressor of God’s law; thou didst persuade and easily deceive him whom the devil durst not assault; for thy merit (that is, for thy death) it behoved the Son of God to suffer death: and doth it yet abide in thy mind to deck thee above thy skin-coats? By these and many other grave sentences, and quick interrogations, did this godly writer labour to bring every woman in contemplation of herself, that she might avoid and abhor whatsoever thing might puff her up with pride, or that might be an occasion that she should forget the sentence which God hath pronounced against the whole race and daughters of Eve: and what, I pray you, is more able to cause woman forget her own condition, than if she be lifted up in authority above man? It is a thing very difficult to man (be he never so constant) promoted to honours, not to be tickled somewhat with pride; for the wind of vain glory doth easily carry up the dry dust of the earth: but as for woman, it is no more possible that she, being set aloft in authority above man, shall resist the motions of pride, than it is possible to the weak reed, or to the turning weather-cock, not to bow or turn at the vehemency of the inconstant wind: and therefore the same writer expressly forbiddeth all women to intermeddle with the office of man; for thus he writeth in his book *De Virg. Velandis* *, ‘ It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the congregation, neither to teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindicate to herself any office of man.’ The same he speaketh yet more plainly, in the preface of his sixth book against Marcion †; when he recounting certain monstrous things which were to be seen at the sea called Euxinum, amongst the rest he reciteth, ‘ There is a great monster in nature, that women in those parts were not tamed nor embossed by consideration of their own sex and kind; but that, all shame laid apart, they made expences upon weapons, and learned the feats of war, having more pleasure to fight than to marry and be subject to man. Thus Tertullian, who taketh from woman all office appertaining to man, would never suffer her to reign above man; and he that judged it a monster in nature, that a woman should exercise weapons, would judge it no doubt, to be a monster of monsters, that a woman should be exalted above a whole realm and nation. Of the same

mind is Origen, and divers others, whose sentences I omit, to avoid prolixity.

Augustine, in his twenty-second book against Faustus ‡, proveth that a woman ought to do service to her husband as unto God; affirming, ‘ That in nothing hath woman equal power with man, except that neither have *power of their own bodies*: by which he would plainly include, that woman ought never to pretend nor thirst for that power and authority which is due to man. And, in another place he affirmeth ||, ‘ That woman ought to be repressed and bridled betimes, if she aspires to any dominion; alledging, ‘ That dangerous it is to suffer her to proceed, although it be in temporal and corporal things. And thereto he added these words; ‘ God seeth not for a time, neither is there any new thing in his sight and knowledge;’ meaning thereby, that what God hath seen in one woman (as concerning dominion and having of authority) the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same hath he forbidden to all; and this most evidently; yet in another place he writeth, moving this question, ‘ How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man, and hath neither authority to teach, to be witness, nor to judge, much less to rule or bear empire? Woman (saith Augustine) compared to other creatures, is the *image of God* §, for she beareth dominion over them; but compared to man, she may not be called the *image of God*, for she beareth not rule nor lordship over man, but ought to obey him, &c.’ And how woman ought to obey him, he speaketh ¶ yet more clearly in these words, ‘ The woman shall be subject unto man as unto Christ, &c.’ With Augustine agreeth in every point St. Ambrose, who thus writeth **, ‘ Adam was deceived by Eve, and not Eve by Adam; and therefore just it is, that woman receive and acknowledge him for governor whom she called to sin, lest again she slide by womanly facility. And writing upon the epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. he saith ††, ‘ Let women be subject to their own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the man is head to the women, &c. As the congregation is subject to Christ, even so ought women to be to their husbands in all things.’ He proceedeth further, saying, ‘ Women are commanded to be subject to men by the law of nature, because that man is the

* Tertul. Lib. 8. De Virg. Velandis. † In Proem. Lib. 6. contra Marcion. ‡ Aug. Lib. 22. contra Faustinum, Cap. 31. § In Quest. Vet. Test. Quest. 45. ¶ Lib. de Continentia, Cap. 4. ** Ambrose in Hexæmeron, Lib. 5. Cap. 7. †† Idem super Ephes. Cap. 5.

‘beginner of the woman; for as Christ is the
 ‘Head of the church, so is man of the woman:
 ‘from Christ the church took beginning, and
 ‘therefore it is subject unto him; even so did
 ‘woman take beginning from man, that she should
 ‘be subject.’ If any man think that all these former
 sentences are spoken only of the subjection of the
 married woman to her husband, as before I have
 proved the contrary, by the plain words and rea-
 soning of St. Paul, so shall I shortly do the same
 by other testimonies of the foresaid writers. The
 same Ambrose *, writing upon the second chapter
 of the first epistle to Timothy, after he hath spoken
 much of the simple raiment of women, he add-
 eth these words; ‘Woman ought not only to have
 ‘simple raiment, but all authority is to be denied
 ‘unto her: for she must be in subjection to man
 ‘(of whom she hath taken her original) as well in
 ‘habit as in service.’ And after a few words he
 saith, ‘Because death entered into the world by
 ‘her, there is no boldness that ought to be permit-
 ‘ted unto her, but she ought to be in humility.’
 Hereof it is plain, that from all women, married
 or unmarried, is all authority taken to execute
 any office that appertaineth to man; yea, plain it is,
 that all women are commanded to serve, to be in
 humility and subjection: which thing the same
 writer speaketh yet more plainly in these words †;
 ‘It is not permitted to women to speak, but to be
 ‘in silence, as the law saith. What saith the law?
 ‘Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he
 ‘shall bear dominion over thee.” This is a spe-
 ‘cial law (saith Ambrose), whose sentence lest it
 ‘should be violated, infirmed or made weak, wo-
 ‘men are commanded to be in silence.’ Here he
 includeth all women, and yet he proceedeth fur-
 ther in the same place, saying, ‘It is a shame for
 ‘them to presume to speak of the law in the house
 ‘of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be
 ‘subject to their men.’ But most plainly speaketh
 he, writing upon the sixteenth chapter of the epistle
 to the Romans, upon these words, “Salute Rufus
 “and his mother.” ‘For this (saith Ambrose) did
 ‘the apostle place Rufus before his mother, for
 ‘the election of the administration of the grace of
 ‘God ‡;’ in the which a woman hath no place.
 By the administration of God’s grace is understood,
 not only the preaching of the word and administra-
 tion of the sacraments, by which God’s grace is

presented and ordinarily distributed to man; but
 also the administration of civil justice, by which
 virtue ought to be maintained and vice punished,
 the execution whereof is no less denied to women
 than is the preaching of the gospel, or administra-
 tion of the sacraments, as hereafter shall most
 plainly appear. Chrysostom, among the Grecian
 writers of no small credit, speaking in rebuke of
 men, who in his days were become inferior to
 some women in wit and godliness, hath these
 words ||; ‘For this cause was woman put under
 ‘thy power (he speaketh to man in general), and
 ‘thou wast pronounced lord over her, that she
 ‘should obey thee, and that the head should not
 ‘follow the feet.’ But often we see, that he who
 in his order ought to be the head, doth not keep
 the order of the feet (that is, doth not rule the
 feet), and that she that is in place of the feet is
 constituted to be head. He speaketh the words,
 as it were, in admiration that man was become to
 brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing
 most monstrous, that women should be preferred
 to men in any thing, whom God hath subjected
 to man in all things. He proceedeth, saying,
 ‘Nevertheless it is the part of the man, with dili-
 ‘gent care, to repel the woman that giveth him
 ‘wicked counsel, and the woman which gave that
 ‘pestilent counsel unto man, ought at all times to
 ‘have the punishment, which was given to Eve,
 ‘sounding in her ears.’ And in another place he
 bringeth in God speaking to the woman in this
 sort §; ‘Because thou left him, of whose nature
 ‘thou wast participant, and from whom thou wast
 ‘formed, and hast had pleasure to have familiarity
 ‘with that wicked beast, and wouldst take his coun-
 ‘sel; therefore I subject thee to man, and I ap-
 ‘point him to be thy lord; and because thou
 ‘couldst not bear rule, learn well to be ruled.’
 Why they should not bear rule, he declareth in
 other places **, saying, ‘Womankind is impru-
 ‘dent and soft (or flexible); imprudent, because
 ‘she cannot consider with wisdom and reason the
 ‘things which she heareth and seeth; and soft,
 ‘because she is easily bowed.’ I know Chrysostom
 bringeth in these words, to declare the cause why
 false prophets do commonly deceive women, be-
 cause they are easily persuaded to any opinion, es-
 pecially if it be against God; and because they lack
 prudence and right reason to judge of the things

* Ambros. super Cap. 2. 1 Tim.
 St. Paul saluted before his mother.

† Ambros. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. Cap. 17. Gen. 3.

‡ Rufus is by

** In Matth. xxiii. Homil. 44.

|| Chrysost. Homil. 17. in Genes.

§ Homil. 15. in Genes.

that be spoken. They who are appointed to govern others, ought to be constant, noble, prudent, in doing every thing with discretion and reason, which virtues women cannot have in equality with men: for that he doth witness in another place, saying, 'Women have in themselves a swelling and study of vanity-glory, and that they may have common with men; they are suddenly moved to anger, and that they have also in common with some men: but virtues in which they excel, they have not common with man; therefore the apostle has removed them from the office of teaching, which is an evident proof that in virtue they differ far from man.' This writer further proceedeth; and, after he hath in many words lamented the effeminate manners of men, he finally concludeth, 'That notwithstanding that men be degenerate, yet may not women usurp any authority above them.' And in the end he addeth these words, 'These things do I not speak to extol women, but to the confusion and shame of ourselves, and to admonish us to take again the dominion that is meet and convenient for us; not only that power which is according to the excellency of dignity, but that which is according to providence, and according to help and virtue; for then is the body in best proportion, when it hath the best governor: but woman can never be the best governor, because in the nature of all women harketh such vices as in good governors are not tolerable;' which the same writer expresseth in these words, 'Woman-kind (saith he) is rash and fool-hardy; and their covetousness is like the gulph of hell, that is unfathomable.' And therefore in another place † he witnesseth, that woman shall have nothing to do in judgment in common affairs, or in the government of the commonwealth, because she is impatient of troubles, but that she shall live in tranquillity and quietness. And if she have occasion to go from the house, that yet she shall have no matter of trouble neither to follow her, neither to be offered unto her, as commonly there must be to such as bear authority. And with Chrysostom fully agreeth Basilus Magnus, in a sermon which he maketh upon some places of Scripture ‡, wherein he reproves divers vices; and, among the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tender creature, flexible, soft, and pitiful; which nature God hath given unto her, that she may be apt to nourish children: which faculty

of the woman did Satan abuse, and thereby brought her from God's obedience. And therefore, in divers other places, doth he conclude, 'That she is not apt to bear rule, and that she is forbidden to teach.' This being proved, by the determinations and laws huminated only by the light of nature, by the order of God's creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman, by the mouth of St. Paul, who is the interpreter of God's sentence and law, and finally by the minds of these writers who in God's church have been always holden in greatest reverence, that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, to God's will and appointed ordinance, yea, that it cannot be without contumely against God, that a woman should be promoted to dominion or empire, to reign over man, be it in realm, nation, province, or city: now reſteth in few words to be shewed, that the same empire of woman is the subversion of good order, equity, and justice. Augustine †† defineth order to be that thing by which God hath appointed and ordained all things. Augustine will admit no order where God's appointment is absent ¶. And in another place he saith, 'Order is a disposition, giving their own proper places to things which are unequal;' which he termeth in Latin, *Parium & disparium*, that is, of things equal or like, or things unequal or unlike; of which two places, and of the whole disposition, which is contained in his second book *De Civitate*, it is evident, that whatsoever is done without the assurance of God's will, or else against his will revealed in his word, is done against order; but such is the empire and government of all women: therefore, I say, it is a thing plainly repugnant to good order; yea, it is the subversion of the same. If any please to reject Augustine's definition, as either not proper to this purpose, or else as insufficient to prove my intent, let the same man understand, that, in so doing, he hath informed mine argument nothing: for as I depend not upon the determinations of men, so I think my cause no weaker albeit their authority be denied unto me, providing that God's revealed will stand evident on my side. That God hath subjected womankind to man, by the order of his creation, and by the curse that he hath pronounced against her, is before declared. Besides these, he hath set before our eyes two other mirrors and glasses, in which he willeth that we should behold the order which

* Ad Ephes. Cap. 4. Serm. 3.
† In Epist. ad Titum.

† In Cap. 22. Joh. Homil. 87.

‡ In Joh. Hom. 41.

§ Basil.

¶ In August. de Civitate.

¶ Aug. de Ord. Lib. 1. Cap. 10.

¶ De Civitate Dei, Lib. 19. Cap. 13.

he hath appointed and established in nature; the one is the natural body of man, the other is the politic or civil body of that commonwealth, in which God by his own word hath appointed an order. In man's natural body, God hath appointed an order, That the head should occupy the uppermost place; and the head hath he joined with the body, that from it doth life and motion flow to the rest of the members. In the head he hath placed the eye to see, the ear to hear, and the tongue to speak, which offices are appointed to no other members of the body. The rest of the members have every one their own place and office, but no member may have the place or office of the head; for who would not judge that body to be a monster, where there were no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly, and the ears in the feet? No less is the body of that commonwealth, where a woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a lawful head (as in very deed it doth), or else an idol is exalted instead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and strength, which the name and proportion doth resemble and promise. I confess, a realm may in despite of God (he of his wife judgment so giving them over unto a reprobate mind) exalt a woman to that monstrous honour to be esteemed as head: but impossible it is to man or angel to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the same God that denied power to the hands to speak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to see, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wisdom to consider, and providence to foresee the things that are profitable to the commonwealth: yea, finally, he hath pronounced plainly, That man is head to woman, even as Christ is head to all men*. If men, in a blind rage, should assemble together, and appoint themselves another head than Jesus Christ (as the Papists have done their Roman Antichrist), should therefore Christ lose his own dignity, or should God give to that counterfeit head power to give life to the body, to see whatsoever might endanger or hurt it, to speak in defence, and to hear the requests of every subject? It is certain that he would not; for that honour, which before all time he hath appointed to his only Son, will he give to no creature besides: no more will he admit or accept woman to be lawful head over man, al-

though man, devil, and angel, will conjure in her favour. Chryostom, explaining these words of the apostle, 'The head of the woman is the man,' he compareth God, in his universal government, to a king sitting in his royal majesty, to whom all his subjects, being commanded to give homage and obedience, appear before him, bearing every one such a badge and cognizance of dignity and honour as he hath given to them, which if they defile or contemn, then do they dishonour their king: even so, saith he, ought men and women to appear before God, bearing the ensigns of the condition which they have received from him. Man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman, and therefore ought he to appear before his High Majesty, bearing the sign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head, to witness that on earth man hath no head (beware, Chryostom, what thou sayest; thou shalt be reputed a traitor, if Englishmen hear thee, for they must have my sovereign lady and mistress, and Scotland hath drunken also the enchantment and venom of Circe); but woman ought to be covered, to witness that on earth she hath a head, that is, man. True it is, Chryostom, woman is covered in both the said realms, but it is not with the sign of subjection, but with the royal crown, a sign of superiority. To that he answereth in these words, What if man neglect his honour? He is no less to be mocked, saith he, than if a king should depose himself of his diadem or crown, and royal estate, and clothe himself in the habit of a slave. What, I pray, now should this godly father have said, If he had seen the crown, sceptre, and sword, which are the ensigns of the royal dignity, given to a woman cursed of God, and all the men of a realm to fall down before her? I am assured he should have judged them, not only foolish, but also enraged, and slaves to Satan, manifestly fighting against God and his appointed order. The more I consider the subversion of God's order, which he hath placed generally in all things, the more I do wonder at the blindness of man, who doth not consider himself in this case so degenerate, that the brute beasts are to be preferred unto him in this behalf; for nature hath in all beasts printed a certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain subjection in the female, which they keep inviolate: for no man ever saw the lion make obedience or stoop before the lioness; neither yet can it be proved, that the hind taketh the conducting of the

heard amongst the harts. And yet, alas! man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only, to his own shame, stoop under the obedience of woman, but also, in despite of God, and his appointed order, rejoiceth and maintaineth that monstrous authority, as a thing lawful and just. The insolent joys, the bonfires and banquetings, which were in London, and elsewhere in England, when that cursed Jezebel was proclaimed queen, did witness to my heart, that men were become more than enraged; for else, how could they have so rejoiced at their own confusion and certain destruction? For what man was there of so base judgment (supposing that he had any light of God) who did not see the erecting of that monster to be the overthrow of true religion, and the assured destruction of England, and of the ancient liberties thereof? And yet nevertheless all men so triumphed, as if God had delivered them from all calamities. If any man think these my words sharp or vehement, let him consider, that the offence is more heinous than could be expressed by words. God, for his great mercies sake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceive into what miserable bondage they are brought into, by the monstrous empire of women. The second glass, which God hath set before man's eyes, wherein he may behold the order which pleases his wisdom concerning authority and dominion, is the commonwealth, to which it hath pleased his Majesty to give laws, statutes, rites, and ceremonies, not only concerning religion, but also touching the policy and government of the same. And against that order it doth manifestly repugn, that any woman shall occupy the throne of God, that is, the royal seat, which he by his word hath appointed to man; as in giving the law to Israel, concerning the election of a king is evident: for thus it is written*, 'If thou shalt say, I will set a king over thee, like as all the nations that are about me: thou shalt make thee a king, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse: one from among thy brethren shalt thou appoint king over thee: thou mayst not set a stranger over thee, that is not thy brother.' Here expressly is a man appointed to be chosen king, and a man native amongst themselves; by which precept are all women and all strangers secluded. What may be objected for the part or election of a stranger, shall be, God willing, answered in the Blast of the Second Trumpet; for this present,

I say, That the electing of a woman to that honour, is not only to invert the order which God hath established, but also to defile and pollute (so far as in man lieth) the throne and seat of God, which he hath sanctified and appointed for man only, as his minister and lieutenant on earth. If any think that the foresaid law did bind the Jews only, let the same man consider that the election of a king, and appointing of judges, did neither appertain to the ceremonial law, neither yet was it merely judicial, but that it did flow from the moral law, as an ordinance having a respect to the conservation of both tables; for the office of the magistrate ought to have the first and chief respect to God's glory, commanded and contained in the former table, as is evident by that which God enjoined by Jothua, when he was admitted governor over his people, in these words †, 'Thou shalt divide the inheritance to this people, the which I sware to their fathers to give them; only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayst observe to do all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand nor to the left, that thou mayst prosper whithersoever thou goest. Let not the book of the law depart from thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayst observe to do according to all that is written therein. For then shall thy ways prosper, and thou shalt have good success, &c.' And the same precept giveth God, by the mouth of Moses, to kings, after they are elected, in these words ‡, 'When he shall sit in the throne or seat of his kingdom, he shall write to himself a copy of this law in a book, and that shall be with him, that he may read in it all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and all these statutes, that he may do them, &c.' By these two places it is evident, that principally it appertaineth to the king or chief magistrate to know God's will, to be instructed in his law and statutes, and to promote his glory with his whole heart and study, which are the chief points of the first table. No man denieth, but that the sword is committed to the magistrate, to the end that he should punish vice and maintain virtue. He ought not only to punish adultery, theft, murder, but also such vices as openly impugn God's glory, as idolatry, blasphemy, and manifest heresy taught and obstinately maintained; as the histories and notable acts of Heze-

* Deut. viii. 14. 15.

† Josh. i.

‡ Deut. xvii.

kiah, Jehoshophat, and Josiah, do plainly teach us, whose care was, not only to glorify God in their own life, but also to bring their subjects to the true worship of God; and therefore they destroyed all monuments of idolatry, punished to death the teachers thereof, and removed from office and honours such as were maintainers of the same: whereby, I suppose, it is evident, that the office of the king, or supreme magistrate, hath respect to the law moral, and to the conservation of both tables. Now if the law moral be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to which the Gentile is no less bound than was the Jew; and if God willeth that among the Gentiles the ministers and executors of the law be now appointed, as sometimes they were amongst the Jews; further, if the execution of justice be no less requisite in the policy of the Gentiles, than ever it was amongst the Jews, what man can be so foolish as to suppose or believe that God will now admit these persons to sit in judgment, or to reign over men in the commonwealth of the Gentiles, whom he by his express word and ordinance did before debar and exclude from the same? And that women were excluded from the royal seat (besides the places before recited of the election of a king, and besides the places of the New Testament which are most evident), the order and election which was kept in Judah and Israel doth manifestly declare; for when males of the kingly stock failed (as oft it chanced in Israel, and sometimes in Judah), it never entered into the people's hearts to chuse and promote to honour any of the king's daughters, had he never so many: for they knowing God's vengeance to be poured forth upon the father by the away-taking of his sons, they had no further respect to his stock, but elected such a man or other as they judged most apt for that honour and authority: of which premises I conclude (as before), That to promote a woman to be head over man, is repugnant to nature, and a thing most contrarious to that order which God hath approved in that commonwealth, which he did institute and rule by his word. But now to the last point, *viz.* That the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to justice, and the destruction of every commonwealth when it is received: in few words (because the matter is more than evident), I say, if justice be a constant and perpetual will to give to every person their own right (as the most learned in all ages have defined it to be), then to give, or to will to give to any person that which is not their right, must repugn to justice; but to reign above man

can never be the right of woman, because it is a thing denied to her by God, as before is declared: therefore to promote her to that estate or dignity can be nothing else but repugnancy to justice. If any find fault with justice as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt; for I have the warrant of him who assuredly will defend the quarrel, and he commandeth me to cry, That whatsoever repugneth to his will expressed in his sacred word, repugneth to justice, but that women have authority above men, repugneth to his will expressed in his word: and therefore, at my author's commandment, without fear, I conclude, That all such authority repugneth to justice. The first part of the argument is a principle, not only universally received, but also deeply printed in the heart of man; so that no less the reprobate are coerced and constrained to acknowledge the same, than are the chosen children of God, albeit to diverse ends. The elect with displeasure of their fact confess their offence, having access to grace and mercy; as did Adam, David, Peter, and all other penitent offenders: but the reprobate, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, which they have offended, yet are they never inwardly displeas'd with their iniquity, but rage, and complain, and storm against God, whose vengeance they cannot escape; as did Cain, Judas, Herod, Julian the Apostate, yea Jezebel and Athalia: for Cain no doubt was convicted in conscience that he had done against justice, in murdering of his brother; Judas did openly confess, before the high-priest, that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood; Herod, being stricken by the angel, did mock these his flatterers, saying unto them, 'Behold, your god (meaning himself) cannot now preserve himself from corruption and worms.' Julian was compelled in the end to cry, 'O Galilee (so always in contempt did he name our Saviour Jesus Christ)! thou hast now overcome;' and who doubts but Jezebel and Athalia were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murder which they had committed, and the empire which the one had six years usurped, were repugnant to justice? Even so shall they, I doubt not, which do this day possess and maintain their monstrous authority of women, shortly be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and devices have been bent against God, and that all such authority as women have usurped repugneth to justice; because (as I have said) it repugneth to God's will expressed in his sacred word. Here might I bring in the opposi-

tion and injustice which is committed against realms, which sometimes have lived free, and now are brought in bondage of foreign nations, by reason of this monstrous authority and empire of women; but that I delay till better opportunity. And now I think it expedient to answer such objections as carnal men, ignorant of God, use to make for maintenance of this tyranny (authority it is not worthy to be called), and most unjust empire of women. First, they do object the example of Deborah and of Huldah the prophets *, of whom the one judged Israel, and the other by all appearance did teach and exhort. I answer †, The men that object the same are not altogether ignorant, that examples have no strength when the question is of law: as if I should ask, What marriage is lawful? and it should be answered, That lawful it is to man, not only to have for many wives at once, but also to marry two sisters, and to enjoy them both living at once, because David, Jacob, and Solomon, servants of God, had the same: I trust no man would justify the vanity of this reason. Or if the question was demanded, If a Christian with good conscience may defraud, or steal, or deceive? and answer was made, That so he might, by the example of the Israelites, who, at God's commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garments, gold, and silver: I think likewise this reason should be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Deborah did rule in Israel, and Huldah spoke prophecy in Judah: *ergo*, It is lawful for women to reign above realms, or to teach in the presence of men. The consequence is vain, and of no effect; for of particular examples we may establish no common law, but are always bound to the law written, and to the commandment expressed in the same: but the law written and pronounced by God, forbiddeth no less that any woman reign over man, than it forbiddeth man to take plurality of wives, to marry two sisters living at once, to steal, to rob, to murder, to lie. If any of these hath been transgressed, and yet God hath not imputed the same, it maketh not the like fact lawful to us: for God being free, may, for such causes as are approved by his inscrutable wisdom, dispense with the rigour of his own law, and may use his creatures at his pleasure; but the same power is not permitted unto man, whom he hath made subject

to his law, and not to the examples of fathers. I think this sufficient to reasonable and moderate spirits. But to repress the raging of womens madness, I will descend somewhat deeper in the matter, and not fear to affirm, That as we find a contrary spirit in all those most wicked women, that this day are exalted into this tyrannous authority, so the spirit that was in these godly matrons, so I fear not to affirm, That their condition is unlike, and their end shall be diverse ‡. In these matrons we find that the spirit of mercy, truth, and justice, and humility did reign; and that under them God did shew mercy to his people, delivering them from the tyranny of strangers, and from the venom of idolatry: but in these of our ages, we find cruelty, falsehood, pride, covetousness, deceit, oppression, the spirit of Jezebel and Athalia; and under them simple people oppressed, true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christ's members most cruelly shed; and, finally, the titles and liberties of ancient realms taken from the just possessors, and given and betrayed into the hands of strangers. But to prosecute my purpose, let such as defend these monsters in their tyranny prove, *first*, That their sovereign mistress is like to Deborah in godliness and piety: and *secondly*, That the same success doth follow their tyranny, which did follow the extraordinary government of that godly matron; which although they were able to do (as they never shall be, let them blow till they burst), yet shall her example profit them nothing at all: for they are never able to prove, that Deborah, or any other godly matron (having the commendation of the Holy Ghost within the Scriptures), hath usurped authority above any nation by reason of their birth and blood, neither yet did they claim it by right or inheritance; but God, by his singular privilege, favour, and grace, exempted Deborah from the common malediction given in that behalf to woman; and, against nature, he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happy in government, and a blessed mother, and a deliverer of his people: which he did, partly to advance the power of his majesty, in giving salvation and deliverance by means of the most weak vessels, and partly to confound all men of that age, because they had for the most part declined from his obedience: but what maketh this for Mary, and her match Philip? One thing I would ask such as depend upon the example of Deborah, Whether she

* Objection 1. Judg. iv. Paral. 24.
of law.

† Examples against law have no strength when the question is

‡ An antithesis betwixt the former matrons and our Jezebels.

was a widow or wife when she judged Israel, and when God gave under her that notable victory to his people? If they answer, She was a widow, I would lay against them the testimony of the Holy Ghost, witnessing that she was the wife of Lapidoth*: and if they will alledge, that the might so be called, notwithstanding that her husband was dead, I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and manner of speech in Scripture, That a woman shall be called the wife of a dead man, except there be some note added, whereby it may be known that her husband is departed; as is witnessed of Anna†. But in the place of the Judges, there is no note added, that her husband should be dead; but rather the contrary is expressed‡: for the text saith, ‘In that time, a woman named Deborah, a prophetess, wife to Lapidoth, judged Israel.’ The Holy Ghost plainly speaketh, that what time she judged Israel she was wife to Lapidoth. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I ask, Did she not prefer her husband to that honour to be captain and leader of the host of the Lord? If any think that it was her husband, the text proveth the contrary; for it affirmeth, that Barak, of the tribe of Naphtali, was appointed to that office. If Barak had been her husband, to what purpose should the Holy Ghost so diligently have noted the tribe, and another name than was before expressed? Yea, to what purpose should it be noted, that she sent and called him? Thus I doubt not but every reasonable man doth consider, that this Barak was not her husband, and that her judgment or government in Israel was no usurped power, as our queens this day unjustly possess; but that it was the spirit of prophecy that rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord; by which spirit she did rebuke the idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end bring them this comfort, That God should deliver them from the bondage and thralldom of their enemies: and this she might do, notwithstanding that another did occupy the place of the supreme magistrate (if any was in these days in Israel); for so I find did Huldah, the wife of Shaltum, in the days of Josiah king of Judah§, speak prophecy, and comfort the king; and yet he resigned to her neither the sceptre nor the sword. That this our interpretation, how that Deborah did judge in Israel, was the true

meaning of the Holy Ghost, the ponderance of the history shall manifestly prove: when she saith for Barak, she saith not to him, I being thy prince, thy sovereign lady and queen, command thee, upon thine allegiance, and on pain of treason, to go and gather an army; but she speaketh as one that had a special revelation from God, which was neither known to Barak nor to the people, saying, ‘Hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded thee?’ Also when she had delivered to him the whole counsel of God, appointing unto him the number of his soldiers, the tribes out of which they should be gathered, the place of the battle, and had assured him of the victory in God’s name, which she could not have done without a special revelation from heaven, he fainteth, and openly refused to enter into journey, except the prophets would accompany him. But what, did she use against him any external power? Did she threaten him with rebellion and death? No, no; but, for assurance of his faint heart, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, That the glory should not be his in that journey, but that the Lord should sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. Hereby it is evident, that Deborah did all by his spiritual sword the word of God, and not by any usurped temporal government nor authority over Israel, as our queens do this day claim. In Israel, I suppose, at that time, there was no lawful magistrate, by reason of their great affliction; for so witnesseth the history, saying, ‘And Ehud being dead, the Lord sold Israel into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan; and he, by Sisera his captain, afflicted Israel greatly the space of twenty years: and Deborah herself, in her song of thanksgiving, confesseth, That before she did arise as a mother in Israel, and in the days of fact, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any slieth to the term, alledging the Holy Ghost saith, ‘That she judged Israel;’ let them understand, that neither doth the Hebrew word, neither yet the Latin, always signify civil judgment, or the execution of the temporal sword, but most commonly is taken in the sense which we have before expressed: for of Christ it is said, ‘He shall judge many nations;’ and that he shall pronounce judgment to the ‘Gentiles;’ and yet it is evident, that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth Judah and Jerusalem to judge between him and his vineyard, and yet he appointed not all of them to be civil magistrates. To Ezekiel¶ it is said,

* Judg. iv.

† Luke ii.

‡ Judg. iv. 4.

§ 2 Kings xxii.

¶ Ezek. xx. 22. 24.

‘ Shalt thou not judge them, son of man? ’ And after, ‘ Thou son of man, shalt thou not judge, ‘ shalt thou not judge, I say, the city of blood? ’ And also, ‘ Behold I shall judge betwixt beast and ‘ beast. ’ And such places in great numbers are to be found throughout the whole Scriptures. And yet I trust no man will be so foolish as to think, that any of the prophets were appointed by God to be politic judges, or to punish the sins of men by corporal punishment: No; the manner of their judgment is expressed in these words, ‘ Declare to ‘ them all their abominations; and thou shalt say ‘ to them, Thus saith the Lord God, A city shed- ‘ ding blood in the midst of her, that her time may ‘ approach, and which hath made idols against ‘ herself, that she might be polluted; thou hast ‘ transgressed in the blood that thou hast shed, and ‘ art polluted in the idels which thou hast made.’ Thus, I say, do God’s prophets judge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Deborah judged at that time, when Israel had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpation of any civil authority: and if the people gave to her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet it was no such empire as our monst’rs claim: for which of her sons, or nearest kinsmen, is she the ruler and judge in Israel after her? The Holy Ghost expresseth no such thing. Wherefore it is evident, that by her example God offereth no occasion to establish any government of women above men, realms and nations. But is it not lawful, say some, that women have their right and inheritance, like as the daughters of Zelophehad were commanded by the mouth of Moses † to have their portion of ground in their tribe? I answer, It is both lawful and equitable, that women possess their inheritance: but I add therewith, That to bear rule and authority over men, can never be right nor inheritance to a woman: for that can never be just inheritance to any person, which God by his word has plainly denied unto them; but to all women God hath denied authority above man, as most manifestly is before declared: therefore, to her it can never be inheritance. The portion of Zelophehad’s daughters was not to reign over any one tribe, nor yet over any one man within Israel, but only that they might have a portion of ground amongst the men of their tribe, lest that the name of their father should be abolished: and

this was granted to them, without any respect had to any civil government. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing this monstrous empire of women? Although women may succeed to the possession, substance, patrimony, or inheritance of their fathers, yet they may not succeed in their father’s offices, least of all to that office, the executor whereof doth occupy the place and throne of God. One thing there is yet to be observed, in the law made concerning the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad ‡, viz. That it was forbidden to them to marry without their own tribe, lest such portion as fell to their lot should be transferred from one tribe to another, and so should the tribe of Manasseh be defrauded and spoiled of their just inheritance by their occasion. Wonder it is, that the patrons of our ladies did not consider this law, before they counselled the blind princes and unworthy nobles of their country, to betray the liberties thereof into the hands of strangers; England, for satisfying the inordinate appetites of that cruel monster Mary (unworthy, by reason of her bloody tyranny, of the name of a woman) betrayed, alas! to the proud Spaniard; and Scotland, by the rash madness of foolish governors, and by the practice of a crafty dame, resigned likewise, under the title of marriage, into the power of France. Doth such translations of realms please God’s justice? or, Is the possession by such means lawful in God’s sight? Assuredly no: for if God would not permit that the inheritance, commodity, and usual fence, which may be gathered of the portion of ground limited and assigned to one tribe of the children of Israel, should pass to another by the marriage of any daughter, notwithstanding that they were all one people, speaking one tongue, descended of one father, professors of one God and one religion; will he suffer that the laws, liberties, commodities, and fruits of whole realms be given into the power and distribution of others, by reason of marriage, especially in the power of such as, besides that of a strange tongue, of strange names and laws, are also ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true members, and haters of all virtue? The Spaniards, for very despite which they do bear against Christ Jesus, whom their forefathers did crucify (for Jews they are, as histories do witness, and themselves confess), do this day make plain war against all true professors of his holy gospel; and the French king, and his pestilent prelates, by the flaming fires,

* Ezek. xxii.

† 2 Objection.

‡ Numb. xxvii.

§ Numb. xxxvi.

which lick up the innocent blood of Christ's members, and by cruel edicts, do notify and proclaim how blindly and outrageously they fight against the verity of God: and yet to these two cruel tyrants, France and Spain, is the right and possession of England and Scotland appointed. But just and lawful shall that possession never be, till God do change the statute of his former law, which he will not do for the pleasure of man: for he hath not created the earth to satisfy the ambition of two or three tyrants, but for the universal seed of Adam; and hath appointed and defined the bounds of their habitation, assigning to divers nations divers countries, as he himself confesseth, speaking to Israel in these words *, ' You shall pass by the bounds and limits of your brethren, the sons of Esau, who dwell in Mount Seir. They shall fear you; but take diligent heed that you show not yourselves cruel against them: for I will give you no part of their land, no not the breadth of a foot; for Mount Seir I have given to Esau to be possessed.' And the same doth he witness of the sons of Lot, to whom he had given Ar to be possessed. And Moses plainly affirmeth †, ' That when the Almighty did distribute and divide possessions to the Gentiles, and when he did disperse and scatter the sons of men, that then he did appoint the limits and bounds of the people, for the number of the sons of Israel.' Whereof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in prey to tyrants, making all things lawful which by violence and murder they may possess; but that he hath appointed to every several nation a several possession, willing them to stand content (as nature did teach a Heathen ‡ to affirm) with that portion which by lot and just means they had enjoyed. For what cause God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and realms and ancient nations to be possessed of strangers, I delay at this time to treat: but come to a third objection. The consent, say our ladies advocates, of realms, and laws pronounced and admitted in this behalf, long consuetude and custom, together with the felicity of some women in empires, have established their authority ¶. I answer, Neither does the tyranny of princes, neither the foolishness of people, neither wicked laws made against God, neither yet the felicity that in this earth may hereof ensue, make that thing lawful, which he by his word hath manifestly condemned: for if the approbation of princes and people, and laws made by men, or the

consent of realms, may establish any thing against God and his word, then should idolatry be preferred to true religion; for more realms and nations, more laws and decrees published by emperors, with common consent of their councils, have established the one, than have approved the other; and yet I think that no man of sound judgment will therefore justify and defend idolatry: no more ought any man this odious empire of women, although it were approved of all men by their laws: for the same God, that in plain words forbiddeth idolatry, doth also forbid the authority of women over men. I know these who maintain this monstrous empire, have yet two main shifts: *First*, They alledge, ' That albeit women may not absolutely reign by themselves, because they may neither sit in judgment, neither pronounce sentence, neither execute any public office, yet they may do such thing, by their lieutenants, deputies, and judges substitute. *Secondly*, Say they, A woman born to rule over any realm, may chuse her own husband, and to him she may transfer and give her authority and right. To both I answer in few words: *First*, That from a corrupt and venomous fountain can spring no wholesome waters. *Secondly*, That no person hath power to give the thing which doth not justly appertain to themselves; but the authority of a woman is a corrupted fountain: and therefore from her can never spring any lawful officer. She is not born to rule over man, and therefore she can appoint none by her gift, nor by her power (which she hath not), to the place of a lawful magistrate: and therefore whatsoever receiveth of a woman office or authority, are adulterous and bastard office-bearers before God. This may appear strange at the first; but if we will look with an indifferent eye, the reason shall suddenly appear. Suppose the case, That a tyrant by conspiracy usurped the royal seat and dignity of a king, and in the same did so establish himself, that he appointed officers, and did what pleased him for a time; and in this mean time the native king made strict inhibition to all his subjects, that none should acknowledge him, nor receive dignity of him; yet nevertheless they would honour the same traitor as king, and become his officers in all affairs of the realm: if after the native prince did recover his just honour and possession, should he repute or esteem any man of the traitor's appointment for a lawful magistrate, or for his friend and true subject? or, should he not rather, with one sen-

* Deut. ii. † Deut. xxxii. ‡ Cicero. Offic. Lib. i. ¶ Objection 3. § Objection 4.

rence, condemn the head with the members? And if he should do so, Who were able to accuse him of rigour, much less to condemn his sentence of injustice? And dare we deny the same power to God in the like case? For that woman reigneth above man, the Lath obtained it by treachon and conspiracy; How can it be then, that she, being guilty and criminal of treason against God committed, can appoint any officer pleading in his sight? It is impossible. Wherefore let men that receive of women authority, honour, or office, be most surely persuaded, that, in so maintaining that usurped power, they declare themselves enemies to God. If any think that because the realm and estates thereof have given their consent unto a woman, and have established her and her authority, that therefore it is lawful and acceptable to God; let the same men remember what I have said before, *viz.* That man cannot approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his word and ordinance: and therefore they must have a more assured defence against God's wrath, else they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the confuming fire; that is, they must acknowledge, that the government of a woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God; they must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitoresse and rebel against God; and, finally, they must study to repress her inordinate pride and tyranny to the uttermost of their power. The same is the duty of the nobility and estates, by whose blindness a woman is promoted: *First*, in so far as they have most heinously offended God, placing in authority such as God by his word hath removed from the same, unfeignedly they ought to call for mercy; and being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in sign and token of true repentance, with common consent they ought to retreat that which unwisely and by ignorance they have promoued, and without further delay to remove from authority all such persons as by usurpation, violence, or tyranny, do possess the same: for so did Israel and Judah after they had revolted from David, and Judah alone in the days of Athalia. For after that she * by murdering her son's children, had the empire over the land, and had most unhappily reigned in Judah six years, Jehoiada, the high-priest, called together the captains and chief rulers of the people, and shewing to them king Josiah, did bind them by an oath to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royal

feat; which they faithfully did, killing at his command, not only that cruel and mischievous woman, but also the people did destroy the temple of Baal, broke his altars and images, and killed Matan, Baal's high-priest, before his altars. The same is the duty as well of the estates, as of the people, that have been blinded: *First*, They ought to remove from honour and authority that monster in nature (so call I a woman clad in the habit of a man), a woman against nature reigning above man. *Secondly*, If any person presume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear, first to pronounce, and thereafter to execute against them, the sentence of death. If any are afraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to such monsters, let them most assuredly be persuaded, that as the beginning of their oaths proceeding from ignorance was sin, so is the obstinate purpose to keep the same nothing but plain rebellion against God. But of this matter in the Second Blast, God willing, we shall speak more at large. Now, to put an end to the First Blast: let all men take heed what quarrel and cause they do from henceforth defend. If God raise up any noble heart to vindicate the liberty of his country, and to suppress the monstrous empire of women, let all such as shall presume to defend them in the same most certainly know, that, in so doing, they lift their hands against God; and that one day they shall find his power to fight against their foolishness. Let not Christ's faithful soldiers be utterly discouraged; neither let the tyrants rejoice, albeit for a time they triumph: for the cause why he suffereth his soldiers to fall in battle (as by Holy Scripture may be gathered), is sometimes to bear down the pride of flesh, sometimes to punish the offences of his own children, and to bring them to unfeigned acknowledgment of the same. You know the cause of the Israelites, who did fight against Benjamin, was most just; for it was to punish that most horrible abomination of these sons of Belial abusing the Levite's wife, whom the Benjamites did defend; and they had God's precept to assure them of well-doing; for he not only commanded them to fight, but also appointed Judah to be their leader and captain. But because at the first they trusted in their multitude, power, and strength, therefore they fell twice in battle against these most wicked adulterers: yet after they had wept before the Lord, after they had fasted and made sacrifice, in sign of their unfeigned repentance, they so prevailed

against that proud tribe of Benjamin, that after twenty-five thousand strong men were killed in the battle, they destroyed man, woman, child, and beast, as well in the fields as in the cities, which were all burnt with fire; so that of that whole tribe remained only six hundred men, who fled to the wilderness, where they remained four months, and so were saved². The same God who did execute this grievous punishment, even by the hands of those whom he suffered twice to be overcome in battle, doth this day retain his power and justice: but cursed Jezebel of Babylon³, with the pestilent and detestable generation of Papists, make no little brag and boast that they have triumphed, not only against wit, but also against all such as have enterprised any thing against them and their proceedings. But let her and them consider, that yet they have not prevailed against God. His throne is more high than the length of their horns can be able to reach. Let them further consider, that, in the beginning of this their bloody reign, the harvest of their iniquity was not come to full maturity and ripeness: no; it was so green (so fecerret I mean, so covered, and so hid with hypocrisy), that some (even of the servants of God) thought it not impossible that wolves might be changed into lambs, and also that the viper might remove her natural venom. But God, who doth reveal, in His time appointed, the secrets of hearts, and that will have his judgments justified, even by the very wicked, hath now given open testimony of her, and their beastly cruelty. So that now, not only the blood of father Latimer, discret and learned Rid-

ley, innocent lady Jane Dudley, and many others, that fire hath consumed, and the sword of tyranny so unjustly hath slain, doth call for vengeance in the ear of the Lord of Hosts; but also the sobs and tears of the poor oppressed, the groanings of the Lord's watchmen, yea, and every earthly creature abused by their tyranny, do continually cry and call for lusty execution of the same. I fear not to say, That the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster Jezebel of England, and such as maintain her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the Eternal: and I verily believe, that it is so near, that she shall not reign so long in tyranny as hitherto she hath done, when God shall declare Himself to be her enemy, and shall pour forth contempt upon her according to her cruelty. Her empire and reign is a wall without foundation; I mean the same of the authority of all women: it hath been under-propped, this blind time bygone, with the foolishness of the people, and with the wicked laws of ignorant and tyrannous princes: but the fire of God's word is already laid to these rotten props (I mean the pope's law with the rest), and presently they burn, albeit we spy not the flame. When they are consumed (as shortly they will be, for stubble and dry timber cannot long endure the fire), that rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of women, shall fall by itself in despite of all men, to the destruction of so many as shall labour to with-hold it. And therefore let all men be advertised, for the Trumpet hath now blown.

² Judg. xx.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BLAST.

TO THE READER.

BECAUSE many are offended at the First Blast of the Trumpet, in which I affirm, That to promote a woman to bear rule or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, and a thing most contrarious to his revealed and approved ordinance; and because also, that some have promised (as I understand) a confutation of the same; I have delayed the Second Blast, till such time as their reasons appear, by which I either may be reformed in opinion, or else shall have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my judgment. Yet, in the mean time, for the discharge of my conscience, and for avoiding suspicion which might be engendered by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notify these subsequent propositions, which, by God's grace, I purpose to treat in the Second Blast promised.

1. It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a peo-

ple, professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity; but in his election must the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges be observed.

2. No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public government, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that have subjected themselves to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed gospel.

3. Neither can oath nor promise bind any such people, to obey and maintain tyrants against God, and against his truth known.

4. But if either rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one as after declareth himself unworthy of government above the people of God (and such are all idolaters and cruel persecutors), most justly may the same men depose and punish him; that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint, and elect.

MARTH. vi. *If the eye be single, the whole body shall be clear.*

A
L E T T E R

T O

THE PEOPLE OF EDINBURGH,

B Y

JOHN KNOX:

First printed at STIRLING, by ROBERT LEKPREVIK, Anno 1571.

To his loving Brethren, whom God once gloriously gathered in the Church of Edinburgh, and now are dispersed for Trial of our Faith, &c.

THE troubles of the just shall shortly come to an end, to the glory of God, and to their eternal comfort. Beloved brethren in the Lord Jesus, partakers now of his afflictions, if the inability of body would suffer, I would write a long letter; but being in that estate that I may not write with my own hand two lines, I must abide the good leisure of God, and desire you to have me excused, that I have not sooner visited you in this your dolorous persecution. When I call to mind the fearful threatenings of God that have been oftentimes thundered out into your ears, and do consider these present days, in the midst of my dolour, I praise my God, that Satan hath not gotten the full victory, as he pretended: for this separation, which now is made to the grief of many hearts, is yet a severe document, that the word of God hath not lost the whole strength in you: but that God, working thereby, hath pulled you forth from the midst of the wicked, lest that you should be with them condemned, who now most manifestly rebel both against God and man.

Of one thing I must put you in mind, and I pray God that you may fruitfully remember it, That the word of God preached by the mouth of man,

is not a vain sound, and words spoken without a purpose; but is the summoning of God himself, forewarning men before the judgment come. Ye have heard it plainly spoken, That we would to Egypt again, in despite of Jeremiah, and all admonitions; which threatening for that time was not only mocked, but also boldly spoken against. But whether this day declareth the truth of that and other threatenings, let the very blind world judge: for what can be to return to Egypt, if to join hands with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authority (by God justly condemned) without order, both against God and man? Such men, when they were spoken unto, and were plainly admonished of their appearing defection, could not abide to be called proud contemners of God; who now spare not at every moment to blaspheme God, and by their wicked works plainly to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betwixt vice and virtue.

Rejoice therefore, and praise God's mercies, who hath called you from the company of such: and continue constant in that, that God of his mercy hath wrought in you, *viz.* a fear to remain in the faction of the wicked; which fear I pray God may daily increase in your hearts. I

know the assaults that you shall suffer are sore and hard to be gainful; and therefore be you fervent in prayer, that ye repent not that God hath chosen you to suffer affliction with his Son Jesus Christ. Hard it is, I say, to gainst and death and blood, and whatsoever is most precious in this life only, in hope of that kingdom promised; and only they that continue to the end shall stand in assurance before the Lord Jesus, in that general day, when virtue shall receive a just reward, and vice (with the workers of impiety) shall suffer wrath and vengeance without end.

Be not ye hindered at the multitude of them that have joined hands with impiety: 'For if they had been of us (as St. Iohn saith) they had remained with us.' But now this their defection doth plainly declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humours within the body, which behoved to be expelled forth, before the body could convalesce, and come to perfection again. Lament their fall, but follow not their steps; for howsoever they prosper in their attempt, their end thereof shall be their destruction temporal and eternal, unless speedy repentance prevent God's judgments; which to wish is godly, but to believe is with presumption, as oftentimes ye have heard.

If I might write, I would exhort you to remember, That 'by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

Look not for final victory before that the strength and pride of flesh be beaten down, neither be ye discouraged, albeit that iniquity prosper before the world; for the time of their felicity, which troubleth you for the present, shall be short: join not with them therefore, as ye will avoid plagues present, and condemnation eternal. Be faithful and loving one to another: let bitterness and suspicion be far out of your hearts: and let every one watch for the preservation of another, without grudging or murmuring; being assured, that as God hath appointed you to suffer affliction for righteousness' sake, so hath he appointed you to possess a kingdom, wherein neither Satan, sin, nor death, shall have power to molest you. Rejoice in the Lord, that he hath counted you worthy to suffer for his name's sake. Pray for me, brethren, that I may fight my battle lawfully to the end. The Lord Jesus preserve you now and ever. Amen.

At St. Andrews, the 17th
of July 1571.

Your brother to power in Christ Jesus,

JOHN KNOX.

A
S E R M O N,

PREACHED AT EDINBURGH,

By the REV. MR. JOHN KNOX,

AUGUST 19, 1565.

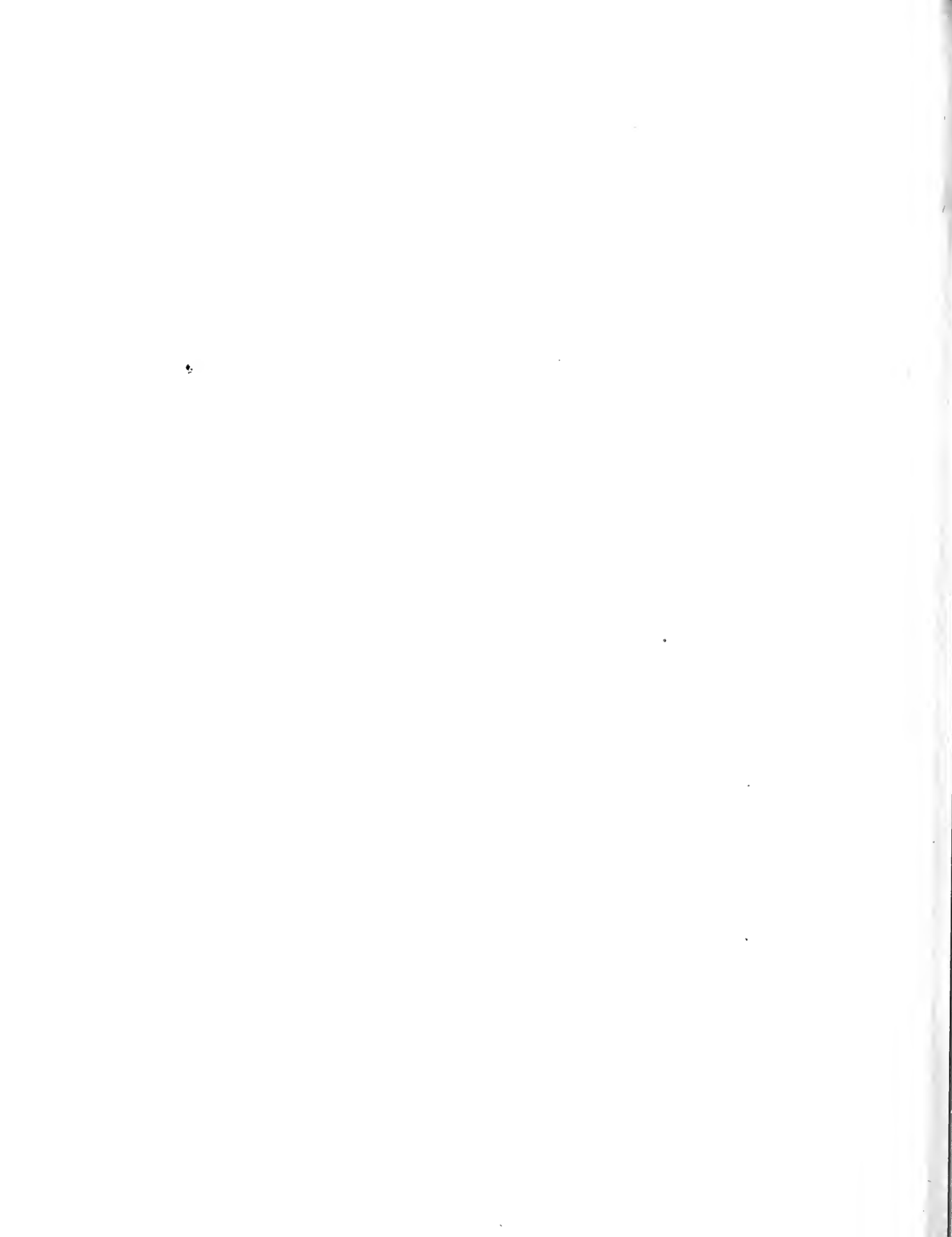
ISAIAH XXVI. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us ; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.

They are dead, they shall not live ; they are deceased, they shall not rise : therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.

Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast increased the nation, thou art glorified ; thou hast removed it far unto the ends of the earth.

Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them, &c.



T H E

P R E F A C E.

JOHN KNOX, *the Servant of JESUS CHRIST, in preaching of his holy Gospel, to the benevolent Reader desireth Grace and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WONDER not, Christian reader, that notwithstanding all my study and travel within the Scriptures of God, these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture, except this rude and indigested Sermon, preached in the public audience of the church of Edinburgh, the 19th of August, *anno* 1565. That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought myself to have most just reason; for considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (by men of most singular erudition), and yet so little well observed, I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myself especially called.

I dare not deny (lest that in so doing I should be injurious to the giver) but that God hath revealed unto me secrets unknown to the world; and also, that he hath made my tongue a trumpet, to forewarn realms and nations; yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet was appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny (be it never so blind) to be fulfilled; and the rest, alas! I fear, shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection, than my sorrowful heart desireth: notwithstanding these revelations and assurances, I did ever abstain to commit any thing to writing, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry.

If any then will ask, To what purpose this only Sermon is set forth, and greater matters omitted? I answer, To let such as Satan hath not altogether blinded, see upon how small occasions great offence is now conceived. This Sermon is it, for which (from my bed) I was called before the council; and, after long reasoning, I was by some forbidden to preach in Edinburgh, so long as the king and queen were in town. This Sermon is it, that so offendeth such as would please the court, and will not appear to be enemies to the truth; yet they dare affirm, that I exceeded the bounds of God's messenger: I have therefore faithfully committed unto writing, whatsoever I could remember might have been offensive in that sermon, to the end, that as well the enemies of God's truth, as the professors of the same, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the least cease to condemn me, before they have convinced me by God's manifest word.

If any man think it easy unto me, to mitigate by my pen the inconsiderate sharpness of my tongue, and so cannot men freely judge of that my sermon; I answer, That I am neither so impudent, that I will study to abuse the world in this great light; neither yet so void of the fear of my God, that I will avow a lie in his own presence: and no less do I esteem it to be a lie, to deny or conceal that which in his name I have once pronounced, than to affirm, that God hath spoken, when his word assures me not of the same: for in the public place I consult not with flesh and blood, what I shall propose to the people; but as the Spirit of my God, who hath sent me, and unto whom I must answer, moveth me, so I speak: and when I have once pronounced threatenings in his name (how unpleasent soever they be to the world), I dare no more deny them, than I dare deny that God hath made me his messenger, to forewarn the disobedient of their assured destruction.

At that Sermon were auditors unto me, not only professors of the truth, and such as favour me, but rank Papists, dissembling hypocrites, and no small number of covetous claustrals of the new court: now I will appeal to the conscience of them all, as they will answer in the presence of the eternal God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or else note unto me the sentences offensive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing: for in God's presence I protest, that, so far as my memory would serve me, I have written more vehemently, than in the action I spake and pronounced; but of purpose I have omitted persuasions and exhortations, which then were made. *Quadam hic desunt.*

S E R M O N.

ISAIAH xxvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name, &c.

AS the cunning mariner (being master), having his ship tossed with a vehement tempest, and contrary winds, is compelled oft to traverse, lest that, either by too much resisting to the violence of the waves, his vessel might be overwhelmed; or by too much liberty granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempest would, his ship should be driven upon the shore, and so make shipwreck: even so doth our prophet Isaiah in this text, which now you have heard read; for he, foreseeing the great desolation that was decreed in the council of the Eternal, against Jerusalem and Judah, *viz.* That the whole people, that bare the name of God, should be dispersed; that the holy city should be destroyed; the temple wherein was the ark of the covenant, and where God had promised to give his own presence, should be burnt with fire; and the king taken, his sons in his own presence murdered, his own eyes immediately after to be put out; the nobility, some cruelly murdered, some shamefully led away captives; and, finally, the whole seed of Abraham razed, as it were, from the face of the earth: the prophet, I say, fearing these horrible calamities, doth, as it were, sometimes suffer himself, and the people committed to his charge, to be carried away with the violence of the tempest, without further resistance than by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the Majesty of God, as in the 13th, 17th, and 18th verses of this present text we may read. At other times he valiantly resisteth the desperate tempest, and pronounceth the

fearful destruction of all such as trouble the church of God; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply even in such time, as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminated: but because there is no final rest to the whole body till that the head return to judgment, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiseth such a visitation, as whereby the wickedness of the wicked shall be disclosed, and finally recompensed in their own bosoms.

These are the chief points of which, by the grace of God, we intend more largely at this present to speak;

First, The prophet saith, ‘O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have ruled us.’

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint, in which he complaineth of the unjust tyranny that the poor afflicted Israelites sustained during the time of their captivity. True it is, that the prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people: for a hundred years after his decease was not the people led away captive; yet he, foreseeing the assurance of the calamity, did before-hand indite and dictate unto them the complaint, that after they should make. But at the first sight it appeareth, that the complaint hath but small weight: for what new thing was it, that other lords than God in his own person ruled them, seeing that such had been their government from the beginning? For who knoweth not, that Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, the judges, Samuel, David, and other godly rulers, were men, and not God; and so

other lords than God, ruled them in their great prosperity.

For the better understanding of this complaint, and of the mind of the prophet, we must *first* observe from whence all authority floweth; and, *secondly*, to what end powers are appointed by God: which two points being discussed, we shall better understand, what lords and what authority rule beside God, and who they are in whom God and his merciful presence rules.

The *first* is referred to us by the words of the apostle, saying, 'There is no power but of God.' David bringeth in the eternal God speaking to judges and rulers, saying, 'I have said, ye are gods, and sons of the Most High.' Psal. lxxxii. And Solomon, in the person of God, affirmeth the same, saying, 'By me kings reign, and princes discern the things that are just.' Of which place it is evident, that it is neither birth, influence of stars, election of people, force of arms, nor finally, whatsoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that makes the distinction betwixt the superior power and the inferior, or that doth establish the royal throne of kings; but it is the only and perfect ordinance of God, who willeth his terror, power, and majesty, in a part to shine in the thrones of kings, and in the faces of judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man: so that whosoever would study to deface that order of government that God hath established, and by his holy word allowed, and bring in such a confusion, as no difference should be betwixt the upper powers and the subjects, doth nothing but avert and turn upside down the very throne of God, which he wills to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cause of this ordinance more plainly shall appear: which is the second point we have to observe, for the better understanding of the prophet's words and mind.

The end and cause then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble flesh of man, this image of his own power and majesty, is not to puff up flesh in opinion of itself; neither yet that the heart of him, that is exalted above others, shall be lifted up by presumption and pride, and so despise others; but that he shall consider, that he is appointed lieutenant to one, whose eyes continually watch upon him, to see and examine how he behaveth himself in his office. St. Paul, in few words, declareth the end wherefore the sword is committed to the powers, saying, 'It is to the punishment of the wicked doers, and unto the praise of such as do well.' Rom. xiii.

Of which words it is evident, that the sword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to use as it pleaseth him, but only to punish vice and maintain virtue, that men may live in such society, as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and only cause, why God hath appointed powers in this earth.

For such is the furious rage of man's corrupt nature, that unless severe punishment were appointed and put in execution upon malefactors, better it were, that man should live among brutes and wild beasts than among men. But at this present I dare not enter into the description of this common-place; for so should I not satisfy the text, which by God's grace I purpose to absolve. This only by the way, I would that such as are placed in authority should consider, whether they reign and rule by God, so that God ruleth them; or if they rule without, besides, and against God, of whom our prophet here doth complain.

If any list to take trial of this point, it is not hard; for Moses, in the election of judges, and of a king, describeth not only what persons shall be chosen to that honour, but doth also give to him that is elected and chosen, the rule by which he shall try himself, whether God reign in him or not, saying, 'When he shall sit upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write to himself an exemplar of this law, in a book by the priests and Levites; it shall be with him, and he shall read therein, all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law, and these statutes, that he may do them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not from the commandment, to the right hand, nor to the left.' Deut. xvii.

The same is repeated to Joshua, in his inauguration to the government of the people by God himself, saying, 'Let not the book of this law depart from thy mouth, but meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest keep it, and do according to all that which is written in it. For then shall thy way be prosperous, and thou shalt do prudently.' Josh. i.

The *first* thing then that God craveth of him, that is called to the honour of a king, is, 'The knowledge of his will revealed in his word.'

The *second* is, 'An upright and willing mind, to put in execution such things as God commandeth in his law, without declining to the right, or to the left hand.'

Kings then have not an absolute power, to do in their government what pleaseth them, but their

power is limited by God's word; so that if they strike where God hath not commanded, they are but murderers; and if they spare where God hath commanded to strike, they and their throne are criminal and guilty of the wickedness that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.

O that kings and princes would consider what account shall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and misknowledge of God's will, as for the neglecting of their office! But now, to return to the words of the prophet; in the person of the whole people he doth complain unto God, that the Babylonians (whom he calleth, 'other lords besides God,' both because of their ignorance of God, and by reason of their cruelty and inhumanity) had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or compassion had upon the ancient men, and famous matrons: for they, being mortal enemies to the people of God, fought by all means to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminated the memory of them, and of their religion, from the face of the earth.

After the first part of this dolorous complaint, the prophet declareth the protestation of the people, saying, 'Nevertheless in thee shall we remember thy name,' (others read it, But we will remember thee only, and thy name); but in the Hebrew there is no conjunction copulative in that sentence. The mind of the prophet is plain, *viz.* That notwithstanding the long-sustained affliction, the people of God declined not to a false and vain religion, but remembered God, that sometime appeared to them in his merciful presence; which albeit then they saw not, yet would they still remember his name; that is, they would call to mind the doctrine and promise, which at sometime they heard, albeit in their prosperity they did not sufficiently glorify God, who so mercifully ruled in the midst of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Israelites was great in those days; they were carried captives from the land of Canaan, which was to them the gage and pledge of God's favour towards them: for it was the inheritance that God promised to Abraham, and to his seed for ever. The league and covenant of God's protection appeared to have been broken; they lamentably complain, that they saw not their accustomed signs of God's merciful presence. The true prophets were few, and the abominations used in Babylon were exceeding many: and so it might have appeared to them, that in vain it was that they were called the posterity of Abraham, or that

ever they had received the law, or form of right religion from God. That we may the better feel it in ourselves, the temptation, I say, was even such, as if God should utterly destroy all order and policy that this day is within his church, that the true preaching of the word should be suppressed, the right use of sacraments abolished, idolatry and Popistical abomination erected up again; and therewith, that our bodies should be taken prisoners by Turks, or other manifest enemies of God, and of all godliness. Such, I say, was their temptation; how notable then is this their confession that in bondage they make, *viz.* That they will remember God only; albeit he hath appeared to turn his face from them, they will remember his name, and will call to mind the deliverance promised!

Hereof have we to consider, what is our duty, if God bring us (as for our offences and unthankfulness justly he may) to the like extremity: this confession is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and basking in their pleasures; but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own destitute of some comfort, in their most desperate calamities. This is then our duty, not only to confess our God in time of peace and quietness, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midst of his and our enemies; and this is not in us to do, but it behoveth that the Spirit of God work in us, above all power of nature; and thus we ought earnestly to meditate before the battle rise more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now must we enter in somewhat more deeply to consider these judgments of God.

This people dealt withall, as we have heard, was the only people upon the face of the earth to whom God was rightly known; among them only were his laws, statutes, ordinances, and sacrifices, used and put in practice; they only invoked his name, and to them alone had he promised his protection and assistance: What then should be the cause, that he should give them over into this great reproach, and bring them into such extremity, as his own name, in them, should be blasphemed? The prophet Ezekiel, that saw this horrible destruction fore-spoken by Isaiah put in just execution, giveth an answer in these words, 'I gave unto them laws that were good, in the which whosoever should walk, should live in them; but they would not walk in my ways, but rebelled against me; and therefore, I have given unto them laws that are not good, and judgments, in the which they shall not live.' Ezek. xx. The

writers of the Books of Kings and Chronicles declare this in more plain words, saying, 'The Lord sent unto them his prophets, rising early, desiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to amend their wicked ways (for he would have spared his people, and his tabernacle); but they mocked his servants, and would not return unto the Lord their God to walk in his ways.' Kings, xlii. Yea, Judah itself kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the manners and ordinances of Israel: that is, of such as then had declined to idolatry from the days of Jeroboam: and therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole seed of Israel, that is, the whole body of the people; he punished them, and gave them into the hands of those that spoiled them, and so he cast them out from his presence.

Hereof it is evident, that their disobedience unto God, and unto the voice of his prophets, was the cause of their destruction. Now have we to take heed how we should use the good laws of God; that is, his will revealed unto us in his word, and that order of justice, that by him, for the comfort of man, is established amongst men. It is no doubt but that obedience is the most acceptable sacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth, that when he manifesteth himself by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now so it is, that God, by that great Pastor our Lord Jesus, now manifestly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body as of mind, to holiness of life, and to his spiritual service; and for this purpose he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right administration of his sacraments: but what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conscience, and consider what statutes and laws we would have to be given unto us.

Wouldst thou, O Scotland! have a king to reign over thee in justice, equity, and mercy? Subject thou thyself to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnify thou that word that calleth unto thee, 'This is the way, walk in it,' Isa. xxx.; and if thou wilt not, flatter not thyself; the same justice remaineth this day in God to punish thee, Scotland, and thee, Edinburgh in especial, that before punished the land of Judah, and the city of Jerusalem. Every realm or nation (saith the prophet Jeremiah) that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise punished, Jer. ix.; but if thou shalt see impiety placed in the seat of justice

above thee, so that in the throne of God (as Solomon doth complain, Ecclef. iii.) reigneth nothing but fraud and violence, accuse thine own ingratitude and rebellion against God; for that is the only cause, why God taketh away (as the same prophet in another place doth speak) 'the strong man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and the honourable, the counsellor and the cunning artificer; and I will appoint, saith the Lord, children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them. Children are extortioners of my people, and women have rule over them,' Isa. iii.

If these calamities, I say, apprehend us, so that we see nothing but the oppression of good men, and of all godliness, and wicked men without God to reign over us; let us accuse and condemn ourselves, as the only cause of our own miseries. For if we had heard the voice of the Lord our God, and given upright obedience unto the same, God should have multiplied our peace, and should have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the prophet saith further.

'The dead shall not live, saith he, neither shall the tyrants, nor the dead arise, because thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory,' verse 14.

From this 14th verse, unto the end of the 19th, it appeareth, that the prophet observeth no order; yea, that he speaketh things directly repugning one to another; for, *first*, he saith, 'The dead shall not live;' after, he affirmeth, 'They dead men shall live.' *Secondly*, he saith, 'Thou hast visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their memory.' Immediately after, he saith, 'Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast increased the nation. They have visited thee, and have poured forth a prayer before thee.'

Who, I say, would not think, that these are things not only spoken forth of good order and purpose, but also manifestly repugning one to another? For to live, and not to live, to be so destroyed that no memorial remaineth, and to be so increased that the coasts of the earth shall be replenished, seem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better understanding of the prophet's mind, we must understand, that the prophet had to do with divers sorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifest enemies of God's people, the Chaldeans or Babylonians; even so such as profess Christ Jesus have to do with the Turks and Saracens. He had

to do with the seed of Abraham, whereof there were three sorts. The ten tribes all degenerate from the true worshipping of God, and corrupted with idolatry, as this day are our pestilent Papists in all realms and nations; there rested only the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem, where the form of true religion was observed, the law taught, and ordinances of God outwardly kept: but yet there were in that body (I mean, in the body of the visible church) a great number that were hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do profess the Lord Jesus, and have refused Papistry; not a few that were licentious livers; some that turned their back to God, that is, had forsaken all true religion; and some that lived a most abominable life, as Ezekiel saith in his vision; and yet there were some godly, as a few wheat-corns oppressed and hid among the multitude of chaff: now, according to this diversity, the prophet keepeth divers purposes, and yet in most perfect order.

And first (after the first part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of spirit), he burleth forth against all the proud enemies of God's people, against all such as trouble them, and against all such as mock and forsake God, and saith, 'The dead shall not live, the proud giants shall not rise, thou hast scattered them, and destroyed their memorial.' In which words he lighteth against the present temptation and dolorous state of God's people, and against the insolent pride of such as oppressed them; as if the prophet should say, O ye troublers of God's people! howsoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your cruelty, nor considereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted, yet shall ye be visited, yea, your carcases shall fall and lie as stinking carrion upon the face of the earth, ye shall fall without hope of life, or of a blessed resurrection; yea, howsoever ye gather your substance, and augment your families, ye shall be so scattered, that ye shall leave no memorial of you to the posterities to come, but that which shall be execrable and odious.

Hereof have the tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted church inestimable comfort: the tyrants that do oppress, shall receive the same end that they did, which have passed before; that is, they shall die and fall with shame, without hope of resurrection, as is foresaid: not that they shall not arise to their own confusion and just condemnation; but that they shall not recover power, to trouble the servants of God; neither yet shall the wicked arise, as David saith, in the counsel of the

just. Now have the wicked their councils, their thrones, and finally handling (for the most part) of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor servants of God are reputed unworthy of mens presence, envied, mocked; yea, they are more vile before these proud tyrants, than is the very dirt and mire that is trodden under foot: but in that glorious resurrection, this state shall be changed; for then shall such as now, by their abominable living and cruelty, destroy the earth, and molest God's children, see him whom they have pierced; they shall see the glory of such as now they persecute, to their terror and everlasting confusion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the days of affliction, and so to comfort us, that when we see tyrants in their blind rage tread under foot the saints of God, that utterly we despair not, as if there were neither wisdom, justice, nor power above in the heavens, to repress such tyrants, and to redress the dolours of the unjustly afflicted: no, brethren, let us be assured, that the right hand of the Lord will change the state of things that are most desperate. In our God there is wisdom and power, in a moment to change the joy and mirth of our enemies into everlasting mourning, and our sorrows into joy and gladness that shall have no end.

Let us therefore, in these apparent calamities, (and marvel not that I say calamities apparent; for he that seeth not a fire begun, that shall burn more than we look for, unless God of his mercy quench it, is more than blind), not be discouraged, but with unfeigned repentance let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuse and condemn our former negligence, and stedfastly depend upon his promised deliverance; so shall our temporal sorrows be converted into everlasting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the destruction of those whom God exalteth, shall be dispensed, if time will suffer, after that we have passed throughout the text. Now proceedeth the prophet, and saith,

'Thou hast increased the nations, O Lord, thou hast increased the nations; thou art made glorious, thou hast enlarged all the coasts of the earth,' verse 15.

'Lord, in trouble,' &c. verse 16.

In these words the prophet giveth consolation to the afflicted, assuring them, that how horrible soever that desolation should be, yet should the seed of Abraham be so multiplied, that it should replenish the coasts of the earth; yea, that God should be more glorified in their affliction, than he

was during the time of their prosperity. This promise, no doubt, was incredible when it was made; for who could have been persuaded, that the destruction of Jerusalem should have been the means whereby the nation of the Jews should have been increased? seeing that much rather it appeared, that the overthrow of Jerusalem should have been the very abolishing of the seed of Abraham: but we must consider, to what end it was that God revealed himself to Abraham, and what is contained in the promise of the multiplication of his seed, and the benediction promised thereto.

First, God revealed himself to Abraham, and that by the means of his word, to let all flesh after understanding, that God first called man, and revealed himself unto him; that flesh can do nothing but rebel against God; for Abraham, no doubt, was an idolater, before that God called him from Ur of the Chaldees. The promise was made, that the seed of Abraham should be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea; which is not simply to be understood of his natural seed, although it was sometimes greatly increased; but rather of such as should become the spiritual seed of Abraham, as the apostle speaketh. Now, if we be able to prove, that the right knowledge of God, his wisdom, justice, mercy, and power, was more amply declared in their captivity, than ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God (even when to man's judgment he had utterly razed them from the face of the earth) did increase the nation of the Jews, so that he was glorified in them, and did extend the coasts of the earth for their habitation. And, for the better understanding hereof, let us shortly try the histories from their captivity to their deliverance; and after the same, to the coming of the Messiah.

It is no doubt but that Satan intended, by the dispersion of the Jews, so to have profaned the whole seed of Abraham, that among them should neither have remained the true knowledge of God, nor yet the spirit of sanctification, but that all should have come to a like contempt of God: for, I pray you, for what purpose was it, that Daniel and his fellows were taken into the king's court, were commanded to be fed at the king's table, and were put to the schools of their diviners, soothsayers, and astrologers? It may be thought that it proceeded of the king's humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they should be brought up in virtue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was so understood of a great number of the Jews: but the secret practice of the devil was un-

derstood of Daniel, when he refused to defile himself with the king's meat, which was forbidden to the seed of Abraham in the law of their God. Well, God becometh shortly after to shew himself mindful of his promise made by his prophet, and to trouble Nebuchadnezzar himself, by shewing to him a vision in his dream; which did the more trouble him, because he could not forget the terror of it, neither yet could he remember what the vision and the parcels thereof were: whereupon were called all diviners, interpreters of dreams, and soothsayers, of whom the king demanded, if they could let him understand what he had dreamed: but while that they answer, 'That such a question used not to be demanded of any soothsayer or magician, for the resolution thereof only appertained to the gods, whose habitation was not with men, the charge was given, that they all should be slain; and amongst the rest Daniel was sought (whose innocence the devil envied), to have suffered the same judgment; he reclaimeth, and asketh time to disclose that secret (I only touch the history, to let you see by what means God increaseth his knowledge); which being granted, the vision is revealed unto him; he sheweth the same unto the king, with the true interpretation of it; adding, that the knowledge thereof came not from the stars, but only from the God of Abraham, who only was and is the true God. Which thing understood, the king burst forth in his confession, saying, 'Of a truth your God is the most excellent of all gods, and he is Lord of kings, and only he that revealeth the secrets, seeing that thou couldst open this secret.' And when Nebuchadnezzar after that, puffed up in pride by the counsel of his wicked nobility, would make an image, before which he would that all tongues and nations subject to him should make adoration; and that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, would not obey his unjust commandment, and so were cast into the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by God's angels were so preserved, that no smell of fire remained in their persons nor garments: this same king giveth a more notable confession, saying, 'The Lord God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, is to be praised, who hath sent his angels, and delivered his worshippers that put trust in him, who have done against the king's commandment; who have rather given their own bodies to torment, than that they would worship another god, except their own God. By me therefore is there made a decree, that whosoever shall blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-

‘nego, that he shall be cut in pieces, and his house shall be made detestable.’ Dan. iii.

Thus we see how God began, even almost in the beginning of their captivity, to notify his name, to multiply his knowledge, and set forth as well his power as his wisdom, and true worshipping, by those that were taken prisoners, yea, that were despised, and of all men contemned; so that the name and fear of the God of Abraham was never before notified to so many realms and nations. This wonderful work of God proceeded from one empire to another; for Daniel being promoted to great honour by Darius king of the Persians and Medes, falleth into a desperate danger; for he was committed to prison among lions, because that he was apprehended, breaking the king’s injunction; not that the king desired the destruction of God’s servants, but because the corrupt idolaters, that in hatred of Daniel had procured that law to be made, urged the king against his nature; but God, by his angel, did stop the lions’ mouths, and so preserved his servant; which considered, with the sudden destruction of Daniel’s enemies by the same lions, king Darius, besides his own confession, wrote to all people, tongues, and nations, after this form; ‘It is decreed by me, That in all the dominions of my kingdom, men shall fear and reverence the God of Daniel, because he is the Living God, abiding for ever, whose kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion remaineth; who saveth and delivereth, and sheweth signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the lions.

This knowledge was yet further increased in the days of Cyrus, who giving freedom to the captives to return to their own native country, giveth this confession; ‘Thus saith Cyrus the king of Persians, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given unto me, and hath commanded me, that a house be built to him in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever therefore of you, that are of his people, let the Lord his God be with him, and let him pass up to Jerusalem, and let him build the house of the Lord God of Israel; for he only is God that is in Jerusalem.’ 1 Esd. ii. Time will not suffer me to treat the points of this confession, neither yet did I for that purpose adduce the history; but only to let us see, how constantly God kept his promise in increasing his people, and in augmenting his true knowledge, when that both they that were the seed of Abraham, and that religion which they professed appeared utterly to have been extinguished above

mens expectation. I say, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darkness, and life out of death. I am not ignorant, that the building of the temple, and reparation of the walls of Jerusalem, were long staid, so that the work had many enemies; but so did the hand of God prevail in the end, that a decree was made by Darius (by him I suppose that succeeded to Cambyses), not only that all things necessary for the building of the temple, and for the sacrifices that were to be there burnt, should be ministered upon the king’s charges, but also, that ‘whosoever should hinder that work, or change that decree, that a tree should be taken out of his house, and that he should be hanged thereupon; yea, that his house should be made a dunghill,’ 1 Esd. vi.; and thereto he addeth a prayer, saying, ‘The God of heaven, who hath placed his name there, root out every king and people, (O that kings and nations would understand!) that shall put his hand, either to change or to hurt this house of God that is in Jerusalem.’ And so, in despite of Satan, was the temple built, the walls repaired, and the city inhabited; and in the most desperate dangers it was preserved, till that the Messiah promised, the glory of the second temple came, manifested himself to the world, suffered and rose again, according to the Scriptures; and so, by sending forth his gospel from Jerusalem, did replenish the earth with the true knowledge of God: and so did God in perfection increase the nation, and the spiritual seed of Abraham.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no small consolation, if the state of all things be this day rightly considered; we see in what fury and rage the world, for the most part, is now raised, against the poor church of Jesus Christ, unto which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearful bondage of that spiritual Babylon, in which we have been holden captives longer space than Israel was prisoner in Babylon itself: for if we shall consider, upon the one part, the multitude of those that live wholly without Christ; and, upon the other part, the blind rage of the pestilent Papists; what shall we think of the small number of them that do profess Christ Jesus, but that they are as a poor sheep, already seized in the claws of the lion; yea, that they, and the true religion which they profess, shall in a moment utterly be consumed?

But against this fearful temptation, let us be armed with the promise of God, *viz.* that he will be the protector of his church; yea, that he will multiply it, even when to man’s judgment it ap-

Man doth visit God, when he appeareth in his presence, be it to the hearing of his word, or to the participation of his sacraments; as the people of Israel, besides the observation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a-year to present themselves before the presence of the tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we present ourselves to the hearing of the word; for there is the footstool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himself, wheresoever the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered.

But men may on this sort visit God hypocritically; for they may come for the fashion, they may hear with deaf ears; yea, they may understand, and yet never determine with themselves to obey that which God requireth: and let such men be assured, that he (who searcheth the secrets of hearts) will be avenged of all such; for nothing can be to God more odious, than to mock him in his own presence. Let every man therefore examine himself, with what mind, and what purpose, he cometh to hear the word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what testimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth virtue, and forbiddeth impiety.

Repinest thou when God requireth obedience? Thou hearest to thine own condemnation. Mockest thou at God's threatenings? Thou shalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when flesh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the visitation (whereof our prophet speaketh) is only proper to the sons of God, who, in the time when God taketh from them the pleasures of the world, or sheweth his angry countenance unto them, have their recourse unto him, and, confessing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This visitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth only to God's children: for the reprobates can never have access to God's mercy in time of their tribulation, and that because they abuse as well his long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands; for as the same prophet heretofore saith, 'Let the wicked obtain mercy, yet shall he never learn wisdom, but in the land of righteousness,' that is, where the very knowledge of God aboundeth, 'he will do wickedly.' Which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his throne among us, but that we should fear him? Why doth he reveal his holy will unto us, but that we should obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we should be witnesses

unto the world, that he is gracious and merciful?

Now, when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do maliciously fight against all equity and justice, what, I pray you, do they else, but make manifest war against God? Yea, when they have received from God such deliverance, that they cannot deny but that God himself hath in his great mercy visited them, and yet that they continue wicked as before; what deserve they but effectually to be given over unto a reprobate sense, that heading they may run to ruin, both of body and soul? It is almost incredible that a man should be so enraged against God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy shewed, should move him to repentance; but because the Scriptures bear witness of the one and the other, let us cease to marvel, and let us firmly believe, that such things as have been, are even presently before our eyes, albeit many, blinded by affection, cannot see them.

Ahab (as in the Book of the Kings it is written) received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did visit him in divers sorts, sometimes by his plagues, sometimes by his word, and sometimes by his merciful deliverance; he made him king, and, for the idolatry used by him and his wife, he plagued the whole of Israel by famine; he revealed to him his will, and true religion, by the prophet Elijah; he gave unto him sundry deliverances, but one most special, when proud Benhadad came to besiege Samaria, and was not content to receive Ahab's gold, silver, furs, daughters, and wives, but also required, that his servants should have at their pleasure whatsoever was delectable in Samaria: true it is, that his elders and people wished him not to hear the proud tyrant; But who made unto him the promise of deliverance? And who appointed and put his army in order? Who assured him of victory? The prophet of God only, who assured him, that by the servants of the princes of the provinces, who in number were fully two hundred thirty-and-two, he should defeat the great army, in which there were two-and-thirty kings, with all their forces: and as the prophet of God promised, so it came to pass; victory was obtained, not once only, but twice, and that by the merciful visitation of the Lord.

But how did Ahab visit God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatry? Did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezebel? No, we find no such thing; but the one and the other we find to have continued and increased in former

impiety: but what was the end thereof? The last visitation of God was, that dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eat the flesh of the other. In few words then we understand, what difference there is betwixt the visitation of God upon the reprobate, and his visitation upon his chosen: the reprobate are visited, but never truly humbled, nor yet amended; the chosen being visited, they sob, and they cry unto God for mercy; which obtained, they magnify God's name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us therefore that hear these judgments of our God, call for the assistance of his Holy Spirit, that howsoever it pleaseth him to visit us, that we may stoop under his merciful hands, and unfeignedly cry to him when he correcteth us; and so shall we know in experience, that our cries and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the prophet saith further:

'Like as a woman (saith he) with child, that draweth near the travel, is in sorrow, and cryeth in her pains, so have we been in thy sight, O Lord, we have conceived, we have born in vain, as though we should have brought forth the wind,' ver. 17.

'Salvations were not made to the earth, neither did the inhabitants of the earth fall,' ver. 18.

This is the second part of the prophet's complaint, in which he, in the person of God's people, complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared no end. This same similitude is used by our Master Jesus Christ; for when he speaketh of the troubles of his church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travelling in her child-birth. But it is to another end; for there he promiseth exceeding and permanent joy, after a sore, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long and vehement, albeit the fruit of it was not suddenly espied. He speaketh no doubt of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in which they continually travelled for deliverance, but obtained it not before the complete end of seventy years: during which time, the earth, that is, the land of Judah, which sometimes was sanctified unto God, but was then given to be profaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceived any deliverance: for the inhabitants of the world fell not; that is, the tyrants and oppressors of God's people were not taken away, but still remained and continued blasphemers of God, and troublers of his church. But because I perceive the hours to pass more swiftly than they have seemed at other times, I mind to contract that which I set forth of this text into certain points.

The prophet first fighteth against the present despair; after he introduceth God himself calling upon his people; and, last of all, he assureth his afflicted, That God will come, and require account of all the blood-thirsty tyrants of the earth.

First, Fighting against the present despair, he saith, 'Thy dead shall live, even my body (or with my body) shall they arise; awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs,' ver. 19.

The prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; and, by the victory of faith, he overcometh, not only the common enemies, but the great and last enemy of all, *viz.* death itself: for this would he say, Lord, I see nothing to thy chosen, but misery to follow misery, and one affliction to succeed another; yea, in the end I see, that death should devour thy dearest children. But yet, O Lord! I see thy promise to be true, and thy love to remain towards thy chosen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: 'For thy dead shall live, yea, not only shall they live, but my very dead carcase shall arise;' and so I see honour and glory to succeed this temporal shame, I see joy permanent to come after trouble, order to spring out of this terrible confusion; and, finally, I see that life shall devour death, so that death shall be destroyed, and so thy servants shall have life. This, I say, is the victory of faith, when in the midst of death, through the light of God's word, the afflicted see life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietness and prosperity, can generally confess, that God is true in his promises; but bring them to the extremity, and there ceaseth the hypocrite further to trust in God, than he seeth natural means, whereby God useth to work: but the true faithful, when all hope of natural means faileth, then fly they to God himself, and to the truth of his promise, who is above nature; yea, whose works are not so subject to the ordinary course of nature, that when nature faileth, his power and promise fail also therewith.

Let us further observe, That the prophet here speaketh not of all dead in general, but saith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, shall live:' in which words he maketh difference betwixt those that die in the Lord, and those that die in their natural corruption, and in the Old Adam. Die in the Lord can none, except those that live in him (I mean, those that attain to the years of discretion); and none live in him, but those that, with the apostle, can

say, 'I live, and yet not I, but Christ Jesus that dwelleth in me; the life that I now live, I have by the faith of the Son of God.' Gal. ii. Not that I mean, that the faithful have at all hours such sense of the life everlasting, that they fear not the death and the troubles of this life; no, not so; for the faith of God's children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: but I mean, that such as in death, and after death shall live, must communicate in this life with Jesus Christ, and must be regenerated by the seed of life; that is, by the word of the everlasting God, which whosoever despiseth, refuseth life and joy everlasting.

The prophet transferreth all the promises of God to himself, saying, 'Even my dead body shall arise;' and immediately after, giveth commandment and charge to the dwellers in the dust, that is, to the dead carcases of those that were departed (for the spirit and soul of man dwelleth not in the dust), 'That they should awake, that they should sing and rejoice;' for they should arise and spring up from the earth, even as the herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not suffer that these particulars be so largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore let us consider, that the prophet, in transferring the power and promise of God to himself, doth not vindicate to himself any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone should live and arise, and not they also; but he doth it, to let them understand, that he taught a doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they should have experience after his death: as if he should say, My words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day shall come, that I shall be taken from you, my carcase shall be inclosed in the bosom of the earth; and therefore shall ye be led away captives to Babylon, where ye shall remain many days and years, as it were buried in your sepulchres.

But then call to mind, that I said unto you before hand, that my body shall arise; even so shall ye rise from your graves out of Babylon, and be restored to your own country, and city of Jerusalem: this, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the prophet. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the dust, is to express the power of God's word, whereby he not only giveth life, where death apparently had prevailed; but also, by it, he calleth things that are not, even as if they were. True it is, that the prophet Isaiah saw not the destruction of Jerusalem, much less could he see the restitution of it with his corporal eyes; but he leaveth this,

as it were, in testament with them, That when they were in the extremity of all bondage, they should call to mind what the prophet of God had before spoken.

And lest that his doctrine, and this promise of God made unto them by his mouth, should have been forgotten (as we are ever prone and ready to forget God's promises, when we are pressed with any sorrow), God raised up unto them, in the midst of their calamity, his prophet Ezekiel, unto whom, among many other visions, he gave this; 'The hand of the Lord first led him in a place, which was full of dry and dispersed bones.' Ezek. xxxvii. The question was demanded of the prophet, If these bones, being wonderous dry, should live? The prophet answered, The knowledge thereof appertained unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he should speak unto the dry bones, and say, 'Thus saith the Lord God to these bones, Behold, I shall give you breath, and you shall live: I shall give unto you sinews, flesh, and skin, and you shall live.' And while the prophet spake (as he was commanded), he heard a voice, and he saw every bone join in his marrow; he saw them covered with flesh and skin, albeit there was no spirit of life in them. He was commanded again to speak, and to say, 'Thus saith the Lord God, come, O Spirit, from the four quarters, and blow in these that are slain, that they may live.' And as he prophesied, the spirit of life came; they lived, and stood upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this vision meant, saying, 'O son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, our bones are dried, our hope is perished, we are plainly cut off. But behold, saith the Lord, I will open your graves, I will bring you forth of them, ye shall live, and come unto the land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.'

This vision, I say, given to the prophet, and by the prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert to what the former prophets had spoken. It is no doubt but they carried with them both the prophecy of Isaiah and Jeremiah, so that the prophet Ezekiel is a commentary to these words of Isaiah, where he saith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, shall live, with my body they shall arise.' The prophet bringeth in this similitude of the dew, to answer unto that part of their fidelity, who can believe no further of God's promises than they are able to apprehend by natural judgment; as if he would say, 'Think ye

this impossible, that God shall give life unto you, and bring you to an estate of a commonwealth again, after that ye are dead, and as it were razed from the face of the earth? But why do ye not consider, what God worketh from year to year in the order of nature? Sometimes ye see the face of the earth desolate and beautified with herbs, flowers, grafs, and fruits; again ye see the same utterly taken away by storms, and vehemency of the winter: What doth God to replant the earth again, and to restore the beauty thereof? He sendeth down his small and soft dew, the drops whereof, in their descending, are neither great nor visible, and yet thereby are the pores and secret veins of the earth, which before by vehemency of frost and cold were shut up, opened again, and so doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits: Shall ye then think, that the dew of God's heavenly grace shall not be as effectual in you to whom he hath made his promise, as that it is in the herbs and fruits that from year to year bud forth and decay? If ye do so, the prophet would say your incredibility is inexcusable; because ye do neither rightly weigh the power, nor the promise of your God.

The like similitude useth the apostle Paul against such as called the resurrection in doubt, because that by natural judgment they could not apprehend that flesh once putrified, and dissolved, as it were, in other substance, should rise again, and return again to the same substance and nature: 'O fool' (saith he), that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare corn, as it falleth, of wheat, or some other, but God giveth it a body as it pleaseth him, even to every seed his own body.' In which words and sentence, the apostle sharply rebuketh the gross ignorance of the Corinthians, who began to call in doubt the chief article of our faith, the resurrection of the flesh after that it was once dissolved, because that natural judgment, as he said, reclaimed there-to; he reproveth, I say, their gross ignorance, because they might have seen and considered some proof and document thereof in the very order of nature: for albeit the wheat, or other corn, cast in the earth, appeareth to die or putrify, and so to be lost, yet we see that it is not perished, but that it fructifieth according to God's will and ordinance.

Now, if the power of God be so manifest in raising up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promise is made by God, what shall be his power and virtue in raising up of our

bodies, seeing that thereto he is bound by the solemn promise of Jesus Christ his Eternal Willom, and the Verity it self that cannot lie? Yea, seeing that the members must once communicate with the glory of the head, how shall our bodies, which are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, be still for ever in corruption, seeing that our Head, Jesus Christ, is now exalted in his glory? Neither yet is this power and good-will of God to be restrained unto the last and general resurrection only, but we ought to consider it in the marvellous preservation of his church, and in the raising up of the same from the very bottom of death, when by tyrants it hath been oppressed from age to age.

Now, of the former words of the prophet, we have to gather this comfort, that if at any time we see the face of the church within this realm so defaced (as I think it shall be sooner than we look for), when we shall see, I say, virtue to be despised, vice to be maintained, the verity of God to be impugned, lies and mens inventions holden in authority; and finally, when we shall see the true religion of our God, and the zealous observers of the same, to be trodden under the feet of such as in their heart say, 'That there is no God,' Psal. xiv.: let us then call to mind what have been the wondrous works of our God from the beginning; that it is his proper office to bring light out of darkness, order out of confusion, life out of death; and finally, that this is he that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard: and if in the day of our temptation (which in my judgment approacheth fast) we be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed, yet shall it so be corrected, that damnable despair oppress us not. But now let us hear how the prophet proceedeth:

'Come, saith he, thou my people, enter with-
' in thy chamber, shut thy door after thee, hide
' thyself a very little while, until the indignation
' pass over.'

Here the prophet bringeth in God amiably, calling upon his people to come to himself, and to rest with him, until such time as the fury and sharp plagues should be executed upon the wicked and disobedient. It may appear at the first sight, that all these words of the prophet, in the person of God, calling the people unto rest, are spoken in vain; for we neither find chambers, nor rest, more prepared for the dearest children of God (so far as man's judgment can discern) than there was for the rebellious and disobedient; for such as fell not by the edge of the sword, or died not of pestilence,

or by hunger, were either carried captives unto Babylon, or else departed after into Egypt, so that none of Abraham's seed had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the land of Canaan. For the resolution hereof, we must understand, That albeit the chambers whereunto God called his chosen be not visible, yet notwithstanding they are certain, and offer unto God's children quiet habitation in spirit, howsoever the flesh be travelled and tormented.

The chambers are then God's sure promises, unto which God's people are commanded to resort; yea, within which they are commanded to close themselves in the time of greatest adversity. The manner of speaking is borrowed from that judgment and foresight which God hath printed in this our nature; for when that men espy great tempests appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but straightway they will draw them to their houses or holds, that they may escape the vehemency of the same; and if they fear any enemy to pursue them, they will shut their doors, to the end that suddenly the enemy should not have entry.

After this manner God speaketh to his people; as if he should say, The tempest that shall come upon this whole nation shall be so terrible, that nothing shall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: but thou my people, I say, that hearest my word, believest the same, and tremblest at the threatenings of my prophets, now when the world doth insolently resist: let such, I say, enter within the secret chamber of my promises, let them contain themselves quietly there; yea, let them shut the door upon them, and suffer not infidelity, the mortal enemy of my truth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them (yea, farther to murder) in my promise; and so shall they perceive that my indignation shall pass, and that such as depend upon me shall be saved.

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the prophet; whereof we have first to observe, That God acknowledgeth them for his people, that are in greatest affliction; yea, such as are reputed unworthy of mens presence, are yet admitted within the secret chamber of God. Let no man think that flesh and blood can suddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore most expedient it is, that we be frequently exercised in meditation of the same. Easy it is, I grant, in time of prosperity, to say, and to think, That God is our God, and that we are his people; but when he hath given us over into the hands of

our enemies, and turned, as it were, his back unto us, then, I say, still to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this assurance, that we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the Holy Spirit of God, as is the greatest victory of faith, which overcome the world; for increase whereof, we ought continually to pray.

This doctrine we shall not think strange, if we shall consider how suddenly our spirits are carried away from our God, and from believing his promise: so soon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt, if ever we believed God's promises, if God will fulfil them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us; and a multitude of such cogitations, which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burst violently forth when we are oppressed with any desperate calamity. Against which this is the remedy, once to apprehend, and still to retain God to be our God, and firmly to believe, that we are his people whom he loveth, and will defend, not only in affliction, but even in the midst of death itself.

Secondly, Let us observe, That the judgments of our God never were, nor yet shall be so vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been, and shall be, some secret habitation prepared in the sanctuary of God, for some of his chosen, where they shall be preserved until the indignation pass by; and that God prepareth a time, that they may glorify him again, before the face of the world, that sometimes despised them; and this ought to be unto us no small comfort in these appearing dangers, *viz.* that we be surely persuaded, That how vehement soever the tempest shall be, that it yet shall pass over, and some of us shall be preserved to glorify the name of our God, as is aforesaid.

Two vices lurk in this our nature: the one is, That we cannot tremble at God's threatenings, before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit that we see cause most just, why that his fierce wrath should burn as a devouring fire; the other is, That when calamities before pronounced, fall upon us, then begin we to sink down in despair, so that we never look for any comfortable end of the same.

To correct this our mortal infirmity, in time of quietness we ought to consider what is the justice of our God, and how odious sin is; and, above all other, how odious idolatry is in his presence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath so severely punished it in all ages from the beginning: and in the

time of our affliction we ought to consider, what have been the wondrous works of our God, in preservation of his church, when it hath been in uttermost extremity: for never shall we find the church humbled under the hands of traitors, and cruelly tormented by them, but therewith we shall find God's just vengeance to fall upon the cruel persecutors, and his merciful deliverance to be shewed to the afflicted: and, in taking of this trial, we should not only call to mind the histories of ancient times, but also we should diligently mark, what notable works God hath wrought, even in this our age, as well upon the one as upon the other. We ought not to think, that our God beareth less love to his church this day, than that he hath done from the beginning; for as our God in his own nature is immutable, so remaineth his love towards his elect always unchangeable: for as in Christ Jesus he hath chosen his church, before the beginning of all ages; so by him will he maintain and preserve the same unto the end: yea, he will quiet the storms, and cause the earth to open her mouth, and receive these raging floods of violent waters, cast out by the dragon, to drown and carry away the woman, which is the spouse of Jesus Christ, unto whom God for his own name's sake will be the perpetual Protector.

This saw that notable servant of Jesus Christ, Athanasius, who (being exiled from Alexandria by that blasphemous apostate Julian the emperor) said unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious banishment, 'Weep not, but be of good comfort' (said he), for this little cloud will suddenly vanish.' A little cloud he called both the emperor himself and his cruel tyranny: and albeit that small appearance there was of any deliverance to the church of God, or yet of any punishment to have apprehended the proud tyrants, when the man of God pronounced these words, 'Yet shortly after God did give witness, that those words did not proceed from flesh nor blood, but from God's very Spirit.' For not long after, being in warfare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand, or by one of his own soldiers, the writers clearly conclude not; but casting his own blood against the heaven, he said, *Vixisti tandem Galilee*; that is, 'At last thou hast overcome, thou Galilean:' so in despite he termed the Lord Jesus; and so perished that tyrant in his own iniquity: the storm ceased, and the church of God received new comfort.

Such shall be the end of all cruel persecutors, their reign shall be short, their end miserable, and their name shall be left in execrations to God's

people; and yet shall the church of God remain to God's glory, after all storms. But now shortly, let us come to the last point:

'For behold (saith the prophet) the Lord will come out of his place, to visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them; and the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain, ver. 21. Because that the final end of the troubles of God's chosen shall not be, before that the Lord Jesus shall return to restore all things to their full perfection.

The prophet bringeth forth the eternal God, as it were, from his own place and habitation, and therewith sheweth the cause of his coming to be, that he might take account of all such as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he saith, 'He will visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them.' And lest that any should think, that the wrong doers are so many, that they cannot be called to an account, he giveth unto the earth, as it were, an office and charge, to bear witness against all those that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly against those that have shed innocent blood from the beginning; and saith, 'That the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain men.'

If tyrants of the earth, and such as delight in the shedding of blood, should be persuaded that this sentence is true, they would not so furiously come to their own destruction; for what man can be so enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God that which might provoke his Majesty to anger, yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he understood, how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God?

The cause then of this blind fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an idol; and that there is no knowledge above, that beholdeth their tyranny; neither yet justice that will, nor power that can repress their impiety: but yet the Spirit of Truth doth witness the contrary, affirming, 'That as the eyes of the Lord are upon the just, and as his ears are ready to receive their sobbing and prayers, so is his angry visage against such as work iniquity; he hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitful and blood-thirsty man, whereof he hath given sufficient document from age to age, in preserving the one, or at least in revenging of their cause, and in punishing of the other.

Where it is said, 'That the Lord will come from his place, and that he will visit the iniquity

‘ of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and ‘ that the earth shall disclose her blood;’ we have to consider, what most commonly hath been, and what shall be the condition of the church of God, *viz.* that it is not only hated, mocked, and despised, but that it is exposed, as it were in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked; so that the blood of the children of God is spilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The understanding whereof, albeit it be unpleasant to the flesh, yet to us it is most profitable, lest that we, seeing the cruel treatment of God’s servants, begin to forsake the spouse of Jesus Christ, because that she is not so dealt withal in this unthankful world, as the just and upright dealing of God’s children do deserve; but contrariwise, for mercy they receive cruelty, for doing good to many, of all the reprobate they receive evil: and this is decreed in God’s eternal council, that the members may follow the trace of the head; to the end that God in his just judgment should finally condemn the wicked: for how should he punish the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquity deserved it not? How should the earth disclose our blood, if it should not be unjustly spilt? We must then commit ourselves into the hands of our God, and lay down our necks; yea, and patiently suffer our blood to be shed, that the righteous Judge may require account, as most assuredly he shall, of all the blood that hath been shed, from the blood of Abel the Just, till the day that the earth shall disclose the same. I say, every one that sheddeth, or consenteth to shed the blood of God’s children, shall be guilty of the whole; so that all the blood of God’s children shall cry vengeance, not only in general, but also in particular, upon every one that hath shed the blood of any that unjustly suffered.

And if any think it strange, that such as live this day can be guilty of the blood that was shed in the days of the apostles, let them consider, that the Verity itself pronounced, That all the blood that was shed from the days of Abel, unto the days of Zacharias, should come upon that unthankful generation, that heard his doctrine and refused it.

The reason is evident; for as there is two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, *viz.* Jesus Christ, the Prince of justice and peace, and Satan, called the Prince of the world, so are there but two armies that have continued battle from the beginning, and shall fight unto the end: the quarrel is one, which the army of Jesus Christ do sustain, and which the reprobate do persecute, *viz.*

The eternal truth of the eternal God, and the image of Jesus Christ printed in his elect; so that whosoever in any age persecuteth any one member of Jesus Christ, for his truth’s sake, subscribed, as it were, with his hand, the persecution of all that have passed before him.

And this ought the tyrants of this age deeply to consider; for they shall be guilty, not only of the blood shed by themselves, but of all (as is said) that hath been shed for the cause of Jesus Christ from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithful not be discouraged, although they be appointed as sheep to the slaughter-house; for he, for whose sake they suffer, shall not forget to revenge their cause. I am not ignorant that flesh and blood will think that kind of support too late, for we had rather be preserved still alive, than to have our blood revenged after our death: and truly, if our felicity stood in this life, or if death temporal should bring unto us any damage, our desire in that behalf were not to be disallowed or condemned: but seeing that death is common to all, and that this temporal life is nothing but misery, and that death doth fully join us with our God, and giveth unto us the possession of our inheritance, why should we think it strange to leave this world, and go to our Head and sovereign Captain Jesus Christ?

Lastly, We have to observe this manner of speaking, where the prophet saith, that, ‘ the ‘ earth shall disclose her blood;’ in which words the prophet would accuse the cruelty of those that dare so unmercifully and violently force, from the breasts of the earth, the dearest children of God, and cruelly cut their throats in her bosom, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankind, so that the unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood.

If such tyranny were used against any natural woman, as violently to pull her infant from her breasts, cut the throat of it in her own bosom, and compel her to receive the blood of her dear child in her own mouth, all nations would hold the fact so abominable, that the like had never been done in the course of nature: no less wickedness commit they that shed the blood of God’s children upon the face of their common mother, the earth (as I said before): but be of good courage, O little and despised flock of Christ Jesus! for he that seeth your grief, hath power to revenge it; he will not suffer one tear of yours to fall, but it shall be kept and reserved in his bottle, till the fulness thereof be poured down from heaven, up-

on those that caused you to weep and mourn: this your merciful God, I say, will not suffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth; nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our brethren; the earth that hath been defiled with it, I say, with the blood of God's children; for otherwise, to shed the blood of the cruel blood-thedders, is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to sanctify it: the earth, I say, shall purge herself of it, and shew it before the face of God; yea, the beasts, fowls, and other creatures whatsoever, shall be compelled to render that which they have received, be it flesh, blood, or bones, that appertained to thy children, O Lord! which altogether thou shalt glorify, according to thy promise, made to us in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son; to whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghost, be honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Let us now humble ourselves in the presence of our God, and from the bottom of our hearts, let us desire him to assist us with the power of his Holy Spirit; that albeit, for our former negligence, God giveth us over into the hands of others than such as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy, and that glorious name that hath been proclaimed amongst us; but that we may look through the dolorous storm of his present displeasure, and see as well what punishment he hath appointed for the cruel tyrants, as what reward he hath laid in store for such as continue in his fear to the end: that it would further please him to assist, that albeit we see his church so diminished, that it appears to be brought

(as it were) to utter extermination, that we may be assured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increase the number of his chosen, until they be enlarged to the uttermost parts of the earth: give us, O Lord! hearts to visit thee in time of affliction; and albeit we see no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the assured hope of that joyful resurrection, in which we shall possess the fruit of that for which we now labour: in the mean time, grant unto us, O Lord! to repose ourselves in the sanctuary of thy promise, that in thee we may find comfort, till that this thy great indignation (begun amongst us) may pass over, and thou thyself appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terror of thine and our enemies.

Let us pray with heart and mouth,

‘ Almighty God, and merciful Father, &c.
 ‘ Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; for
 ‘ the terrible roaring of guns*, and the noise of
 ‘ armour, do so pierce my heart, that my soul
 ‘ thirsteth to depart.’

The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly, so far as memory would serve, of those things that in public I spake on Sunday, August 19; for which I was discharged to preach for a time.

‘ Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord! and at thy
 ‘ good pleasure put end to my misery.’

JOHN KNOX.

* The Castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus' sake.

A N

A D M O N I T I O N

T O

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, to call them to Repentance.

Written by ANTONI GILBY.

WHEREAS many have written many profitable admonitions to you twain (O England and Scotland! both making one island most happy, if you could know your own happiness); some against the government of women, where-with ye are both plagued; some against unlawful obedience, and the admitting of strangers to be your kings; some declaring the vile nature of the Spaniards, whom thou, O England! to thy destruction maintainest; some the pride of the Frenchmen, whom thou, O Scotland! to thy ruin receivest: and many hundreds, with pen, with tongue, with word, with writing, with jeopardy and loss of lands, goods, and lives, have admonished you both twain of that cankered poison of Popistry, that ye foster and pamper to your own perdition and utter destruction of souls and bodies, of yourselves and yours for now and ever. I thought it my duty (seeing your destruction to man's judgment to draw so near), how much or little soever they have prevailed, yet once again to admonish you both, to give testimony to that truth, which my brethren have written, and especially to stir your hearts to repentance, or at the least to offer myself a witness against you: for the justice of God, and his righteous judgments, which doubtless (if your hearts be hardened) against you both are at hand to be uttered.

Thus by our writings, whom it pleaseth God to stir up of your nations, all men, that now live, and that shall come after us, shall have cause also to praise the mercy of God, that so oft admonisheth before he do strike, and to consider his just punishment, when he shall pour forth his vengeance. Give ear therefore betimes, O Britany! (for of that name both rejoiceth) whilst the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admonisheth, that is the acceptable time, when he will be found. If ye refuse the time offered, ye cannot have it afterwards, though with tears (as did Esau) ye do seem to seek it.

Yet once again, in God's behalf, I do offer you the very means, which if God of his mercies grant you grace to follow, I doubt nothing but that of all your enemies speedily ye shall be delivered. Ye rejoice at this word, I am sure, if you have any hope of the performance: then hearken to the matter, which I do write unto you, not forth of mens dreams nor fables, nor forth of profane histories, painted with man's wisdom, vain eloquence, or subtle reasons; but forth of the infallible truth of God's word, and by such plain demonstrations as shall be able to convince every one of your own consciences, be he never so obstinate. I will ask no further judges. Is not this God's curse and threatening, amongst many others, pronounced against the sinful land and disobedient people?

‘ That strangers should devour the fruit of thy
 ‘ land, that the stranger should climb above thee,
 ‘ and thou should come down and be his inferior;
 ‘ he shall be the head, and thou the tail. The Lord
 ‘ shall bring upon thee a people far off, whose
 ‘ tongue thou canst not understand; thy strong
 ‘ walls wherewith thou trusted, shall be destroyed;
 ‘ &c. And doth not Isaiah reckon this also as the
 ‘ extremity of all plagues, for the wickedness of the
 ‘ people, to have ‘ women raised up to rule over
 ‘ you?’ But what saith the same prophet, in the
 ‘ beginning of his prophecy, for a remedy against
 ‘ these and all other evils?

‘ Your hands are full of blood, saith he, O you
 ‘ princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrah;
 ‘ but wash you, make you clean, take away your
 ‘ wicked thoughts forth of my sight. Cease to do
 ‘ evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, help the
 ‘ oppressed, &c.; then will I turn my hand to thee,
 ‘ and try out all thy dross, and take away thy tin,
 ‘ and I will restore thy judges as afore-time, and
 ‘ counsellors as of old.’ And Moses said before in
 ‘ the place aforesaid, ‘ That if thou wilt hear the
 ‘ voice of the Lord thy God, and do his command-
 ‘ ments, thou shalt be blessed in the town, and
 ‘ blessed in the field. The Lord shall cause thine
 ‘ enemies, that rise up against thee, to fall before
 ‘ thee,’ &c.

Lo, the way in few words, O Britany! to win
 God’s favour, and therefore to overcome thine ene-
 mies. But to print this more deeply into your
 hearts, O ye princes and people of that island!
 whom God hath begun to punish, seek, I warn
 you, no shifting holes to excuse your faults, no po-
 litical practices to resist God’s vengeance.

And first, I speak to you (O rulers and princes
 of both the realms!) repent your treason, and be-
 wail your unthankfulness: for by no other means
 can you escape God’s judgments. You stomach,
 I know, to be called traitors; but what shall it a-
 void to spare the name, where the facts are more
 than evident. You hath God erected amongst
 your brethren, to the end that by your wisdom and
 godly government your subjects should be kept as
 well from domestic oppression, as from bondage
 and slavery of strangers. But ye, alas! declining
 from God, are made the instruments to betray
 and sell the liberty of those, for whom ye ought
 to have spent your lives: for your consent and
 assistance is the cause, that strangers now op-
 press and devour the poor within your realms;
 who shortly, if God call you not to repentance,
 shall recompense you as ye have deserved: for the

cup which your brethren do now drink, shall be
 put into your hands, and you shall drink the dregs
 of it to your destruction. And wonder it is if ye
 be become so foolish and so blind, that ye think
 yourselves able long to continue, and to be safe,
 when your brethren round about you shall perish;
 that you can pack your matters well enough with
 the princes; that ye can make you strong with
 marriages, with flatteries, and other fond prac-
 tices; or that with your multitude or strength ye
 can escape the days of vengeance, or that ye can
 hide yourselves in holes or corners. Nay though
 you should hide you in the hills, God can draw
 you thence; if you had the eagle’s wings, to fly be-
 yond the East Seas, you cannot avoid God’s pre-
 sence.

Submit yourselves therefore unto him, which
 holdeth your breath in your nostrils, who with
 one blast of his mouth can destroy all his ene-
 mies. Embrace his Son Christ, lest ye perish;
 and for your obstinacy against him and his word,
 repent betimes, as we all do admonish. Repent
 for your crafty against his servants, and the
 contempt of his word so plainly offered, as it was
 never since the beginning of the world. Repent,
 we cry Repent: for repentance is the only way
 of your redress and deliverance. Did God ever
 long spare any people, whom he hath taught by
 his prophets, without some evident repentance?
 Or useth any father to pardon his child, whom
 he hath begun to chastize, without some token
 of repentance? Consider how the Lord hath treat-
 ed Israel and Judah his own people: how oft they
 trespass’d, and how he gave them over into the
 hand of their enemies. But whensoever they re-
 pent’d, and turned again to God unfeignedly, he
 sent them judges and deliverers, kings and fa-
 vourers. This way then of repentance, and unfeign-
 ed turning to God by obedience, is the only way
 before God accepted and allowed. Therefore was
 Noah sent to the old world, to bring this doc-
 trine of repentance; and all the old prophets, as
 Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Malachi;
 and he, who excelled all the prophets, John the
 Baptist. Any of whose styles, and sharp rebukes
 of sinners, if I should now use, it would be thought
 full strange, and hardly would be suffered: yet
 were any of their lessons, whereby they called to
 repentance, most meet for our time and age,
 and nothing disagreeing from this my present pur-
 pose; for the same Spirit still stiveth against the
 malice of our times, though in diverse instruments,
 and sundry sorts and fashions. Noah pronounceth,

that within an hundred and twenty years all flesh should be destroyed. We have many Noahs, that so crieth in our times, yet no man repenteth. All the time that Noah was preparing for the ark, to avoid God's vengeance, the multitude derided this holy prophet, as the multitude of you two realms doth at this day deride all them that, by obedience to God's word, seek the means appointed to avoid God's judgments. Then the people would not repent; but, as they should live for ever, they married, they banqueted, they builded, they planted, deriding God's messenger. Do not you the like? I appeal to your own consciences. You marry, but not in God, but to betray your countries; you banquet and build with the blood of the poor.

The Lord calleth to fasting (saith the prophet Isaiah), to mortify themselves, and to kill their lusts; but they kill sheep and bullocks: Jeremiah crieth for tears and lamentation; they laugh and mock: Malachi crieth to the people of his time, 'Turn unto me, and I will turn to you, saith the Lord of Hosts;' and they proudly answer, 'Wherein shall we return?' Are ye not such? Do not ye ask, 'Wherein shall we return, when ye will not know your sins? when ye cannot confess nor acknowledge your faults, though ye go a-whoring in every street, town, and village, with your idols? though the blood of the oppressed cry every where against you for vengeance? So that seeing no token of repentance, I cannot cry unto you with John the Baptist, 'O ye generation of vipers! who hath taught you to flee from the wrath to come?'

O that I might see so good tokens, that ye would fear God's wrath and vengeance. But this must I say to you, both to your confusion and shame, that ye are such vipers and serpents, until I see better tokens. You do what you can to destroy your parents; you cast off God your heavenly Father; ye will not fear him, calling you to repentance; you destroy and banish your spiritual fathers, who once had begotten you as spiritual children by the word of truth; you consume your country, which hath given you corporal life; you sting with tongues and tails all that would draw you from your wickedness.

Finally, Man, woman, and child, are either venomous with your poisons, or stung with your tails. In you are fulfilled the words of David; 'Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have deceived, the poison of asps is under their lips, their mouths are full of curses and bitterness, their feet are swift to shed blood, destruction and wretchedness are in their ways,

'and the way of peace they have not known, the fear of God is not before their eyes.' &c.

I do know your tender ears; you cannot be grieved with such sharp sentences of condemnation, that thus prick you to the hearts: howbeit thus it behoveth, that ye be taught to judge yourselves, that in the end ye be not condemned with the wicked world. But I will wound you no more with the words of the prophets, with the sayings of David, or of this holy saint of God John the Baptist; but with our Saviour Christ's two most sweet parables, of the two sons, and of the husbandmen, to whom he set his vineyard: I will labour to set before your eyes your rebellion, hypocrisy, and cruelty, if so I can bring any of you to repentance. Our Saviour Christ putteth forth this parable; 'A certain man had two sons: and he came to the first, and said, Son, go and work to-day in my vineyard; who answered, I will not, but afterwards repented and went: then came he to the second, and said likewise; and he answered, I will, Sir, but went not.'

Wherein a wonderful comfort first is to be considered, how the Lord our God, Maker of heaven and earth, doth humble himself not only to be called a man, a husbandman, a householder, and such like, but he abaseth himself of mercy to us vile earth and ashes, that his Son becometh man, to make mankind glorious in his sight; to make all those that do not refuse his grace offered, of the slaves of Satan, his sons by adoption. You are his sons, you are his vineyard, you are as dear unto him as the apple of his eye, as Moses speaketh, if you can believe it: he sweareth that you shall be his inheritance, and he will be yours, if ye will only receive his grace, and believe him. When he sweareth, will ye call his truth into doubt? his glory into shame by your unbelief? Better it were, that all creatures should perish, heaven, man, and angels, than that God should not have credit, or that his glory in the least jot should be diminished. He hath called you by his word now many a time to work in his vineyard: I ask what you have answered? Your conscience can witness, and all the world seeth it. Some of you have said plainly, like rebellious children, that ye would not do it, that ye would not work in your Father's vineyard.

Shall I apply this part to Scotland? I may rightly well do it, and also to a great part in England. But Scotland indeed called most plainly and evidently through the mercies of God, both by their own faithful countrymen, and also by earnest tra-

vel of our English nation, to come to the Lord's vineyard, in the time of king Edward, hath, to the damage of both, continually refused, as the conscience of many this day beareth witness.

That time, as ye know, the vineyard in England, by the children of God, was not altogether neglected; and then most earnestly were ye (O brethren of Scotland!) required to join hands with us in the Lord's work: but Satan, alas! would not suffer it. His old fostered maice, and Antichrist his son, could not abide that Christ should grow so strong, by joining that isle together in perfect religion, whom God hath so many ways coupled and strengthened by his work in nature. The Papists practised all their fine crafts in England, Scotland, and in France, that the Gospellers should not with so strong walls be defended, lest this one island should become a safe sanctuary, as it began to be, to all the persecuted in all places. They move sturly stomachs, they dispense with perjuries, they work by their crafty confessions, they raise up war in the end, whereby ye (dear brethren of Scotland) were fore plagued.

Of all these traitorous slights ye cannot be ignorant: for yet it is not past the memory of man, that your king made promise to have met king Henry VIII. at York, whose purpose (albeit in other things I do not allow him) in that case was most godly and praise-worthy; for it was to make an end of that ungodly war, and cruel murder, which long had continued betwixt the two realms. Your king, I say, made promise to meet him; the breach whereof, as it was the occasion of much trouble, so is it evidently known, that your cardinal and his clergy laboured and procured the same: for it is not unknown to some amongst you, how many thousand crowns the churchmen did promise for maintenance of the war, which king Henry did denounce by reason of that breach.

Superfluous it were to me, to recite all the causes moving your pestilent priests to solicit your king to that infidelity: but this is most evident, that they feared nothing but the fall of their glory, and the trouble of their kingdom, which then in England began to be shaken, by suppressing of the abbeyes. This moved your priests earnestly to labour, that your king should falsely break his promise. But what affliction ye sustain by that, and other of their practices, yourselves can witness: for your borders were destroyed, your nobility for the most part were taken prisoners, and your king for sorrow suddenly died.

But these your miseries did nothing move your priests to repentance; but rather did inflame them against God, and against the profit of their native realm. For when again after the death of your king, your friendship and favours were sought, first by king Henry, and after his death by king Edward his son, and by him who then was chosen protector, low craftily, I say, did then your priests undermine all, ye are not ignorant.

When your governor, with the consent of the most part of the nobility, had solemnly sworn, in the abbey of Holyrood-house (Sir Ralph Sadler then being ambassador for England), to perform the marriage contracted betwixt king Edward and your young queen, and faithfully to stand to every point concluded and agreed for performance of that union, when seals were interchanged, and the ambassador dismissed, what stir, tumult, and sedition, raised your cardinal in that your realm, it is not unknown; *viz.* how that by his craft and malice the realm was divided, the governor compelled to seek his favour, to violate his oath, and so to become infamous for ever. And, finally, by the pride of the Papists was that league broken.

But what did thereof ensue? Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, yea, the most part of the realm did feel: your ships were staid, your goods were lost, your chief towns were burnt, and at the end the beauty of your realm did fall by the edge of the sword; the hand of God manifestly fighting against you, because, against your solemn oath, ye did fight against them who sought your favours by that godly conjunction, which before was promised. But still proceeded your enemies the clergy, and their adherents in their purposed malice. Wonder not that I term them your enemies: for albeit they be your countrymen, yet because they seek nothing more than the maintenance of their own kingdom, which is the power of darkness, and the kingdom of Antichrist, they are become conjured enemies to every city, nation, or man, that labour to come to the knowledge of the truth. That pestilent generation, I say, did not cease, till they obtained their purpose, by delivering your young queen into the hands of the French king, assuredly minding, by that means, to cut for ever the knot of the friendship that might have ensued betwixt England and Scotland by that godly conjunction. What the Papists feared is manifest: for then Christ Jesus, being more purely preached in England than at any time before, would shortly have suppressed their pride and vain glory; and therefore they raged, that he should not reign above them also.

But what is like to apprehend you, because ye did not betimes withstand their most wicked counsels, wise men do consider. How heavy and unpleasent shall the burden and yoke of a Frenchman be to your shoulders and necks, God grant that experience do not teach you.

But to return to my former purpose, by all those means rehearsed, by his messengers, by the blood of his saints shed amongst you, by favours and friendship, by war and the sword, yea, by famine and pestilence, and all other means, hath God, your merciful Father, called you to labour in his vineyard; but to this day, alas! we hear not of your humble obedience; but still ye say with stubborn faces, we will not labour, we will not be bound to such thralldom, to abide the burdens of the vineyard. Ye think perchance I am too sharp, and that I accuse you more than you deserve: for amongst you many do know the will of your Father, and many make profession of his gospel: but consider, brethren, that it is not enough to know the commandment, and to profess the same in mouth; but it is necessary, that ye refuse yourselves your own pleasures, appetites, and your own wisdom, if ye shall be judged faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard; and that ye bear the burdens together with your brethren, and suffer heat and sweat, before ye taste the fruits with them. God will not stand content, that ye look over the hedge, and behold the labours of your brethren: but he requireth, that ye put your hands also to your labours; that ye travel continually to pluck up all unprofitable weeds, albeit in so doing the thorns prick you to the hard bones; that ye assist your brethren in their labours, though it be to the hazard of your lives, the loss of your substance, and displeasure of the whole earth. Except that thus ye be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyard will not acknowledge you for his faithful servants. And because this matter is of weight and great importance, I will speak somewhat more plainly for your instruction.

It is reported (to the great comfort of all godly that hear it), that some of you (dear brethren of Scotland) do desire Christ Jesus to be faithfully preached amongst you; which thing if from the heart you desire, and with godly wisdom and stout courage follow your purpose and enterprise, ye shall be blessed of the Lord for ever. But in the beginning ye must beware, that ye follow not the example of your brethren of England, in whose hands albeit the work of the Lord appeared to prosper for a time, yet because the eye was not

single, we see to our grief the overthrow of the same. They began to plant Christ Jesus in the hearts of the people, and to banish that Romish Antichrist, they did drive out the filthy swine from their dens and holes (I mean the monks, and other such Papistical vermin, from their cloisters and abbeyes).

This was a good beginning; but, alas! in the one and the other there was great fault: for the banishing of that Romish Antichrist was rather by the fear of the laws pronounced against him by acts of parliament, than by the lively preaching of Christ Jesus, and by the discovering of his abominations; and the suppression of the abbeyes did rather smell of avarice, than of true religion. Those venomous locusts, which before were held within their cloisters, were then sent abroad, to destroy all good and green herbs: for superstitious friars, ignorant monks, and idle abbots, were made archbishops, bishops, parsons, vicars, and such as ought to feed the souls of men; who thus set at liberty, did continually root up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty gardiner, whose name was Stephen, having wolf-like conditions, did maintain many a wolf, did sow wicked seed in the garden, and cherished many weeds to deface the vineyard: and his maid Mary, who after was his mistress, now married to Philip, wanting no will to wickedness when she was at the weakest, nor stomach to do evil when she got the mastery, did cherish many weeds.

Those two, I say, have so broken the hedges of the same vineyard (God so punishing the sins of those that ought to have made better provision for the same), that the husbandmen are hanged up, the diggers, dressers, and planters, are banished, imprisoned, and burned. Such havock is made, that all wild beasts have power to pollute the sanctuary of the Lord.

O heavens! behold her cruelty; O earth! cry for vengeance; O seas, and desert mountains, witness of her wickedness! break forth against this monster of England. But whether do I run, by the bitterness of my grief! I must needs leave thee, O Scotland! after that I have advertised thee of this, that thou follow not the example, as I have said, of England: but, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I exhort thee, that if thou pretendest to any reformation in religion, which is the chief labour of the vineyard, that thou do it at the first with a single eye, and all simplicity, that from year to year thou be not compelled to change, as was England; but let thy reformation be full and plain, ac-

ording to God's holy will and word, without addition. Let all the plants, which thy heavenly Father hath not planted, be rooted out at once; let not avarice blind thee, neither yet worldly wisdom discourage thy heart; let none bear the name of a teacher, that is known to be a fellerer of superstition, or any kind of wickedness: and thou, so doing, shalt move God, of his great mercy, to send unto thee faithful workmen in abundance, to bless the work, that thou pretendest in the vineyard; and to preserve thee to the glory of his own name, and to thy everlasting comfort. Thus must thou, Scotland, repent thy former disobedience, if that thou wilt be approved of the Lord.

And now do I return to thee, O England! I do liken thee to the second son in the parable, who answered his father with flattering words, saying, 'I go, father, but yet he went not at all?' for since the time that I had any remembrance, our heavenly Father, of his great mercy, hath not ceased to call thee into his vineyard; and to these late days thou hast said always, 'That thou wouldst enter, and be obedient.'

In the time of king Henry VIII. when, by Tindal, Frith, Bilney, and other faithful servants, God called England to dress his vineyard, many promised full fair, whom I could name. But what fruit followed? Nothing but bitter grapes, yea, briars and brambles, the wormwood of avarice, the gall of cruelty, the poison of filthy fornication, flowing from head to foot, the contempt of God, and open defence of the cake-idol, by open proclamation to be read in the churches instead of God's Scriptures. Thus was there no reformation, but a deformation, in the time of that tyrant and lecherous monster. The boar, I grant, was busy rooting and digging in the earth, and all his pigs that followed him: but they sought only for the pleasant fruits, that they winded with their long snouts: and for their own bellies sake, they rooted up many weeds; but they turned the ground so, mingling good and bad together, sweet and sour, medicine and poison, they made, I say, such confusion of religion and laws, that no good thing could grow, but by great miracle, under such gardeners. And no marvel, if it be rightly considered: for this boar raged against God, against devil, against Christ, and against Antichrist; as the foam that he cast out against Luther; the erasing of the name of the pope, and yet allowing his laws; and his murder of many Christian soldiers, and of many Papists; do clearly and evidently testify unto us: especially the burn-

ing of Barnes, Hieromé, and Garret, three faithful preachers of the truth; and hanging, the same day, for maintenance of the pope, Powel, Abel, and Fetherstone; do clearly paint his beastliness, that he cared for no manner of religion. This monstrous boar, for all this, must needs be called the Head of the church, on pain of treason; displacing Christ, our only Head, who ought alone to have this title.

Wherefore, in this point (O England!) ye were no better than the Romish Antichrist, who by the same title maketh himself a god, sitteth in mens consciences, banisheth the word of God, as did your king Henry, whom ye so magnify: for in his best time nothing was heard, but the king's book, and the king's proceedings, the king's homilies in the churches, where God's word should only have been preached. So made you your king a god, believing nothing but what he allowed. But how he died I will not write for shame; I will not name how he turned to his vomit; I will not write your other wickedness of those times, your murders without measure, adulteries and incests of your king, his lords and commons. It grieveth me to write those evils of my country, save only that I must needs declare, what fruits were found in the vineyard after you promised to work therein, to move you to repentance, and to justify God's judgments, how grievously soever he shall plague you hereafter. Wherefore I desire you to call to remembrance your best state under king Edward, when all men, with general consent, promised to work in the vineyard; and ye shall have cause, I doubt not, to lament your wickedness, that so contemned the voice of God for your own lusts, for your cruelty, for your covetousness, that the name of God was, by your vanities, evil spoken of in other nations. I will name no particular things, because I reverence those times, save only the killing of both the king's uncles, and the imprisonment of Hoper for Popish garments. God grant you all repenting hearts; for no order nor state did any part of his duty in those days. But to speak of the best, whereof ye used to boast; your religion was but an English mattins, patched forth of the pope's porters; many things were in your great book superstitious and foolish; all were driven to a prescript-service, like the Papists, that they should think their duties discharged, if the number were said of psalms and chapters.

Finally, There could no discipline be brought into the church, nor correction of manners. I will touch no further abuses, yet willing and de-

iring you to consider them in your hearts, that knowing your negligence ye may bring forth fruits of repentance. For this I admonish you (O ye people of England!) wheresoever you be scattered or placed, that unless ye do right speedily repent of your former negligence, it is not the Spaniards only that ye have to fear, as rods of God's wrath, but all other nations, France, Turkey, and Denmark; yea, all creatures shall be armed against you, for the contempt of those times, when your heavenly Father so mercifully called you. To what contempt was God's word, and the admonition of his prophets, come in all estates, before God did strike, some men are not ignorant. The preachers themselves, for the most part, could find no fault in religion, but that the church was poor, and lacked living. Truth it is, that the abbey-lands, and other such revenues, as before appertained to the Papistical church, were most wickedly and ungodly spent; but yet many things would have been reformed, before that the kitchen had been better provided for to our prelates in England. It was most evident, that many of you, under the cloak of religion, served your own bellies; some were so busy to heap benefice upon benefice, some to labour in parliament for purchasing of lands, that the time was small which could be found for the reformation of abuses, and very little which was spent upon the feeding of your flocks. I need not now to examine particular crimes of preachers. Only, I say, that the gospel was so lightly esteemed, that the most part of men thought rather that God should bow and obey to their appetites, than that they should be subject to his holy commandments: for the commons did continue in malice and rebellion, in craft and subtilty, notwithstanding all laws that could be devised for reformation of abuses; the merchants had their own souls to sell for gain; the gentlemen were become Nimrods and giants; and the nobility and council would suffer no rebukes of God's messengers, though their offences were never so manifest. Let those that preached in the court, the Lent before king Edward died, speak their conscience, and accuse me, if I lie; yea, let a writing written by that miserable man, then duke of Northumberland, to master Harlow, for that time bishop of Harford, be brought to light; and it shall testify, that he was not ashamed to say, That the liberty of the preachers tongues would cause the council and nobility to rise up against them; for they could not suffer themselves to be treated.

These were the fruits even in the time of harvest, a little before the winter came. And of the time of Mary, what should I write? England is now so miserable, that no pen can paint it. It ceaseth to be in the number of children, because it openly despiseth God the Father. It hath cast off the truth known and confessed, and followeth lies and errors, which once it detested. It buildeth the building, which it once destroyed: it raiseth up the idols, which once were there confounded: it murdereth the saints: it maintaineth Bala's prophets by the commandment of Jezebel. Such are the evil husbandmen that now haunt the vineyard, so that this is true that our Saviour Christ saith, 'The Lord himself hath planted a fair vineyard; he hedged it round about, and builded a tower, &c.: and when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, to receive the fruits thereof; but they caught his servants, they beat one, they killed another, and stoned others. Again he sent other servants more, and they served them like wife.'

What need any exposition to apply this unto England? All is fulfilled that is spoken in that parable, unless they do wait for the Son himself for to come, that they may handle him likewise, as they have done his servants. But all is one, saith our Saviour Christ; 'That which ye do to one of these little ones, the same ye do to me,' be it good or bad. 'Why dost thou persecute me,' saith Christ to Saul, when he was, as he now is, at the right hand of God his Father in the heavens. Therefore they persecute, they banish, they burn Christ the Son of God in his members. The judgment therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gave against themselves, That 'the Lord of the vineyard will cruelly destroy those evil persons, and will let forth his vineyard unto other husbandmen;' and the confirmation of the same by the sentence of the chief judge, that 'the kingdom of God shall be taken from such, and given to a people that shall bring forth the fruits thereof?' which judgment is begun in England, and shortly, alas! will be fully executed and finished, without right speedy repentance. Some hope is in Scotland, which hath not shewed forth any such cruelty, and hath not contemned the known treasures; but, like wanton children, have contemned the commandment of their father, partly of frailty, partly of ignorance. But England, the servant that knew the will of his

Lord and Master, which was once lightened with most clear beams, which hath tasted of the sweetness of the word of God, and of the joys of the world to come, which hath abjured Antichrist, and all idolatry, which hath boasted to profess Christ with great boldness before all the world, must be beaten with many stripes; it cannot be avoided.

But to be short, this only remaineth for both these nations, that they repent and return into the vineyard, with the first son: for neither shall ignorance excuse any land or nation, as is plain in the first of the Romans; neither can any people be received without the fruits of repentance, as John the Baptist proclaimeth.

The fruits of repentance I call, not only to know your sins, and to lament them, but to amend your lives, and make straight the Lord's paths, by resisting Satan and sin, and obeying God, in doing the works of righteousness, and executing God's precepts and judgments, so long amongst you contemned: 'For even now is the ax put to the root of the tree, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down, and cast into the fire. The Lord hath now his fan in his hand, and will purge his flour, and gather the wheat into his garner, but will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

Repent therefore, whilst ye have time, before ye be fanned, hewn down, and fired. When I do behold both your two realms, I see the fan, I see the ax. But this I am sure is the beginning of your ruin, that ye do marry with strangers, and give your power to foreign nations, such as fear not God, but are open idolaters, blasphemers, persecutors of the saints of God, that careth neither for heaven nor hell, God nor devil, so that they may win lands, towns, and countries. God shall hew you down by them therefore, as he hath done other nations by like means and causes; and they shall fan you forth of your own hulks and homes, to make you vagabonds and beggars, and after possess your lands and goods, as God threatened by Moses, as was before alledged. 'Trust not to thy strength afterward, when thy enemy is settled, if thou have no strength to resist his beginnings, no more than thou canst overcome a canker that hath over-run many members. That God would not have you to trust to your force of men, towns, or castles, there are examples enough; that you both have felt to your grief; and I cannot write without mourning: for how little availed the

multitude and stout courage of you, dear brethren of Scotland, at Musselburgh, or Pinkfield, the carcases, alas! of many thousands, who that day fell on the edge of the sword, may teach you: and how vain are all strengths, be they judged never so strong or invincible? let Calais lately taken, admonish you.

But I do leave such examples to your considerations, to teach you to call to the Living Lord, who offereth himself, as a merciful Father unto you, still calling you to repentance by words, by writings, and most gentle corrections, if ye will not be hard-hearted.

Yet here have we to lament the miserable state of mankind, who are so seduced by the subtle serpent, that they cannot know their misery, when they are admonished, nor perceive their perdition, when it draweth so near. When the servants of God set forth his truth, they are charged to trouble realms and countries, as was Elijah: when they warn men not to join hands with wicked kings and princes, they are counted traitors, as was Isaiah and Jeremiah. Such is man's malice. But if there be a God, who is first of all to be fought, and without whom nothing can be profitable unto us, but without him all things are unhappy and accursed; if the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, must first be fought, and then all things shall be ministered; if our heavenly King must before man be obeyed, then all such doctrine, as calleth us from man to God, is easy to be perceived, and ought not to be resisted.

Wherefore I do admonish and exhort you both, in the name of the Living God, that howsoever you have hitherto shewed yourselves the servants of men, to bear and to flatter with the world, that now ye learn, in God's cause, to despise the faces of men, to bend yourselves against this wicked world, neither regarding the vicars of honours, vain titles, nor dignities, any further than they seek God's only glory; for his glory will he not suffer to be contemned for any cause: no, he will pour contempt on those princes that strive against his truth; but those that glorify him, will he glorify. And what kingdom, realm, or nation, soever it be, that will not seek to sanctify his name, they shall, in the day of God's grievous visitation, which is now at hand, be utterly confounded; their strength shall be straw, their honours shall be shame, and all their idolatrous priests, in whose lies they delight, together with their idols, with-

whom they are bewitched, shall be stubble and brimstone to burn together, when the wrath of the Lord of Hosts shall set them on fire. The priests shall not save their gods, nor the gods their worshippers, but both alike accursed shall they perish for ever. And though our merciful Father hath long suffered heretofore in the time of ignorance, yet now, in the end of the world, he calleth all people so plainly by his word to repentance, that he must needs take speedy vengeance, if his calling be contemned, especially because the day cannot long be delayed, wherein he hath determined to judge all people and nations of the whole world, and to put an end to wickedness.

Wherefore to conclude, Behold, your only remedy remaineth, to repent your time of ignorance, of stubbornness, of cruelty, of idolatry, wherein ye have so long continued; and now with all diligence to seek for knowledge of the word of God, and openly to profess the gospel, which is the power of God, whereof ye ought not to be ashamed. Cease at the last from your old stubbornness, whereby ye have deserved vengeance; and labour in the vineyard with all meekness, that ye may receive mercy and grace: cease from your cruelty against Christ's members, and learn to suffer for Christ's sake, if ye will be true Christians: banish all idolatry and Popish superstition from amongst you, else can you have no part in Christ's kingdom, no more than Christ can be partaker with Antichrist. Pray to the Lord of Hosts and Armies, to give you the courage, strength, and means. The Lord's arm is not shortened now, no more than of old. Be strong therefore in the Lord, for the defence of the truth, though all the world rise against it. Now when the battle is fierce against the Living God for dead idols (even for the vile wafer-cake, the most vain idol that ever was), against the gospel of Christ for the inventions of Antichrist, against Christ's members for Popish ceremonies, can any of you, that will be counted God's children, still halt on both hands? If that cake baked in iron tongs, not able to abide a blast of wind, be the eternal God, follow it; but if he only be God, that hath created the heavens, abhor such vile idols, that have no force to save themselves: if Christ's gospel and doctrine be sufficient to salvation, and by receiving of it ye are called Christians, away with all Antichrist's inventions, brought into your Romish churches: if you hope to have any part with Christ, cherish his members, and maintain them against their enemies the Pa-

pists, and the bishop of Rome the very Antichrist.

What strength, what force, what power, what counsel soever ye have of God, bend all to this end and purpose, as ye will make answer to your heavenly King for the talent received. If you have no regard to those principal points, which only or chiefly should be before your eyes, go on with your foreign marriages; join France to Scotland, and Spain to England, if it be possible, yet shall ye all be confounded. The Lord shall plague you one with another, until you be confamed; your strength, wherein ye trust, shall be shaken to nought; your courage shall be cowardice; your wisdom shall be folly; and the Lord of Hosts, by your ruin and destruction, will be renowned and praised, and his just judgments throughout the earth shall be honoured and feared.

Whereas, on the contrary, if you will maintain God's truth on the earth, he will receive you as his children into the heavens: if you confess his Christ before this wicked generation, Christ shall confess you before his Father in the heavens, in the presence of his angels. But if you persist stubbornly to banish God's word, and his Son Christ in his members, forth of your earthly kingdoms, how can ye look for any part in his heavenly kingdom! Much more if ye continue to murder his messengers, what can ye look for amongst yourselves, but that ye should dig one in another's belly to be your own murderers? So that if ye will still remain, after all these admonitions, in your murders and idolatries, be assured, that in this world you shall have enough of your idolatries, and shall be filled with bloody murders; and, in the end, ye shall be 'judged without the gates of
' the heavenly Jerusalem, amongst the dogs, en-
' chanters, whoremongers, and murderers, and
' idolaters, with all those that loveth lies. But he
' that overcometh all these, shall inherit all things;
' and I will be his God, saith the Lord, and he
' shall be my son. Whereas the fearful in God's
' cause, the unbelieving, the abominable, the mur-
' derers, whoremongers, forcerers, and idolaters,
' shall have their part in the lake that burneth
' with fire and brimstone.'

I. o, here is the choice of life and death, of misery and wealth, offered unto you by God's mercies, and the means how you may win God's favour opened, whereby only ye may prevail against your enemies! God grant you hearts to answer as the people did to Joshua, offer-

ing the like choice: ' God forbid (say they)
 ' that we should forsake God; we will serve the
 ' Lord our God, and obey his voice, for he is our
 ' God.'

And we, your banished brethren, by the power
 of God, to provoke you forward, will thus pro-
 nounce with Jothua, ' That we, and our families,

' will serve the Lord God, though all nations run
 ' to idols,' though all people do persecute us. We
 know that Satan hath but a short time to rage;
 and that Chrill, our Captain, right speedily will
 crown his soldiers: to whom, as he is the eternal
 God with his Father, be all honour and glory, for
 ever and ever. So be it.

T H E
F I R S T A N D S E C O N D
B O O K S O F D I S C I P L I N E :

TOGETHER WITH SOME

A C T S

O F T H E

G E N E R A L A S S E M B L Y,

CLEARING AND CONFIRMING THE SAME :

A N D A N

A C T O F P A R L I A M E N T.

According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it. Exod. xxv. 9.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

AFTER these dark and dreadful days of barbarous blindness and superstition, wherein by the deceit of dumb dogs, bloody wars for many years had covered the face of this land, it pleased the bountifulness of God, in that riches of his love, as not regarding the time of former ignorance, with a marvellous mercy to visit this realm, by sending, not one Jonah to such a Nineveh, or one Philip to such a Samaria, but first few, since many, and all faithful, holy, wise, speedily to preach the gospel in Scotland, as in another Antioch. At the terror of these trumpets, like smoke before the wind, were quickly driven away, not only the darkness of idolatry, and damnable dissension among the members of this kingdom, wherein consisted the strength of that bloody beast, by whose tyrannous cruelty, and deceivable ways, princes and people were shamefully abused, and often compelled, with the claws of violence, to shed the blood of the saints, yea, to keep the Book of the unchangeable Testament of Jesus Christ, under the cover of a strange tongue, as a clasped book, that it should not be read: but also, many of that Antichristian sect, who, in the time of persecution, had used the curious arts of that kingdom of lies, and service of Baal, were turned to the truth of God, and preached the word of his grace; so that in a short time that Romish Jericho fell, the people that sat in darkness saw a great light, and where the power of Satan had prevailed, the throne of Christ was set up, the word increased, and the Lord added to the kirk from day to day such as were to be saved; so magnifying the strength of his own arm against his enemies, in that prosperous time, that neither proud Anakims, nor crafty Gibeonites, were able to stand before the Spirit that spake in these men of God, when they were but few: and though they walked in the flesh, yet did they not war after the flesh; but by the spiritual arms of bold preaching, reverend ministration of the sacraments, and sincere ruling of the flock of Christ with discretion, and without partiality, and always praying, and often fasting, they banished Atheism, barbarity, and Papistry, quenched the fire of contentions, prevented dangers, planted the kirks, taught and persuaded great and small, poor and rich, and persons of all estates, to profess the gospel. And howsoever they were daily crossed with deceit and opposition, so led they diversity in the hand of amity, that all things concerning the great work of that glorious reformation, to the praise of God, and the comfort of the godly, were wisely and firmly appointed. In those happy days, the servants of the Lord, in love were like Jonathan and David; in courage, like Gideon's three hundred; in unity, like the saints that first received the gospel; in care and diligence, like the builders of the wall of Jerusalem; and so marching like the Lord's armies. Then were they neither despised nor abhorred, but received as the angels of God; and yet in the Lord's troops, neither for work nor war were there to be found any pompous prelate, abbot, prior, bishop, or archbishop, that loves to shine in dignity, and rejoice in rent, with the contempt of their brethren, and neglect of the Lord's service. O Scotland! What was then thy felicity? Then didst thou sing and shout with the voice of joy, 'God will arise, and his enemies shall be scattered; they also that hate him shall fly before him. Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt. Thou hast cast out the Heathen, and planted it. Thou madest room for it, and didst cause it to take root, and it filled the land,' &c.

The superstitious ignorant, the perverse Papist, the crafty parasite, and the self-loving politician, the Christian-coloured belly-god, and the loose liver, the time-server, and all the sorts of that filthy sect, that hate to be reformed, often conspired against the building of that glorious temple, but all in vain; for by the power of God they were disappointed. Yet, in these last days, some dangerous Delilah hath betrayed Sampson, and told wherein his strength lay, with no less hurt to this kirk, than was performed by the false brethren, who were craftily sent in, and crept in privily, among the faithful, to spy out their liberty which they had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring them unto bondage. It is clearly known to many in this kingdom, and in foreign parts, what a wall for defence, and a band for peace, and progress of the gospel, was that heavenly discipline, whereby brotherly amity, and sacred harmony of prince, pastors, and professors, were so continued and increased, that all, as one man, did stand together for the doctrine, sacraments, and kirk-government, against the adversaries, either lurking or professed. It was the hedge of the Lord's vineyard, and the hammer whereby the horns, both of adversaries and disobediers, were beaten and broken. And of this happy mean it might be truly said, That in the strength of it, more than by our own virtue, were we strong, and prevailed. And to sharpen our love, it is thus written, by a stranger, but a friend; 'Albeit it be necessary, that they who have their city
' in heaven, repose altogether thereupon, yet nothing should let us to behold, as it were
' heaven upon earth, that is, the power of God in his own, &c. By most evident reasons
' I judge the kirk of Scotland to be of this sort: in which the many mighty and long continuing assaults of Satan, the like whereof, as I think, no nation sustained, could neither
' defile the purity of doctrine, nor bow the rule of right discipline. This is a great gift of
' God, that he hath brought together to Scotland, both the purity of religion and discipline,
' whereby, as in a bond, the doctrine is safely kept. I pray and beseech you so to keep
' these two together, as that ye may be assured, that if the one fall, the other can no ways
' long stand.'

It cannot be denied, but by the space of fifty years and above, Scotland ran well, the doctrine was in such sort preached, and discipline appointed and practised; yea, both professed, established, and constantly defended; not only by those faithful men, that went before, but by them who followed, and yet live, in such concord of kirk, and policy, that the like thereof is scarcely to be found in story, or seen with eyes in any nation, since the revelation of the mystery of the gospel to the first apostles. But now of late, with pity to speak it, no uncircumcised Philistine or Assyrian, but some of the disciples, desirous to sit at the right hand, and pretending to restore again the kingdom to Israel, the kirk to her old rents and privileges, at first did mince and sparingly speak, but afterward practise and loudly preach, that except, after the manner of other nations, the kirk of Scotland admitted again prelates, the princes of that wicked hierarchy, with some untrusty traditions, and change of things indifferent, as they term them, but in effect the disgracing of pastors, ejecting of elders, destroying of assemblies, and fashioning doctrine, discipline, sacraments, confessions of faith, forms of prayer, and all in a new shape; it cannot be saved, nor vindicated from poverty and contempt, but by the means of this malady obtruded for a remedy. Not only these evils, howsoever at the beginning seeming small, hath so grown, that, like nettles in a foul ground, they not only bud and bloom, but abundantly bring forth divisions, dissensions, and unkindly contentions among brethren, to the great joy of the enemies, and grief and offence of them that fear God. This strange fire hath entered in the city of God, and horribly burns on; and yet is it so, that such as may will not, and such as are willing can not, and they that should be first are least zealous and forward to offer their

pains, either to clear and defend the truth, to pacify their brethren, or to plead the cause of discipline against the calumnies and cavillings of such as, by promoting of novelties, seek promotion; but uncharitable speeches, and pestiferous pens of dissension, fretting as a canker, increaseth unto more ungodliness; dangerous dissolution, the daughter of division, and the undoubted forerunner of desolation, daily proclaims the defacing, if not the fall of this reformed kirk: as if no care should be taken that the spouse of Jesus Christ, who so long, like a chaste virgin, hath shined in purity before her Lord in this land, should now be stained with Korah's ambition, Balaam's wages, and Esau's profaneness, altar against altar, and brother against brother. In this case so pitiful, and good cause so universally neglected, if not deserted, it should be our hearts desire, and prayer to God, to be found faithful, when with grief we may justly say of the old friends, and new adversaries of discipline, 'It is time for the Lord to work, for they have destroyed thy laws;' and of her constant friends boldly avow, 'Therefore love they thy commandments above gold, yea, above most fine gold.' Could this pragmatistical course of dangerous desertion from a truth so long professed, whereof few or none can be ignorant, work in our hearts, now almost lukewarm, a laborious love and holy zeal for that truth whereof we are persuaded; we might then be fully assured, that, as it was said in the book of the wars of the Lord, what he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, the banners of his power being displayed for Israel, as well at their entry into Canaan against the nations, as at their coming out of Egypt against Pharaoh: so through the wonderful working of his equivalent power, and unchangeable love, it should be remembered in the records of the reformed kirks of Scotland, that what he did first in substance, that he did last in ceremony, making the end of his own work against apostates from discipline, professed by themselves, and in that respect renters of brotherly unity, and dividers of brethren, answerable to the happy beginnings thereof against cruel persecutors, and wicked heretics. Is the Lord changed, because he changes the manner of his working? God forbid. For although he declare not in our times who belong to him, by miraculous fire sent from heaven, as in the days of Elijah; the earth opens not her mouth, as in the days of Korah; he rains not showers of brimstone upon the Sodomites of this age; he turns not such as look back into pillars of salt, to season others; neither is his favour manifested towards his own secret ones, in earthly and visible blessings, so wonderfully as of old; yet the God of Israel is our God, and the God of the Old Testament is the God of the New and better Testament, having still a secret and equivalent providence, most wisely disposed and framed for the well of his kirk, according to the diversity of the ages succeeding one after another. So that no wise heart, perceiving the course thereof, could wish another than the present, howsoever the folly of infidelity blinds men to affect the miracles, ease, and outward prosperity of former generations; and if these fail, to cast themselves headlong in desperation, defection, or Atheism. Yea, because he works not as before, in their haste they conclude, that he works not at all. It were our wisdom, who live in the last times, rather to determine with ourselves, that as in great and extraordinary plagues, small and common diseases are swallowed up; so will the Lord, leaving all other warnings, have all ears to be lifted up in fear, to the hearing of the loud trumpet of the gospel, summoning all flesh before the judgment-seat of Christ, that they may most of all tremble at that last sentence, which debars men for ever from the face of God; and in the mean time, will have the life of his own children hid with Christ, that in a holy conformity with him, they may by many afflictions enter into his kingdom. As the present prosperity of the common sort doth make their fear the greater, so the crosses of the kirk should make them, with the greater courage, to lift up their heads; and while the day of

their redemption draws near, to walk with the greater fidelity in their vocations, building the house of God with the one hand, and fighting with the other, against enemies of all sorts, especially these Sanballats and Tobiahs, who labour to make other kirks abroad, and a great number of the pastors and people at home, to think that a great part of the walls of Christ's kirk, built within this nation, since our delivery from the Romish captivity, are so weak, that if a fox shall go upon them, he should break them down. And now forsooth the new work rising in place of the old, to be more firm, and of the old foundation, when the mystery of iniquity, after long working in secret, was seen manifested, there was a new face brought upon the kirk. The pure fountains of Holy Scripture, troubled with the puddle of trifling traditions, ceremonies brought in, and will-worship, and damnable idolatry set up, apostolical discipline abolished, and Popish policy exalted. Yet such is the wilfulness of men, knowing the weakness of error, and force of the truth, that multitudes, in the succeeding times, have not blushed to bring in these novelties under the name of ancient verities; yea, without shame or fear, to affirm, That this last was the primitive and natural face of their mother. It may be seen in these days, that after a large time, this second mystery working under cover, yet always perceived by some in this land, is now at last brought to light, according to the warnings of the wise watchmen of this kirk, and hath changed the comely countenance of Christ's spouse, further than the lovers of the truth would have thought, into the Antichristian complexion of that whore of Babel, and without God's preventing mercy, and our speedy repentance, the loss of a great substance for a foul conformity; and yet, howsoever all men cry, That the ancient way was the best, and as they love honesty, they will be the sons of contancy, and firmly retain the ancient discipline of the reformed kirk of Scotland. They have renounced nothing, they have abjured nothing: yea, if any whisper of a fall from the first love, they are quickly marked, as wilfully pleading for shadows, and making of schisms: and so such as would strive to stand, must suffer for their fault, who hath wrought the change. As that old painter, intending to represent the body of Hercules, expressed nothing of the lineaments of his face, stature, or members, contenting himself with the resemblance of the lion's skin, which he was wont to carry, as the badge of his strength, and trophy of his honour: so some of his apprentices, for the beautiful face of this kirk, and heavenly proportion of her divine discipline, do set before the eyes of men of this time, who never saw the fair face, nor felt the strength of ancient order, that roaring lion's skin of Episcopacy, the greatest monster that this kirk had conflicted with, in the most part of her meetings; and whose skin, within these few years, was commonly reputed among the rest of the spoils taken from her enemies. As it was the courage of wise Cato, against the braggers of arrogant Greeks, perverting all verity and antiquity of history, and usurping the honour of the invention of all things, to write a book *de Originibus*, for vindicating the truth from usurping presumption; and as in later times many have happily laboured in discovering the Roman inventions, and bringing to light the beginnings and progress of error and idolatry, creeping in and corrupting that kirk; it were likewise to be wished, for the well of this kirk, and her cause of controversies, that the acts of the general assemblies, so often visited and prepared for public use, were now, according to the intention and care of the kirk, together with the Books of Discipline, which should be lights for direction, and laws for decision of controversies arising thereabout, faithfully perused and printed.

For the present necessity, ye have here the First and Second Books of Discipline, with certain acts of the kirk for clearing your doubts, and confirming the truth against such as delight in veils of obscurity, and circuits of circumvention. As there was never any miracle wrought for confuting of Atheists, because every work of God is a miracle against them;

fo there needs no argument, to flop the mouths of adverfaries for difcipline, who would feem to ftand to their own oath and ancient profefion, becaufe every line almoft of thefe books will be an argument againft them: if truth fhall obtrude herfelf to the knowledge of men, not fuffering them to be fo forgetful and ignorant, as perhaps they would feem, God forbid, that any fhould think that his refolution to be rich and ftately, fhould fo fuppreff his light and ftay his mind from thinking that true, which we would wifh were falfe; that were the fin of a witty malignant: *Hæc eſt ſumma delicti nolle agnoſcere quod ignorare non potes:* it were much better, that as many as through ignorance of the eſtabliſhed order in the kirk have been miſled, would now repent their negligence and dangerous courſe, when they fhall ſee a good daughter of an evil mother. This truth brought to light to be the fruit of our diviſion, as perfecution in former times hath brought forth purity, and hereſy the truth of doctrine, fo hath this fit of diſtraction among brethren brought this draught of difcipline to the view of the world; to ſo many as have ſtood, by the grace of God, to the defence of their profefion, a ſtrong confirmation; and to ſuch as are toſſed with doubtings, a clear refolution. Let it be no derogation to the truth here expreſſed, nor to the labours of theſe faithful fathers, who penned and put in register the ſame, but a great imputation and guiltineſs lying upon the ſucceeding age, who deprived themſelves of ſuch a benefit, and the kirk of ſuch a defence. Though the book of God's covenant lay long hid in the temple, yet Joſiah rejoiced when it came to light. Very Jezebel could not be ſtaid from magnifying of Baal, by all the daſhes he ſuffered from heaven and earth: and ſhould not Chriſtians be aſhamed to be leſs affectionate to verity than ſhe to idolatry; and namely a truth concerning Chriſt's kingly office, and the miniſters of his kingdom, without the truth whereof we can neither have comfort of his prophecy nor prieſthood. It is the Lord's great mercy, that, in the reformation of this kirk, he hath been preached and profeſſed, King, Prieſt, and Prophet: and it ſhall be the glory of this land, thankfully to acknowledge that incomprehenſible benefit, and always carefully to keep whole without rent, and to carry a reverend eſtimation to the great work of the glorious reformation of this kirk. For this effect ye muſt arm yourſelves againſt the lords of tongues, who have ſaid, With our tongues will we prevail. Of that generation ſome will daſh you by the odious name of Puritan; and yet one of that lordly ſort is forced to confeſs, That Scots profeſſors are unto him Puritans, from the form of external government, but not from religion, which both is and may be one and the ſame, where the external form of government is different and contrary, who albeit they be miſerably taken with that their own form, yet in the reſt of the doctrine they are ſufficiently orthodox. Others, like wicked creditors, deſtroying the obligation whereby they are bound for debtful obedience, ſummarily deny, that ever this kirk had any approved difcipline, except that which is printed and placed in the Pfalm-books. A third ſort, making ſuch paſtors, who at the beginning were called ſuperintendents, to be figures, patterns, fore-runners, or lieutenants, of biſhops ſuch as now are, would move the world to believe, that they follow the firſt difcipline. A fourth kind, wandering in the wilderneſs of unbounded indifference, take upon them to determine all doubts of difcipline, by honour, eaſe, or gain. And ſome, of Gallio's diſpoſition it may be, hidly eſteeming all religion a matter of ſpeech, ſpare not to proclaim, that ſtriving about ſuch trifles is needleſs. For your encouragement againſt ſuch, and others of the like diſpoſition, it hath pleaſed the Lord to ſet on work our pens; and in his own time, if preſumption be obſtinate, he will inſpire them with greater love of his truth, to whom he hath given knowledge in meaſure above them who hath put to their hand; and increaſe their knowledge, in whole hearts he hath wrought ſome love, howſoever their knowledge be far inferior to many of theirs who ſtand for the truth.

It is to be remembered, that the true friends of discipline are the ministers of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ, agreeing in doctrine and administration of the sacraments, and the people of this realm that profess Christ, as he is now offered in his gospel, and do communicate with the holy sacraments (as in the reformed kirk of this realm they are publicly administered), according to the Confession of Faith; and that such as were clothed with the kirk-rents, or greedily gaped after the same, as abbots, priors, prioresses, bishops, commendators, and other sacrilegious usurpers of kirk-livings, as they had place in policy, and credit in court or council, either professedly or craftily, have resisted the course of the gospel, and the discipline thereof, as may be seen in these conflicts, whereby the kirk hath ever striven for deliverance from their usurpation; till now the zeal of benefices having devoured the zeal of discipline, old opposites are thought to be her most loving familiars, and her old friends her greatest enemies. A strange case, and yet very casual, for the kirk by seeking worldly preferment, to loose spiritual servants, as one said, 'Never a minister got a great benefice, but he spilt it, or it spilt him.'

Item, That under the name of discipline, is to be understood, not only the particulars expressed in these two books, but also the acts, constitutions, and practices agreed upon, and recorded in the registers of the general and provincial assemblies, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions.

Thirdly, To consider the different conditions of the kirk in her infancy, in her growing, and in her ripe age, and accordingly to accommodate the discipline to practice, as the condition of the time permitted or required; and wisely to distinguish betwixt the kirk's purpose and intention in every particular, and their possibility to perform and practise, as circumstances concurred, or were contrary. As for example: They intended resident ministers, one or more, as kirks were of largeness, with elders and deacons. *Item*, Doctors of divinity for schools; assemblies general, provincial; weekly meetings for the interpretation of the Scripture, which afterwards, at Edinburgh, the 7th day of July 1579, were judged to be a presbytery: and they abhorred anarchy, oligarchy, and hierarchy: but with great pains, and frequent meetings, were abuses condemned, and order established: so that for lack of ordinary ministers planted, and in that respect lack of lawful assemblies, they were forced occasionally to use superintendents, and visitors of countries; who afterwards, in the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, the 4th of August 1590, when presbyters were well and orderly constituted, were declared neither to be necessary nor expedient.

Fourthly, The First and Second Books of Discipline, penned by the ministers of the reformed kirk; the First Book, at the charge and commandment of the great council of Scotland, subscribed by the greatest part thereof, and afterwards by many more, as may be seen in the acts of the kirk; the Second Book standing inserted in public register of the kirk, ordained to be subscribed by divers acts of the assembly, and confirmed by practice, are both for one end; *viz.* To direct reformation in doctrine, sacraments, and exercise of discipline, and to resist idolatry and corruptions. The First hath more particular purposes: the Second sets down more fully and particularly the jurisdiction of the kirk, as it agrees, or is distinguished from the civil policy; the office-bearers of the kirk, with their duty; the assemblies of the kirk, and distinctions thereof; the patrimony of the kirk, and distribution thereof; the office of a Christian magistrate in the kirk; certain heads of reformation, with the utility of the said books, &c. *Item*, Either of the said books confirm the other; and neither of them abolish or innovate the other.

A C T S

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

For Clearing and Confirming the said BOOKS of DISCIPLINE, and against the Adversaries thereof.

FOR THE FIRST BOOK.

Edinburgh, July 30, 1562. **B**ECAUSE the lives of ministers ought to be such, as thereby others may be provoked to godliness, it becomes them first to be tried, after the trial of the superintendents, if any man have whereof to accuse them in life, doctrine, or execution of their office. After the ministers, must the elders of every kirk be tried, &c. 'In that whole ordinance anent trial, and in the constitution following anent the subjection of all sorts of ministers to the discipline of the kirk, there is no mention of bishops, or any sorts of prelates, as not acknowledged to have any place in the ministry of the reformed kirk.'

Ibidem. Mr. Alexander Gordon, called bishop of Galloway, making petition for the superintendency of Galloway, was refused, because he had not observed the order of calling superintendents; and in the mean time was required to subscribe the Book of Discipline. 'Where it is evident, that by his Episcopacy he might exercise no ministerial duty; and although he was presented by the lords, yet they would not admit him to be superintendent, except he subscribed the Book of Discipline. And let this be remembered for the subscription of others, of whom there may be seen a great number at the end of the said book.'

Ibidem. It is concluded by the whole ministers assembled, that all ministers shall be subject to their superintendents, in all lawful admonitions, as is prescribed as well in the Book of Discipline, as in

the election of superintendents. 'Here observe two things; *first*, That superintendents might not do what pleased them: *secondly*, That obedience to be performed to them was enjoined by the kirk, and set down in the Book of Discipline, and in the election of superintendents.'

Ibidem. A minister lawfully admitted, shall not be removed, but according to the order of the Book of Discipline; so that the said book is both the warrant of orderly admission, and orderly removing.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1562. According to the fourth head of the Book of Discipline, concerning the lawful election of ministers, the assembly ordains, That inhibition shall be made to all and sundry persons, now serving in the ministry, who hath not entered into their charges by the order in this same head appointed. And this act to have strength as well against them that are called bishops, as others pretending any ministry within the kirk.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1563. It was thought needful, for further confirmation of the Book of Discipline, that the earl Marshal, lord Ruthven, lord secretary, the commendator of Kilwinning, the bishop of Orkney, clerk of register, justice-clerk, Mr. Henry Balnaves, David Forrester, and Mr. George Buchanan, or any three or four of them, should oversee the said book, and diligently consider the contents thereof, noting their judgment in writ, and report the same to the next assembly ge-

neral of the kirk: or if any parliament chance to be in the mean time, that they report their judgments to the lords of the articles, that shall happen to be chosen before the said parliament. ' By these

' it is evident, that our kirk acknowledged the ' First Book to be the Book of Discipline, and no ' ways to be abolished, but for the use of the kirk ' to be further confirmed.'

FOR THE SECOND BOOK.

Edinburgh, June 25, 1567. **A**NENT the causes of the kirk, and jurisdiction thereof, the assembly appointed the laird of Dun, Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Spottiswood, Mr. John Willock, superintendents, Mr. John Row, George Hay, Robert Pont, Christopher Gudman, Thomas Drummond, John Knox, John Craig, John Rutherford, George Buchanan, Robert Hamilton, Clement Little, the lairds of Lundie, Elphinston, Kernal, Kers, and Thomas Scot of Abbottithail, to convene the morrow after the preaching, and to reason and confer anent the said causes and jurisdiction.

Edinburgh, Dec. 25, 1566. Ordains an humble supplication to be made to the lords of secret council, anent the commission of jurisdiction, supposed to be granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, to the effect that their honours may stay the same, in respect that these causes, for the most part, judged by his usurped authority, pertain to the kirk: and howbeit, for hope of good things, the kirk did oversee the queen's majesty's commission given to such men, who for the most part were our brethren, yet can the assembly no ways be content, that the bishop of St. Andrews, a conjured enemy to Christ, use that jurisdiction; as also in respect of that coloured commission, he might usurp again his old usurped authority, and the same might be the mean to oppress the whole kirk by his corrupt judgment.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1567. The whole assembly thought meet, that certain brethren be appointed to concur at all times with such persons of parliament, or secret council, as my lord regent's grace hath nominated, for such affairs as pertain to the kirk and jurisdiction thereof, and also for decision of questions that may occur in the mean time; *viz.* Mellis. John Knox and John Craig, ministers of Edinburgh; the superintendents of Angus and Lothian, David Borthwick, Thomas Mackcalzan, David Lindsay minister at Leith, George Hay at Ruthven, and John Row at St. Johnston.

Edinburgh, June 25, 1567. Letters directed from the assembly by their commissioners, to the earls, lords, and barons; *viz.* The earls Huntly, Argyle, Cassils, Rothes, Marthal, Montcaith, and Glencairn, to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Sanchar, Heres, Yester, Cathcart, M. of Graham, Fleming, Levingston, Forbes, Salton, Glamis, Ogilvie, M. of Sinclair, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, M. of Somervell, barons, Lochinvar, Garlies, sheriff of Ayr, Glenurquher, Sir James Hamilton, Bonington, commadators, Arbroath, Kilwinning, Dunfermling, St. Colms, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, shewing them that the assembly had of long time travelled both in public and private, with all estates, continually craving of their honours in special, that the course of the gospel of salvation, now once of the liberal mercy of God restored to this realm, might continue to all their comforts, and their posterities. And that for the furthering and maintaining thereof, a perfect policy and full liberty might be granted to this reformed kirk within Scotland, &c.

Edinburgh, July 1. 1568. An article presented to my lord regent, That his grace would cause such as are appointed of the council, convene with them that are appointed of the assembly, to confer anent the jurisdiction of the kirk, and to decide therein, that time and place may be condescended upon to that effect, and that it be done before the parliament.

Edinburgh, July 1. 1569. My lord regent's grace ordains the persons nominated in the act of parliament, to convene the time of the next checker, and define and limit the jurisdiction of the kirk, according to the word of God, and act of parliament made thereanent. *Extract. act. secretarii consilii, Alexander Hay.*

Edinburgh, March 5, 1570. Articles pertaining to the jurisdiction of the kirk, to be proponed to the regent's grace and secret council, and sought to be appointed by them: 1. That the kirk have the judgment of true and false religion, of doctrine, heresies, and such-like, annexed to the preach-

ing of the word, and ministration of the sacraments. 2. Election, examination, and admission of them that are admitted to the ministry, or other functions of the kirk, charge of souls, and ecclesiastical benefices; the suspension and deprivation of them therefrom for lawful causes. 3. All things concerning the discipline of the kirk which stand in correction of manners, admonitions, excommunications, and receiving to repentance. 4. The judgment of ecclesiastical matters betwixt persons that are in the kirk, and especially among them that are constituted in the ministry, as well concerning beneficiary causes as others. 5. Jurisdiction to proceed by admonitions, to the process of excommunication, if need be, against them that rob the patrimony of the kirk, pertaining to the ministry, or otherways intromit therewith unjustly, whereby the ministry is in danger to decay by occasion of the poverty of the ministers. 6. And because the conjunction of marriages pertains to the ministry, the causes of adherence and divorcements ought also to pertain to them, as naturally annexed thereto.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1576. Sess. 6. Brethren appointed to make an overture of the policy and jurisdiction of the kirk, &c.: for the west country, the bishop of Glasgow, Messrs. Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Greig, David Cunningham: for Lothian, Messrs. Robert Pont, James Lawson, David Lindsay, Clement Little, and Alexander Sym: for Fife, the superintendent thereof, with the principal masters of the university: for Angus and Mearns, the laird of Dun, William Chrysterson, John Row, William Rind, John Dunkeson: for Aberdeen, Messrs. John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, George Hay: and these persons to convene, ilk country and rank, in the places following; viz. The west, in Glasgow; Lothian, in Edinburgh; Fife, in St. Andrews; Angus, in Montrose; the first Tuesday of June next to come, to confer and advise upon the said matter; and to have general meetings or conventions, two, or one at least, of ilk country, in Stirling, the last of July thereafter, to communicate and cognosce upon their whole travels and labours taken herein, and to confer hereupon, and report what they have found and conceived in the said matter to the next assembly.

Edinburgh, October 1, 1577. The brethren deputed to the conceiving and forming of the heads of the policy of the kirk, being called to give account of their diligence, presented the same as they had made partition thereof at the assembly in Stir-

ling. The heads penned by master John Row and James Lawson were read, and nothing said against, except that one of the said Mr. John's articles was referred to further disputation. All men being required, that had any good reason or argument to propone in the contrary, to alledge the same; or if they would not publicly reason on the said head, to resort to the said commissioners, where travel should be taken to satisfy them; leaving to them liberty also, before the heads be recollected and ordered in one body, to make argument, as they think good, against the same.

The laird of Dun thought the head given to him obscure. The assembly desired him to confer with the remanent commissioners the next morning at seven o'clock, that he may be resolved of the meaning thereof.

The remanent heads being prolix, were thought good to be contracted in short propositions, to be presented to public reading.

Sess. 2. The head committed to Mr. Andrew Hay, being read in face of the assembly, nothing was proponed against the same, except the article anent the suspension of ministers, referred to further reasoning. David Ferguson's part being read, the eighteenth article was referred, and nothing spoken against the rest. The points committed to Messrs. Andrew Hay, Robert Pont, David Lindsay, nothing alledged in the contrary. The heads committed to Mr. John Craig read, some things were desired to be contracted, and others referred to further reasoning.

Sess. 3. The whole labours of the brethren taken upon the matter, and argument of the policy being wholly read in public audience of the assembly, it was thought expedient, that their whole travels and work in this matter being now dispersed, should be revised and perused by some brethren, and digested and disposed in good and convenient order, to be thereafter presented to the assembly. And for that effect the assembly appointed the brethren, Messrs. James Lawson, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, George Hay, to convene together, to appoint the hours and place thereto, and to remain thereat until the matter be brought to an end. And in the mean time, if it please any to reason with them in the matter, to have access thereto.

Sess. 6. Commissioners directed from this assembly to the regent's grace, for informing his grace anent the travels of the kirk in the matter and argument of the policy, returned, and reported, His grace liked well of their travels and labours they

took in that matter, requiring expedition, and haſty out-red thereof.

Seſſ. 9. The brethren appointed to collect the heads of the policy preſented before, reported the ſame, gathered and collected in order, and digeſted in one body; and all men were required, that had good reaſon or argument to propoſe, to offer them thereto. Three heads were called in doubt, one *de Diaconatu*, another *de Jure Patronatus*, the third *de Diſciplinis*, wherein they were not reſolved, nor ſatisfied. As to the reſt, nothing was thought in the contrary, nor oppoſed thereto.

Theſe three heads ſtanding in controverſy, and diſputed *in utraque partem*, yet further diſputation was referred to the next day, to any man that liked to take the part of reaſoning upon him againſt the ſaid heads. Becauſe the matter of the policy of the kirk, collected by the brethren, is not yet in ſuch perfect form as is requiſite, and fundry things are largely intrated, which would be more ſummarily handled, others required further dilata-tion, for recollecting thereof, and putting the ſame in good order and form, and for avoiding of ſuperfluity and obſcurity, the ſubſtantials being kept, the aſſembly preſently hath willed their be-loved brethren, Meſſrs. Robert Pont and James Lawſon, to take travel and labour in the premiſes. And to the effect that the work may be the better complete, and in readineſs againſt the next ge-neral aſſembly, which is ordained to begin at Edin-burgh, the 25th of October next to come, the aſſembly hath ordained their brethren, the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. Alexander Arbutnot, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, Andrew Hay, George Hay, John Row, David Lindſay, John Dunkeſon, to aſſemble and convene together, the 19th of October next, in Edinburgh, to reviſe and conſider the travels of the ſaid brethren, that the ſame may be the more adviſedly propoſed publicly, as is ſaid. In the mean time ſuch as pleaſe to reaſon in the matter, to have acceſs to the ſaid brethren. And likewiſe ordained the viſitors of countries, to make intima-tion to the barons, that the ſaid work is in hands, and to be treated in the next general convention, deſiring their preſence and concurrence thereto.

Edinburgh, October 25, 1577. Becauſe the mat-ter of the policy and juriſdiction of the kirk, com-mitted to the recollecting, forming, and diſpoſing of certain brethren, being now preſented by them, was thought expedient to be propounded and in-trated the next day, after the reading of the gene-ral heads thereof; the whole brethren were requir-ed to adviſe with themſelves, if they found any

other head neceſſary to be diſputed than thoſe, and to ſignify the ſame to the aſſembly to-morrow. My lord regent's grace deſired the aſſembly to proceed forward earneſtly in the policy, wherein they were labouring, and to put the ſame to an end.

The reſt of this day being conſumed in exami-nation of the travels taken upon the policy, as is noted thereupon to the next ſeſſion, the aſſembly ordains it to be proceeded further in.

Seſſ. 6. This ſeſſion being wholly employed in reaſoning upon the heads of the juriſdiction of the kirk, the ſame argument was ordained to be fol-lowed out the next day, ſo far as time may ſerve thereunto.

Edinburgh, October 25, 1577. The heads of the policy and juriſdiction of the kirk being wholly read, and thought good, that the ſame ſhould be preſented to my lord regent's grace, as agreed up-on by reaſoning among the brethren, ſaving the head *de Diaconatu*, which is ordained to be given in with a note, that the ſame is agreed upon by the moſt part of the aſſembly, without prejudice of further reaſoning, to the effect that the ſaid heads may be put *in mundo*, diſpoſed and ſet in good or-der, according to the mind of the aſſembly, the aſ-ſembly hath willed Meſſrs. John Lawſon, Robert Pont, David Lindſay, and the clerk of the aſſem-bly, to labour with diligence therein; and the ſame being put *in mundo* by them, according to the ori-ginal to be ſeen and reviſed by John Dunkeſon, David Feruſon, the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. James Carmichael, and John Brand, and being ſeen by them according to the ſaid original, to be preſent-ed by the ſaid Meſſrs. James Lawſon, Robert Pont, and David Lindſay, together with a ſupplication penned and delivered to them by the aſſembly, un-to my lord regent's grace; and in caſe conference and reaſoning be fought by his grace, upon the ſaid heads preſented to his grace, the aſſembly hath or-dained the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. Patrick Adamſon, John Craig, John Row, Alexander Arbutnot, Andrew Melvil, James Lawſon, Robert Pont, David Lindſay, Andrew Hay, George Hay, and John Dunkeſon, to concur and await upon the ſaid conference, as they ſhall be advertiſed by his grace.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. Forasmuch as the general aſſembly hath thought meet, that the tra-vels taken by them upon the policy, ſhall be preſented to the king's majeſty, and his highneſs's council, it was found meet, that before the copies thereof were delivered, they ſhould be yet review-ed and overſeen by Meſſrs. Robert Pont, James Lawſon, and David Lindſay; and being written

ever, according to the original, one copy should be presented by them to his highness, with a supplication penned by them to that effect, and another copy to the council: the time to be at the discretion of the said brethren, so it be before the general fast. And in case conference and reasoning be craved upon the said heads, the assembly hath nominated Messrs John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, the laird of Dun, William Chrystefon, John Row, David Ferguson, Robert Pont, James Lawson, David Lindfay, John Dunkeson, Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Craig, to concur and convene at such times appointed by the king and council, as advertisement shall be made to them by the said three brethren. And that the said commissioners, at the said conference, reason also in the head of the ceremonies, and how far ministers may meddle with civil affairs, and if they may vote in council or parliament.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. It was required, that if any brother had any reasonable doubt, or argument, to propone anent the head *de Diaconatu*, that he should be ready next day to offer his reasons, where he shall be heard and resolved.

According to the ordinance made yesterday, all persons that have any reasonable doubt, or argument, to propone against the head of the policy, were required to propone the same; and none offered any argument to the contrary.

Ibidem. The general assembly of the kirk finding univiersal corruption of the whole estates of the body of this realm, the great coldness and slackness in religion in the greatest part of the professors of the same, with the daily increase of all kind of fearful sins and enormities, as incest, adulteries, murders, and namely recently committed in Edinburgh and Stirling, cursed sacrilege, ungodly sedition and division within the bowels of the realm, with all manner of disordered and ungodly living, which justly hath provoked our God, although long-suffering and patient, to stretch out his arm in his anger, to correct and visit the iniquity of the land, and namely by the present penury, famine, and hunger, joined with the civil and intestine seditions, whereunto doubtless greater judgments must succeed, if these his corrections work no reformation nor amendment in mens hearts: seeing also the bloody conclusions of the cruel councils of that Roman beast, tending to exterminate and raze, from the face of all Europe, the true light of the blessed word of salvation: for these causes, and that God of his mercy would bless the king's highness and his government, and

make him to have a happy and prosperous government, as also to put in his highness's heart, and in the hearts of his noble estates of parliament, not only to make and establish good politic laws, for the well and good government of the realm; but also to set and establish such a policy and discipline in the kirk, as is craved in the word of God, and is contained, and penned already, to be presented to his highness and council, that in the one, and the other, God may have his due praise, and the age to come an example of upright and godly dealing. Therefore the assembly hath ordained the act preceding hereant, to be precisely kept in all points.

Stirling, June 10, 1578. Forasmuch as in the last assembly, commission was given to certain brethren, to present to the king's highness and council the heads of the policy of the kirk, with a supplication to his grace: the assembly desired the report of the brethrens proceedings; who expounded and shewed, that, according to their commission, they exhibit to the king's majesty a copy of the heads of the policy, with the supplication unto his grace; who gave a very comfortable and good answer, That not only would he concur with the kirk in all things that might advance the true religion presently professed within this realm, but also would be a procurator for the kirk: and thereafter his grace presented to the council the said supplication; who nominated persons to confer in the matter; and, by his majesty's procurement, obtained of the council, that they might chuse so many ministers to confer, as was at length agreed upon; which conference is ready to be shewn.

Edin. Oct. 29, 1578. In respect that, at the desire of the assembly, certain of the nobility were convened, *viz.* my lord chancellor, the earl of Montrose, my lord Seaton, my lord Lindfay, it was expounded and shewn to the moderator of this assembly, what care and study the assembly had taken to entertain and keep the purity of the sincere word of God unmixed with the invention of their own heads, which their special care was to reserve to the posterity hereafter. And seeing that the true religion is not able to continue, nor endure long, without a good discipline and policy, in that part have they also employed their wit and study, and drawn forth, out of the pure fountains of God's word, such a discipline as is meet to remain in the kirk, which they presented to the king's majesty, with their supplication; at whose direction certain commissioners were appointed to reason with such as were deputed by the kirk, where the whole

matter being disputed, was resolved and agreed, except a few heads, and thereafter again presented to the lords of the articles, that the said discipline might have place, and be established by the acts and laws of the realm, wherein nevertheless their travels have not succeeded, praying therefore the nobility present, as well openly to make profession to the assembly, if they will allow and maintain the religion presently established within this realm, as also the policy and discipline already spoken of, and to labour at the king and council's hands for an answer to the heads following; *viz.* That his grace and council will establish such heads of the policy as were already resolved and agreed upon by the said commissioners, and cause such others as were not finally agreed on to be reasoned and put to an end, and that his grace and council will restore to the kirk the act of parliament concerning the thirds: and that none vote in the parliament, in name of the kirk, except such as shall have commission from the kirk to that effect: and that presentations to benefices be directed to the commissioners of countries, where the benefices lie. And to the end that that matter may be the better and sooner expedite, that their lordships would appoint such time convenient thereto as they may best spare, that such of the brethren as shall be named thereto may wait upon their honours. Hereunto the said noblemen answered, That a part of them had made a public profession of this religion before, always now they declare and profess the religion presently professed within this realm, and that they shall maintain the same to their power. As to the rest they think good, the king and his council be suited, and they shall insist with the king for answer thereto. The time to that effect they shall notify to the assembly the next day.

Edinburgh, July 7, 1579. That because in the last conference holden at Stirling, by his grace's command, concerning the policy of the kirk, certain articles thereanent remain yet unresolved, and referred to further conference, therefore the assembly craves of his majesty, That persons unspotted of such corruptions, as are desired to be reformed, may be nominated by his majesty, to proceed in the further conference upon the said policy, and time and place to be appointed to that effect.

Ibidem. The question being proponed, by the synod of Lothian, to the general assembly, anent a general order to be taken for erecting of presbyteries in places where public exercise is used, unto the time the policy of the kirk be established by

law; it is answered, That the exercise may be judged to be a presbytery.

Dundee, July 12, 1580. An article propounded by the commissioners of the kirk to his majesty and council, That the Book of Policy may be established by an act of privy council, till a parliament be had, at which it may be confirmed.

Glasgow, April 24, 1581. Forasmuch as travels have been taken in the forming of the policy of the kirk, and divers suits made to the magistrate for approbation thereof, which albeit hath not yet taken the happy effect which good men would crave, yet that the posterity should judge well of the present age, and of the meaning of the kirk, the assembly hath concluded, That the Book of Policy, agreed to in divers assemblies before, should be registered amongst the acts of the assemblies, and remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* And the copies thereof to be taken by every presbytery; of the which book the tenor followeth, &c.

Edinburgh, Aug. 4, 1590. P. Galloway moderator. Forasmuch as it is certain, that the word of God cannot be kept in its own sincerity, without the holy discipline be had in observance, it is therefore, by common consent of the whole brethren, and commissioners present, concluded, That whosoever hath borne office in the ministry of the kirk within this realm, or that presently bears, or shall hereafter bear office herein, shall be charged by every particular presbytery where their residence is, to subscribe the heads of discipline of the kirk of this realm, at length set down and allowed by act of the whole assembly in the Book of Policy, which is registered in the assembly-books, and namely the heads controverted by enemies of the discipline of the reformed kirk of this realm, betwixt and the next synodal assemblies of the provinces, under the pain of excommunication, to be executed against the non-subscribers; and the presbyteries which shall be found remiss or negligent herein, to receive public rebuke of the whole assembly. And to the effect the said discipline may be known, as it ought to be, to the whole brethren, it is ordained, That the moderator of each presbytery shall receive, from the clerk of the assembly, a copy of the said book, under his subscription, upon the expences of the presbytery, betwixt and the first day of September next to come, under the pain to be openly accused in face of the whole assembly.

Edinburgh, July 2, 1591. The assembly ordains, That the discipline contained in the acts of the general assembly be kept as well in Angus and Mearns, as in all other parts.

Acts concerning the Adversaries of Discipline.

It is to be marked, that such as adhered to Papiſtry, were enemies both to reformation and discipline; and ſuch as embraced the true religion, whether kirkmen or other profeſſors, and yet poſſeſſed the kirk-rents, were not only unbeary friends, but under colour, and in policy, as great hinderers as lovers of the benefices and livings belonging to the ſervice of God.

Edinburgh, July 30, 1562. ALEXANDER GORDON, being biſhop of Galloway, is no otherwiſe acknowledged by the aſſembly, in reſpect of ſpiritual function, than as a private man void of jurisdiction: and therefore he, and the reſt of that ſort, are not ſimply ſet down by their title of biſhop, but by a note as it were of degradation, ſo called, *viz.* by cuſtom, but by no right.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1562. The ſaid Mr. Alexander Gordon, without reſpect to his place, or biſhopric, is inrolled after the ſuperintendents; and is thus deſigned, Mr. Alexander Gordon, intitulate biſhop of Galloway; and is there lected for the ſuperintendency of Dumfries, Liddiſdale, and Galloway; and gets commiſſion to preſent miniſters, exhorters, and readers, for planting of kirks, and to do ſuch other things as hath been heretofore accuſtomed.

St. Johnſton, June 25, 1563. Mr. Alexander Gordon, named biſhop of Galloway, was removed out of the aſſembly, and accuſed by the laird of Garlies: his excuſes were not found altogether relevant; and therefore the aſſembly appointed order to be taken ament the matter complained upon.

Ibidem. The aſſembly ordained commiſſions to be given to the biſhops of Galloway, Orkney, and Caithneſs, for the ſpace of a year after the date hereof, to plant kirks, &c. within their own bounds; and that the biſhop of Galloway haunt, as well the ſheriffdom of Wigton, as the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, reckoned within his bounds.

Ibidem. It was then ordained, that when any benefice ſhall chance to be vacant, or is now vacant, that a qualified perſon be preſented to the ſuperintendent of that province where the benefice vakes; and that he, being ſufficient, be admitted miniſter to that kirk which is deſtitute of a paſtor, that ignorant idiots be not placed in ſuch rooms, by them that are yet called biſhops, and are not.

Ibidem. Mr. Robert Pont complained upon the biſhop of Dumblain, That the ſaid biſhop lately ſaid, and cauſed ſay maſs in Dumblain, contrary to the tenor of the act made thereanent, &c.

Ibidem. Remember to make ſupplication to the queen's majeſty and her council, for remitting the thirds, or any part thereof, to the biſhops, that are elected by the kirk, to be commiſſioners to plant kirks within their bounds.

Ibidem. A ſentence of umquhill James biſhop of Roſs, commiſſioner to umquhill James archbiſhop of St. Andrews, pronounced againſt James Hamilton of Kincavel, was declared wicked, ungodly, and wrongfully led.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1566. Biſhops, abbots, priors, and other perſons beneficed, being of the kirk, who receive tiends, and await not on the flock committed to their cure, neither preſent themſelves to the general aſſembly, are ordained to be ſummoned by the ſuperintendents, to compear at the next general aſſembly, to give their aſſiſtance and counſel in ſuch things as appertain to Chriſtian religion, and preaching of the true word; and further to know the ordinance of the kirk to be made thereanent.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1567. Adam, called biſhop of Orkney, and commiſſioner, was accuſed, That he being biſhop and commiſſioner, occupied the room of a magiſtrate in the ſeſſion, his ſheep wandering without a paſtor; and retains in his company Sir Francis Bothwel, a rank Papiſt, to whom he hath given benefices, and placed him as miniſter in thoſe kirks; as alſo that he ſolemnized the marriage of the queen and earl of Bothwel, &c.; and for the ſaid cauſes was deprived.

Ibidem. Alexander, called biſhop of Galloway, commiſſioner, accuſed, That he hath not viſited theſe three years bygone, or thereby, his kirks within his charge; that he hath given himſelf over altogether to haunt the court, and clean left the office of viſiting and planting the kirks, and hath now procured to be one of the ſeſſion and privy council, which cannot agree with the office of a paſtor or biſhop; and alſo hath reſigned Inchſchaffray in favours of a young child, and ſet divers lands in feu. Compearing, granted publicly, that he had offended in all things that were laid to his charge. And for certain conſiderations, the aſſembly continued him ſtill, until the next aſſembly, upon certain conditions of his diligence in his charge.

Edinburgh, July 1, 1568. No man ought to enjoy or poſſeſs the patrimony of the kirk, without doing of their dutiful ſervice. And becauſe it is known that there are many of that number, to whom God hath given ſuch gifts, wherethrough they might profit greatly in the kirk of God, it was thought neceſſary, that admonitions be made

by the whole assembly, to such as brook benefices, that they apply themselves according to the gifts given to them by God, and as the kirk shall judge them able, to enter in the ministry, and continue therein. And because all the said persons are not present to hear the voice of the assembly, it is ordained, That superintendents and commissioners, that shall be appointed for planting and visiting of kirks, give the same admonitions particularly to the said persons within their bounds, requiring them, in name of the assembly, to be at the next general assembly, &c.

Ibidem. An article presented to my lord regent's grace, bearing, That it is thought very unreasonable that the Papists, enemies to God's kirk and this commonwealth, and others that labour not in the ministry, shall possess freely, without imposition, the two parts of the benefices, and the kirk, which labours, shall not possess the third.

Ibidem. The bishop of Orkney restored again; and Mr. John Row appointed commissioner of Galloway.

Edinburgh, July 5, 1569. Ordains Alexander Gordon, sometime commissioner of Galloway, to repair to the next general assembly of the kirk, to answer to such things as shall be laid to his charge, &c. And in the mean time inhibits him to use any function within the kirk of God, conform to the act made against him, the 8th of July 1568, in the general assembly.

Ibidem. Adam bishop of Orkney was accused, for not fulfilling of the injunctions appointed to him by the assembly in the month of July 1568.

Stirling, February 25, 1569. Adam of Orkney being called to the office of a bishopric, and promoted to the profits thereof, and sussered by the kirk, receives charge to preach the gospel, to be also commissioner of the country of Orkney, which he received and exercised for a certain space, till now of late he made a simoniacal change with the abbacy of Holyrood-house, although yet brooking the name, and stiled bishop of the same; contrary to all laws, both of God and man, made against simony. *Secondly,* He dimitted his cure in the hands of an unqualified person, without the consent of the kirk, leaving the flock destitute without a shepherd, whereby not only ignorance is increased, but also most abundantly all vice and horrible crimes there are committed, as the number of six hundred persons convicted of incest, adultery, and fornication, bear witness. *Thirdly,* He hath given himself daily to the execution of the

function of a temporal judge, as to be a lord of session, which requires the whole man; and so rightly in neither can he exercise both: and styles himself with Roman titles; as Reverend father in God, which pertains to no minister of Christ Jesus, nor is given to any of them in Scripture. *Fourthly,* In great hurt and defraud of the kirk, he hath bought all the thirds of the abbacy of Holyrood-house; at least, he hath made simoniacal change thereof with the rents of Orkney. *Fifthly,* He hath left the kirks, partly unplanted, and partly planted, but destitute of provision. *Sixthly,* Some of the kirks are sheepfolds, and some of them ruinous. *Seventhly,* He hath traduced, both publicly and privately, the ministers of Edinburgh; absented himself from preaching in that kirk, and from receiving the sacraments.

Edinburgh, July 5, 1570. Excommunication directed against Patrick, called bishop of Murray, to be executed by Mr. Robert Pout commissioner there, with the assistance of the ministers of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh, March 5, 1570. Robert bishop of Caithness, to assist John Gray of Fordel in visiting the kirks there.

Edinburgh, Aug. 6, 1573. John bishop of St. Andrews accused: 1. That he had given a benefice to Mr. George Lauder, suspected of Papistry. 2. That he oversaw adultery in Burntisland. 3. He suffered M. Magnus Hulcio to lie uncontrolled under old adultery. 4. That he visited by others, and not by himself. 5. That in his default the exercise of St. Andrews was likely to decay. 6. That such as had offended in Lothian, he receives in St. Andrews; and admits some to function in the kirk, that are not able, and untried, chiefly such as come out of Lothian and Merse.

Ibidem. [Mr. James Paton bishop of Dunkeld.] The whole assembly hears that he hath received the name of bishop, but hath not used the office of a bishop; within his bounds he hath not proceeded against Papists; he is suspected of simony, betwixt the earl of Argyll and him, ament the profits of the bishopric; he is suspected of perjury in receiving the same bishopric, because he gives acquittances, and the earl receives the silver of the bishopric.

Ibidem. Alexander Gordon bishop of Galloway accused: 1. That he intruded himself in the office of the ministry, within the burgh of Edinburgh. 2. He persuaded and enticed the people to rebel against our sovereign lord. 3. He refused to pray

for our sovereign lord, approving another authority. 4. Being forbidden by the general assembly to have any intromission with the parishioners of Holyrood house, he compelled them to receive the sacrament, then abused by him within Edinburgh, causing his pretended bailies, and the men of war, to compel the said poor people. 5. Being sworn by his solemn oath, for due obedience to our sovereign lord, and his grace's regent, and authority, brake his said oath, by sitting in pretended parliament, for disposing of our said sovereign lord of his royal crown and authority. 6. Openly, in pulpit, he gave thanks for the slaughter of Matthew earl of Lennox, of good memory, saying, That it was God's most just judgment; and exhorted the people to do the same. 7. That he was a perverter of the people, not only before the Reformation, but also divers times since. It was concluded, That he should make public repentance in sackcloth three several Sundays; *first*, In the kirk of Edinburgh; *secondly*, In Holyrood-house; *thirdly*, In the queen's college; under the pain of excommunication.

Ibidem. Alexander Hay, clerk to the secret council, presented certain heads proponed by my lord regent to the present assembly, whereof one follows: My lord regent's grace minds, that with all convenient diligence qualified persons shall be promoted to the bishoprics now vacant, the delay whereof hath not been in his own grace's default, but by reason some entry was made to these livings, in favours of certain noblemen, before his acceptation of the government; yet his grace is persuaded, that qualified persons shall speedily be presented; and in case of failzie, will not fail without the others knowledge and consent to present.

Edinburgh, March 6, 1573. The assembly hath concluded, That the jurisdiction of bishops, in their ecclesiastical function, shall not exceed the jurisdiction of superintendents, which heretofore they have had, and presently have; and that they shall willingly be subject to the discipline appointed by the general assembly, as members thereof, as the superintendents have been heretofore in all sorts; and that no bishops give collation of any benefice within the bounds of superintendents, without their consent, and testimonial subscribed with their hands. And that bishops, in their own dioceses, visit by themselves, where no superintendents are; and give no collation of benefices, without consent of three well-qualified ministers, &c.

Ibidem. The bishop of Dunkeld ordained to confess his fault publicly in the kirk of Dunkeld, for

not executing the sentence of the kirk against the earl of Athol.

Ibidem. George bishop of Murray ordained to be summoned to make his purgation of the fornication alledged committed by him with the lady Ardras.

Edinburgh, August 7, 1574. Bishops, superintendents, or commissioners of countries, that be found negligent in their office, or do not their debifull charge, either in their visitation, teaching, or life, the assembly hath decreed and ordained, That they shall be punished and corrected according to the quality of their faults, either by admonition, public repentance, suspension or deprivation *simpliciter*, at the sight of the said assembly.

Edinburgh, March 7, 1574. Bishop of Dunkeld, bishop of Brechin, bishop of Murray, bishop of Glasgow, removed, and particularly complained on.

Edinburgh, August 6, 1575. The bishops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Brechin, Dunblane, Isles, being present, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, protested, That the trial of bishops prejudice not the opinions and reasons which he, and other brethren of his mind, had to oppose against the said office, and name of bishop.

Ibidem. Auent the question propounded by certain brethren, Whether if the bishops, as they are now in Scotland, have their function of the word of God or not, or the chapters appointed for creating of them in this reformed kirk: for better resolution hereof, the general assembly of the kirk appoints Mr. John Craig minister at Aberdeen, Mr. James Lawson minister at Edinburgh, and Mr. Andrew Melvil principal of the college of Glasgow, on the one part; Mr. George Hay commissioner of Caithness, Mr. John Row minister of Perth, and Mr. David Lindsay minister at Leith, on the other part; to convene, reason, and confer upon the said question; and to report their judgments and opinions thereupon, to the assembly, before the dissolving thereof, if they be resolved betwixt and the same.

Ibidem. They think it not expedient presently to answer directly to the first question: but if any bishop shall be chosen, who hath no such qualities as the word of God requireth, let him be tried by the general assembly *de novo*, and so deposed.

The Points wherein they agree concerning the Office of a Bishop or Superintendent.

FIRST, the name of bishop is common to all them that hath any particular flock, over the which he hath a peculiar charge, as well to preach the word, as to minister the sacraments, and to execute the

ecclesiastical discipline, with consent of his elders. And this is his chief function by the word of God.

Out of this number may be chosen some to have power to visit such reasonable bounds, besides his own flock, as the general assembly shall appoint; and in these bounds to appoint ministers, with consent of the ministers of that province, and the consent of the flock to whom they be appointed. Also to appoint elders and deacons in every particular congregation, where there is none, with consent of the people thereof; and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes, with consent of the ministers foresaid.

Edinburgh, April 5, 1576. Bishops being present, their diligence is tried; and they are accused for want of particular flocks, dilapidation, and other faults.

Ibidem. Anent the advice and opinion of the brethren, given concerning the question moved anent bishops, the whole assembly, for the greatest part, after reasoning, and long disputation upon every article of the said brethrens opinion and advice, resolutely affirmed and approved the same, and every article thereof, as is also above set down. And to the effect that the said articles condescended upon by the said assembly, may be the better followed out, and ready execution may ensue thereupon, as appertains, ordains the bishops which hath not as yet received the charge of a particular congregation, to condescend the next day, what particular flocks they will accept to take the cure of.

Ibidem. For the more commodious visitation of countries, there is appointed for every shire four or five bishops, superintendents, and ministers, and articles of visitation set down.

Ibidem. Anent the demand of Mr. Andrew Hay, parson of Ranthrow, if every visitor, within his own bounds, hath like power and jurisdiction, to plant ministers, suspend and depose for reasonable cause; the assembly resolved affirmative, That they have alike power and jurisdiction therein, as is contained in the particular articles concerning the jurisdiction of the visitors.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. Forasmuch as there is great corruption in the estate of bishops, as they are presently made in this realm, wherunto the kirk would provide some stay in time coming, so far as they may, to the effect that further corruption may be bridled; therefore the assembly hath concluded, That no more bishops shall be elected, or made hereafter, before the next general assembly of the kirk; discharging all ministers and chapters to proceed any ways in the election of the said bi-

shops in the mean time, under the pain of perpetual deprivation of their offices.

Stirling, July 11, 1578. The act above written extended to all times to come: and all bishops, already elected, required to submit themselves to the general assembly, concerning the reformation of the corruption of that estate; which submission the bishop of Dunblane willingly offered to the assembly.

Sess. 4. Dundee, July 12, 1580. Forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this realm, hath no iure warrant, authority, nor good ground out of the Scriptures, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of mens inventions, to the great overthrow of the kirk of God; the whole assembly of the kirk, in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office, finds and declares the same pretended office, used and termed as is above said, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the word of God: and ordains, That all such persons as bruik, or shall bruik hereafter the said office, shall be discharged simply to dimit, quit, and leave the same, as an office wherunto they are not called of God; and such-like to desist and cease from all preaching, ministrations of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, till they receive *de novo* admission from the general assembly, under the pain of excommunication to be used against them; wherein if they be found disobedient, or contradict this act in any point, the sentence of excommunication, after due admonitions, to be executed against them. And for better execution of the said act, it is statute, That a synodal assembly shall be holden in every province where any usurping bishops are, and begin the 18th of August next to come, whereto they shall be called, and summoned by the visitors of the said countries to compare before their synodal assemblies: and namely, the bishop of St. Andrews, to compare in St. Andrews; the bishop of Aberdeen, in Aberdeen; the bishop of Glasgow, in Glasgow; the bishop of Murray, in Elgin; to give obedience to the said act: which if they refuse to do, that the said synodal assemblies shall appoint certain brethren of their ministry, to give them public admonitions out of the pulpit; and warn them, in case they disobey, to compare before the next general assembly, to be holden at Edinburgh, the 20th of October next to come, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them for their disobedience. And to this act the bishop of Dunblane agreed, submitting himself to be ruled thereby.

The Twelfth Parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 5th of June, the Year of God 1592, by the right Excellent, right High and Mighty Prince JAMES VI. by the Grace of God, King of Scots: With Advice of his Three Estates.

Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk. Of General and Synodal Assemblies. Of Presbyteries. Of Discipline. All Lawes of Idolatry are abrogate. Of Presentation to Benefices.

OUR sovereign lord, and estates of this present parliament, following the laudable and good example of their predecessors, hath ratified and approved, and by the tenor of this present act, ratifies and approves all liberties, privileges, immunities, and freedoms whatsoever, given and granted by his highness, his regents in his name, or any of his predecessors, to the true and holy kirk presently established within this realm, and declared in the first act of his highness's parliament, the 20th day of October, the year of God 1579 years: and all, and whatsoever acts of parliament and statutes made before by his highness, and his regents, anent the liberty and freedom of the said kirk; and specially the first act of parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 24th day of October, the year of God 1581, with the whole particular acts there mentioned; which shall be as sufficient as if the same were here expressed: and all other acts of parliament made since, in favour of the true kirk, and such-like: ratifies and approves the general assemblies appointed by the said kirk: and declares, that it shall be lawful to the kirk and ministers, every year at the least, and oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keep general assemblies: providing that the king's majesty, or his commissioners with them, to be appointed by his highness, be present at every general assembly, before the dissolving thereof, nominate and appoint time and place, when and where the next general assembly shall be holden: and in case neither his majesty, nor his said commissioners be present for the time in that town, where the said general assembly is holden, then, and in that case, it shall be lawful to the said general assembly, by themselves, to nominate and appoint time and place, where the next general assembly

of the kirk shall be kept and holden, as they have been in use to do in times bypast. And also ratifies and approves the provincial and synodal assemblies to be holden by the said kirk and ministers twice every year, as they have been, and presently are in use to do, within every province of this realm: and ratifies and approves the presbyteries and particular sessions appointed by the said kirk, with the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the same kirk, agreed upon by his majesty in conference had by his highness with certain of the ministers, convened to that effect. Of the which articles the tenor follows: Matters to be intreated in provincial assemblies: Their assemblies are constitute for weighty matters, necessary to be intreated by mutual consent, and assistance of brethren, within the province, as need requires. This assembly hath power to handle, order, and redress all things omitted, or done amiss, in the particular assemblies. It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province, for good and just causes deserving deprivation. And generally these assemblies have the whole power of the particular elderships, whereof they are collected. Matters to be intreated in the presbyteries: The power of the presbyteries is to use diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order: to inquire diligently of naughty and ungodly persons; and to travel to bring them in the way again by admonition, or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction. It appertains to the eldership to take heed that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the sacraments rightly administered, the discipline entertained, and ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed. It belongs to this kind of assemblies, to cause the ordinances made by the assemblies provincial, national, and general, to be kept and put

in execution; to make constitutions which concern *to the kirk* in the kirk, for decent order in the particular kirk where they govern: providing that they alter no rules made by the provincial, or general assemblies. And that they make the provincial assemblies foresaid privy to the rules that they shall make: and to abolish constitutions tending to the hurt of the same. It hath power to excommunicate the obstinate, formal procefs being led, and due interval of times observed. Anent particular kirks, if they be lawfully ruled by sufficient ministers and session, they have power and jurisdiction in their own congregation in matters ecclesiastical. And decrees and declares the assemblies, presbyteries, and sessions, jurisdiction and discipline foresaid, to be, in all times coming, most just, good, and godly in themselves, notwithstanding of whatsoever statutes, acts, canons, civil or municipal laws, made to the contrary. To the which, and every one of them, these presents shall make express derogation. And because there are divers acts of parliament made in favour of the Papistical kirk, tending to the prejudice of the liberty of the true kirk of God presently professed within this realm, jurisdiction and discipline thereof, which stand yet in the books of the acts of parliament not abrogated nor annulled; therefore his highness, and estates foresaid, hath abrogated, set aside, and annulled, and by the tenor hereof, abrogates, sets aside, and annuls, all acts of parliament made by any of his highness's predecessors, for maintenance of superstition and idolatry withal; and whatsoever acts, laws, and statutes, made at any time before the day and date hereof, against the liberty of the true kirk, jurisdiction and discipline thereof, as the same is used and exercised within this realm.

And in special, that part of the act of parliament, holden at Stirling, the 4th day of November, the year of God 1443 years, commanding obedience to be given to Eugenius, the pope for the time: the act made by king James III. in his

parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of February, the year of God 1480 years; and all other acts whereby the pope's authority is established: the act of king James III. in his parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 20th of November, the year of God 1469 years, anent the Saturday, and other vigils, to be holidays from Even-song to Euen-song.

Item. That part of the act made by the queen-regent, in the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 1st day of February, the year of God 1551 years, giving special licence for holding of Pasch and Yule. *Item.* The king's majesty, and estates foresaid, declare, That the 129th act of the parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 22d day of May, the year of God 1584 years, shall no ways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing from the privilege that God hath given to the spiritual office-bearers in the kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such-like essential censures, specially grounded and having warrant of the word of God. *Item.* Our sovereign lord, and estates of parliament foresaid, abrogates, sets aside, and annihilates the acts of the same parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the said year of God 1584 years, granting commission to bishops and other judges, constitute in ecclesiastical causes, to receive his highness's presentation to benefices, to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all causes ecclesiastical, which his majesty, and estates afore said, declares to be expired in themselves, and to be null in time coming, of none avail, force, or effect. And therefore ordains all presentations to benefices, to be directed to the particular presbyteries in all time coming; with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the kirk; providing the foresaid presbyteries be bound and astricted, to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister, presented by his majesty, or laic patrons.

T H E,
F I R S T B O O K
O F
D I S C I P L I N E.

To the great Council of SCOTLAND, now admitted to the Government, by the Providence of God, and by the common Consent of the Estates thereof, your Honours humble Servitors, and Ministers of Christ Jesus within the same, wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual Increase of the Holy Spirit.

FROM your honours we received a charge, dated at Edinburgh, the 29th of April, in the year of our Lord 1560, requiring and commanding us, in the name of the eternal God, as we will answer in his presence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver to your wisdoms our judgments touching the reformation of religion, which heretofore in this realm (as in others) hath been utterly corrupted: upon the receipt whereof (so many of us as were in this town) did convene, and in unity of mind do offer unto your wisdoms these subsequents, for common order and uniformity to be observed in this realm concerning doctrine, administration of sacraments, election of ministers, provision for their sustentation, ecclesiastical discipline, and policy of the church; most humbly requiring your honours, that as you look for participation with Christ Jesus, that neither ye admit any thing which God's plain word shall not approve; neither yet that ye shall reject such ordinances as equity, justice, and God's word, do specify: for as we will not bind your wisdoms to our judgments, farther than we are able to prove by God's plain Scriptures; so must we most humbly

crave of you, even as ye will answer in God's presence (before whom both ye and we must appear, to render accounts of all our facts), that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure and affection of men, which ye be not able to improve by God's written and revealed word.

The First Head of Doctrine.

SEEING that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commanded only to be heard and followed of his sheep, we judge it necessary, that his gospel be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of this realm; and that all doctrine repugnant to the same be utterly repressed, as damnable to man's salvation.

The Explication of the First Head.

LEST that upon this generality ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for explication: By preaching of the gospel, we understand not only the Scriptures of the New Testament, but also of the Old, viz. the law, prophets, and his-

ories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure, than we have him now expressed in verity. And therefore with the apostle we affirm, that all Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort. In which books of Old and New Testaments, we affirm, that all things necessary for the instruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and sufficiently expressed.

By the contrary doctrine, we understand whatsoever men by laws, councils, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the expressed commandment of God's word, such as be the vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to several and disguised apparels, to the superstitious observation of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience sake, prayer for the dead; and keeping of holidays of certain saints commanded by man, such as be all those that the Papists have invented, as the feasts (as they term them) of the apostles, martyrs, virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other fond feasts of our lady: which things because in God's Scriptures they neither have commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realm: affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

The Second Head of Sacraments.

TO Christ Jesus his holy gospel truly preached, of necessity it is, that his holy sacraments be annexed, and truly ministered, as seals and visible confirmations of the spiritual promises contained in the word; and they be two, *viz.* baptism, and the holy supper of the Lord Jesus; which are then rightly ministered, when by a lawful minister the people, before the administration of the same, are plainly instructed, and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus: when God's promises are rehearsed, the end and use of sacraments preached and declared, and that in such a tongue as the people do understand: when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their practice nothing changed besides the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practice of his holy apostles.

And albeit the order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to in-

struct the diligent reader, how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered, yet for an uniformity to be kept, we have thought good to add this as superabundant.

In baptism we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water only (that the word and declaration of the promises ought to precede, we have said before); wherefore whosoever presumeth in baptism to use oil, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration, and crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Jesus of imperfection; for it was void of all such inventions devised by men: and such as would perjure to alter Christ's perfect ordinance you ought severely to punish.

The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered, when it approacheth most near to Christ's own action. But plain it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sat with his disciples; and therefore do we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action, that bread and wine ought to be there, that thanks ought to be given, distribution of the same made, and commandment given that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is: we suppose no godly man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the Papists, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of that holy sacrament, *viz.* of the cup of the Lord's blood, we suppose their error to be so manifest, that it needeth no confutation: neither yet intend we to confute any thing in this our simple confession; but to offer public disputation to all that list to oppugn any thing affirmed by us.

That the minister break the bread, and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, we think it nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice, as we read in St. Paul: during the which action we think it necessary, that some comfortable places of the Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of Christ Jesus, and the benefit of the same. For seeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the same, most apt to stir up our dull minds then, and at all times. Let the discretion of the ministers appoint the places to be read, as they think good. What times we think most convenient for the administration of the one and of the other of these sacraments, shall be declared in the policy of the church.

The Third Head touching the abolishing of Idolatry.

AS we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered, so cannot cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, others than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realm (except only palaces, mansions, and dwelling-places adjacēt thereto, with orchards and yards of the same); as also, that idolatry may be removed from the presence of all persons, of what estate or condition that ever they be within this realm.

For let your honours assuredly be persuaded, that where idolatry is maintained or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God hath armed their hands with power to suppress such abomination.

By idolatry, we understand the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same. And finally, all honouring of God, not contained in his holy word.

The Fourth Head concerning Ministers, and their lawful Election.

IN a church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, either yet to minister the sacraments, till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. And because that election of ministers in this cursed Papistry hath altogether been abused, we think expedient to intreat it more largely. It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein the space of forty days, the best reformed church, *viz.* the church of the superintendent, with his council, may present unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge. And that this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons that are to be examined, must be commanded to appear before men of soundest judgment, remaining in some principal town next adjacent unto them; as they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns, or Strath-

earn, to present themselves in St. Andrews; these that be in Lothian, Merse, or Tiviotdale, to Edinburgh; and likewise those that be in other countries, must resort to the best reformed city and town, that is, to the town of the superintendent; where first, in the schools, or failing thereof, in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their gifts, utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting some place of Scripture, to be appointed by the ministry; which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the administration of the church, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the church, and that openly, and before all that list to hear, in all the chief points that now be in controversy betwixt us and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, or other such enemies to the Christian religion. In which if he be found sound, able to persuade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayer, then must he be directed to the church and congregation where he should serve, that there, in open audience of his flock, in divers public sermons, he may give confession of his faith, in the article of justification, in the office of Christ Jesus, of the number, effect, and use of the sacraments, and finally of the whole religion, which heretofore hath been corrupted by the Papists. If his doctrine be found wholesome and able to instruct the simple, and if the church justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the church, which before was destitute, unreasonable, if they refuse him whom the church did offer; and they should be compelled, by the censure of the council and church, to receive the person appointed, and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned; unless that the same church hath presented a man better, or as well qualified to the examination, before that this foresaid trial was taken of the person presented by the council of the whole church. As for example: The council of the church presents to any church a man to be their minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided; in the mean time, the church is provided of another, sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers, and next reformed church, to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people, to whom he should be appointed pastor, must be preferred to the presentation of the council, or greater church, unless the person presented by the inferior church be judged unable for the government by the learned. For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be vio-

leatly intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this liberty with all care must be reserved to every severall church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers. But violent intrusion we call not, when the council of the church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a sufficient man to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as before is said.

What may enable any Person that he may not be admitted to the Ministry of the Church.

IT is to be observed, that no person, noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the church by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the government of the church, or yet retained in ecclesiastical administration.

Explication.

BY public infamy, we understand not the common sins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness, by fragility (if of the same by a better and more sober conversation he hath declared himself verily penitent), but such capital crimes as the civil sword ought and may punish with death by the word of God. For besides that the apostle requireth the life of ministers to be so irreprehensible, that they have a good testimony from those that be without, we judge it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have public authority to preach to others life everlasting, from whom the civil magistrate may take the life temporal for a crime publicly committed. And if any object, that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publicly repented, and so not only his life is in assurance, but also that he may be received to the ministry of the church; we answer, That repentance doth not take away the temporal punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamy before man.

That the life and conversation of the person presented, or to be elected, may be the more clearly known, public edicts should be directed to all parts of this realm, or at the least to those parts where the person had been most conversant; as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued since the years of infancy and childhood were passed. Straight commandment would be given, that if any capital crimes were committed by him, that they should be notified; as if he had committed

wilful murder, adultery, if he were a common fornicator, a thief, a drunkard, a fighter, brawler, or contentious person. These edicts ought to be notified in the chief cities, with the like charge and commandment; with declaration, that such as concealed his sins known did deceive and betray (so far as in them lay) the church, which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, and did communicate with the sins of that wicked man.

Admission.

THE admission of ministers to their offices must consist in consent of the people, and church whereto they shall be appointed, and approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

We judge it expedient, that the admission of ministers be in open audience: that some special minister make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, touching their manners, conversation, and life; as also touching the obedience which the church oweth to their ministers. Commandment should be given as well to the minister as to the people, both being present, *viz.* That he, with all careful diligence, attend upon the flock of Christ Jesus, over the which he is appointed preacher: that he will walk in the presence of God so sincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied into him; and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that his life may confirm, in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word he persuaded unto others. The people would be exhorted to reverence and honour their ministers, chosen as the servants and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandments, which they pronounce from God's mouth and book, even as they would obey God himself: for whosoever heareth Christ's ministers, heareth himself; and whosoever rejecteth and despiseth their ministry and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus. Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.

The minister elected, or presented, examined, and, as said is, publicly admitted, may neither leave the flock at his pleasure, to which he had promised his fidelity and labours; neither yet may the flock reject nor change him at their appetite,

unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition, whereof we shall after speak. We mean not but that the whole church, or the most part thereof, for just considerations, may transfer a minister from one church to another; neither yet mean we, that men who now serve as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed and elected to serve in other places; but once being solemnly elected, and admitted, we cannot approve that they should change at their own pleasure.

We are not ignorant, that the rarity of godly and learned men shall seem to some a just reason why that so strait and sharp examination should not be taken universally; for so it shall appear, that the most part of the kirks shall have no minister at all. But let these men understand, that the lack of able men shall not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the flock of Christ Jesus: as also that amongst the Gentiles godly and learned men were also rare, as they be now amongst us, when the apostle gave the same rule to try and examine ministers, which we now follow. And last, let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true minister; yea, and in some case it is worse: for those that be utterly destitute of ministers, will be diligent to search for them; but those that have a vain shadow, do commonly, without further care, content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a minister, when in very deed they have none: for we cannot judge him a dispensator of God's mysteries, that in no wise can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungry souls: neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministered by him, in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation. The chiefest remedy left to your honours, and to us, in all this rarity of true ministers, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will please his mercy to thrust out faithful workmen in this his harvest. And next, that your honours, with consent of the church, are bound, by your authority, to compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edify the church of God, that they bestow them where greatest necessity shall be known: for no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themselves list; but must be appointed to travel where your wisdoms, and the church, shall think expedient. We cannot prescribe unto your honours certain rules, how that ye shall distribute the ministers and learned men, whom God hath al-

ready sent unto you: but hereof we are assured, that it greatly hindereth the progress of Christ's gospel within this poor realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require, in God's name, that, by your authority, which ye have of God, ye compel all men to whom God hath given any talent to persuade by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the church to the advancement of Christ's glory, and the comfort of his troubled flock. And that ye, with the consent of the church, assign unto your chiefest workmen, not only towns to remain in, but also provinces, that, by their faithful labours, churches may be erected, and order established, where none is now. And if on this manner ye shall use your power and authority, chiefly seeking God's glory, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God shall bless you and your enterprises.

For Readers.

TO the churches where no ministers can be had presently, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the common prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection; and, in process of time, he that is but a reader, may attain to a farther degree, and by consent of the church, and discreet ministers, may be permitted to minister the sacraments; but not before that he be able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, beside his reading, and be admitted to the ministry, as before is said. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all godly men, and whose knowledge also might greatly help the simple, and yet they only content themselves with reading; these must be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged by some exhortation to comfort their brethren, and so they may be admitted to administration of the sacraments: but such readers as neither have had exercise nor continuance in Christ's true religion, must abstain from administration of the sacraments, till they give declaration and witnessing of their honesty and further knowledge, that none be admitted to preach, but they that are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers; and such as are preachers already, not found qualified therefore by the superintendent, be placed to be readers.

The Fifth Head concerning the Provision for the Ministers, and for the Distribution of the Rents and Possessions justly appertaining to the Church.

SEEING that of our Master Christ Jesus, and his apostle Paul, we have, that the workman is worthy of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzled, of necessity it is, that honest provision be made for the ministers, which we require to be such, that they have neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolence and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation, during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them: for we judge it a thing most contrary to reason, godliness, and equity, that the widow and the children of him who in his life did faithfully serve in the kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should, after his death, be left comfortless of all provision: which provision for the wives of the ministers, after their decease, is to be remitted to the discretion of the kirk. Difficult it is to appoint a several stipend to every minister, by reason that the charge and necessity of all will not be alike: for some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travel, and oft to change their dwelling-place (if they shall have charge of divers kirks); among these some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than others, and some perhaps will be single men. If equal stipends should be appointed to these that in charge should be so unequal, either should the one suffer penury, or else should the other have superfluity, and too much. We judge therefore that every minister have sufficient whereupon to keep a house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, as well for keeping of his house and clothes, flesh, fish, books, fuel, and other things necessary, off the rents and treasury of the kirk, at the discretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the person, and necessity of the time: wherein it is thought good, that every minister shall have at least forty bolls of meal, twenty-six bolls of malt, to find his house bread and drink, and more so much as the discretion of the church finds necessary; besides money, for buying of other provision to his house, and other necessaries: the modification whereof is referred to the judgment of the kirk, to be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the kirk. Providing always that there be advanced to every minister sufficient

provision for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things. But to him that travels from place to place, whom we call superintendent, who remains as it were a month or lets in one place, for establishing of the kirk, and for the same purpose changing to another, must consideration be had. And therefore to such we think six chalders bear, nine chalders meal, three chalders oats, six hundred merks money, to be ciked and paired at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm, to be paid to him in manner foresaid. The children of the ministers must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They must have the privileges in schools, and burraries in colleges; that is, that they shall be sustained at learning, if they be found apt thereto: and failing thereof, that they be put to some handy-craft, or exercised in some virtuous industry, whereby they may be profitable members of the commonwealth: and the same we require of their daughters; viz. that they be virtuously brought up, and honestly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the kirk. And this in God's presence we witness, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertain to us, as that we do it for the increase of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himself and his children so to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we bear, is provoked to follow virtue when it seeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is virtue in many despised, when virtuous and godly men are without honour: and sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and following of the way of virtue; by which they might edify the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus. Nothing have we spoken of the stipend of readers, because if they can do nothing but read, they neither can be called nor judged true ministers, and yet regard must be had to their labours; but so that they may be spurred forward to virtue, and not by any stipend appointed for their reading to be retained in that estate. To a reader therefore that is newly entered, forty merks, or more or less, as parishioners and readers can agree, is sufficient: provided that he teach the children of the parish, which he must do, beside the reading of the common prayers, and books of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he begin to exhort, and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till finally he

come to the honour of a minister. But if he be found unable after two years, then must he be removed from that office, and discharged of all stipend, that another may be proved as long. For this always is to be avoided, that none who is judged unable to come at any time to some reasonable knowledge, whereby he may edify the kirk, shall be perpetually sustained upon the charge of the kirk. Farther it must be avoided, that no child, nor person within age, that is, within twenty-one years of age, be admitted to the office of a reader. But readers ought to be endued with gravity and discretion, left, by their lightness, the prayers or Scriptures read be of less price or estimation. It is to be noted, that the reader be put in the kirk at the admission of the superintendent. The other sort of readers, who have long continued in godliness, and have some gift of exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and teach the children, we think an hundred merks, or more or less, at the discretion of the kirk, may be appointed; so that difference be made, as said is, betwixt them and the ministers, that openly preach the word, and minister the sacraments.

Rests yet two sorts of people to be provided for, upon that which is called the patrimony of the kirk; viz. the poor, and teachers of the youth. Every several kirk must provide for the poor within itself: for fearful and horrible it is, that the poor, whom not only God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his gospel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul, have so earnestly commended to our care, are universally fo contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magistrate ought to punish; but for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lame, who neither can nor may travel for their sustentation, we say that God commands his people to be careful; and therefore for such, as also for persons of honesty fallen into decay and poverty, ought such provision to be made, that of our abundance their indigence might be relieved. How this most conveniently, and most easily may be done in every city, and other parts of this realm, God will shew you wisdom, and the means, so that your minds be godly inclined thereto. All must not be suffered to beg that gladly would so do; neither yet must beggars remain where they would: but the stout and strong beggars must be compelled to work; and every person that may not work, must be compelled to repair to the place where he or she was born, un-

less of long continuance they have remained in one place, and there reasonable provision must be made for sustentation, as the kirk shall appoint. The order nor sums, in our judgments, can not particularly be appointed, until such times as the poor of every city, town, and parish, be compelled to repair to the places where they were born, or of their residence, where their names and number must be taken and put in roll; and then may the wisdom of the kirk appoint stipends accordingly.

The Head of the Superintendents.

BECAUSE we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signify to your honours such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time; as also how many superintendents we think necessary, with their bounds, office, election, and causes that may deserve deposition from that charge.

We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endued with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to several places, there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine; which should not only be the occasion of great murther, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole), to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care, where none are now. And, by their means, your love and common care over all inhabitants of this realm, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear: as also the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge; by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance, shall attain to some feeling of godliness, by the which they may be provoked to search and seek further knowledge of God, and his true religion and worshipp; whereas by the contrary, if they shall be neglected, then shall they not only grudge, but will find the means whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry; and therefore nothing we desire more earnestly, than that Christ

Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realm; which shall not suddenly be, unless that by you men be appointed, and compelled, faithfully to travel in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.

The Names of the Places of Residence and several Dioceses of the Superintendents.

Imprimis, THE superintendent of Orkney, whose diocese shall comprehend the Isles, Orkney, Zetland, and Caithness, and Strathnaver: his residence to be in Kirkwall.

The superintendent of Ross, whose diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray, with the North Isles of the Sky and Lewis, with the adjacents: his residence to be in the chanonry of Ross.

The superintendent of Argyle, whose diocese shall comprehend Argyle, Kintyre, Lorn, the South Isles Arran and Bute, with their adjacents, with Lochaber: his residence to be in Argyle.

The superintendent of Aberdeen, whose diocese is betwixt Dee and Spey, containing the sheriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff: whose residence shall be in Old Aberdeen.

The superintendent of Brechine, whose diocese shall be the whole sheriffdoms of the Mearns, Angus, and the Brae of Marr to Dee: his residence to be in Brechine.

The superintendent of Fife and Fotheringham to Stirling, and the whole sheriffdom of Perth: his residence to be in St. Andrews.

The superintendent of Edinburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole sheriffdom of Lothian and Stirling, and the south side of the Water of Forth: his residence to be in Edinburgh.

The superintendent of Jedburgh, whose diocese shall comprehend the whole Tiviotdale, Tweeddale, Liddisdale; and thereto is added, by consent of the whole kirk, the Merse, Lauderdale, and Weddale, with the Forest of Eterick: his residence to be in Jedburgh.

The superintendent of Glasgow, whose diocese shall comprehend Clydesdale, Renfrew, Montcith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham: his residence to be in Glasgow.

The superintendent of Dumfries, whose diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carriek, Nithsdale, Annandale, with the rest of the dales in the west: his residence to be in Dumfries.

Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would; but they

must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place, till their kirks be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers. Charge must be given to them, that they remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must thrice every week preach at the least; and when they return to their principal town and residence, they must be likewise exercised in preaching and edification of the kirk: and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other kirks: but after they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they shall be compelled (unless by sickness they be retained) to re-enter in visitation. In which they shall not only preach, but also examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, as also the order of the kirks, the manners of the people. They must farther consider how the poor be provided, how the youth be instructed: they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress such things as by good counsel they be able to appease. And finally, they must note such crimes as be heinous, that by the censure of the kirk the same may be corrected. If the superintendent be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office; and specially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the word, and visitation of the kirks; or if he be convicted of such crimes which in common ministers are condemned; he must be deposed, without respect of his person or office.

The Election of Superintendents.

IN this present necessity, the nomination, examination, and admission of the superintendent, cannot be so straight as we require, and as afterward it must be. For this present therefore we think it expedient, that either your honours by yourselves nominate so many as may serve the forewritten provinces; or that ye give commission to such men as ye suppose the fear of God to be in, to do the same. And the same men being called in your presence, shall be by you, and such as your honours please to call unto you for consultation in that case, appointed to their provinces. We think it expedient and necessary, that as well the gentlemen, as burgesses of every diocese, be made privy at the same time to the election of the superintendent; as well to bring the kirk in some practice of her liberty, as that the pastor may be the better favoured of the flock whom themselves have cho-

fen. If your honours cannot find, for this present, so many able as necessity requireth, then, in our judgments, more profitable it is those provinces vake till God provide better for them, than that men unable to edify and govern the kirk so suddenly be placed in that charge; for experience hath taught us, what pestilence hath been engendered in the kirk, by men unable to discharge their offices. When therefore, after three years, any superintendent shall depart, or chance to be deposed, the chief town within the province, *viz.* the ministers, elders, and deacons, with the magistrate and council of the same town, shall nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the superintendent, as to two or three provinces next adjacent, two or three of the most learned and godly ministers within the whole realm, that from amongst them, one, with public consent, may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant: and this the chief town shall be bound to do within the space of twenty days; which being expired, and no man presented, then shall three of the next adjacent provinces, with consent of their superintendents, ministers, and elders, enter in the right and privilege of the town, and shall present every one of them one or two, if they list, to the chief town to be examined, as the order requires. As also, it shall be lawful for all the kirks of the diocese, to nominate, within the same time, such persons as they think worthy to stand in election; who all must be put in an edict.

After nomination to be made, public edicts must be sent forth, warning all men that have any exception against the persons nominate, or against any of them, to be present in the chief town, at the day affixed, and place, to object what they can against the election of any of them. Thirty days we think sufficient to be assigned thereto. Thirty days, we mean, after the nomination be made: which day of the election being come, the whole ministers of the province, with three or four superintendents next adjacent, or that shall be thereto nominated, shall examine not only the learning, but also the manners, prudence, and hability, to govern the kirk, of all these that be nominated: that he who shall be found most worthy may be burdened with the charge. If the ministers of the whole provinces should bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care, the election should be the more free: but always the votes of them that convene, should be required. The examinations must be publicly made. They that stand in election must publicly preach. And

men must be charged, in the name of God, to vote according to conscience, and not after affection.

If any thing be objected against him that standeth in election, the superintendents and ministers must consider, whether the objection be made of conscience or malice; and they must answer accordingly. Other ceremonies than sharp examination, approbation of the ministers and superintendents, with the public consent of the elders and people, we cannot allow.

The superintendent being elected, and appointed to his charge, must be subject to the censure and correction of ministers and elders, not of his chief town only, but also of the whole province, over the which he is appointed overseer.

If his offence be known, and the ministers and elders of the town and province be negligent in correcting of him, then the next one or two superintendents, with their ministers and elders, may convene him, and the ministers and elders of his chief town (provided that it be within his own province or chief town) may accuse, or correct, as well the superintendent in these things that are worthy of correction, as the ministers and elders of their negligence and ungodly tolerance of his offence.

Whatsoever crime deserves deposition or correction of any other minister, deserveth the same in the superintendent, without exception of persons.

After that the kirk is established, and three years be passed, we require that no man be called to the office of a superintendent, who hath not at the least two years given declaration of his faithful labours in the ministry of the same kirk.

No superintendent may be transferred at the pleasure or request of any one province; no, not without the consent of the whole council of the kirk, and that for grave causes and considerations.

Of one thing in the end we must admonish your honours, *viz.* that in the appointing of the superintendents for this present, ye disappoint not your chief towns, and where learning is exercised, of such ministers as more may profit by residence in one place, than by continual travel from place to place. For if ye so do, the youth in these places shall lack the profound interpretation of Scripture; and so shall it be long before your garden send forth many plants: where by the contrary, if one or two towns be continually exercised as they may, the commonwealth shall shortly feast of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly.

For the Schools.

SEEING that the office and duty of the godly magistrate, is not only to purge the church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from tyranny and bondage, but also to provide, at the utmost of his power, how it may abide in some purity in the posterity following, we can but freely communicate our judgments with your honours in this behalf.

The Necessity of Schools.

SEEING that God hath determined that his kirk here in earth shall be taught not by angels, but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of God, and of all godliness; and seeing also he ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them as he did the apostles, and others in the primitive kirk; of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly up-bringing, of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or yet desire the continuance of his benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, *viz.* the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus. Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one school-master appointed; such a one at least as is able to teach grammar, and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be in a place where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader, or the minister there appointed, take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments; and especially in the catechism, as we have it now translated in the book of the common order, called the Order of Geneva. And further we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also provision for those that be poor, and not able by themselves, nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters; and in special these that come from landwart. The fruit and commodity hereof shall suddenly appear. For, first, the youth and tender children shall be

nourished and brought up in virtue, in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniences may be avoided, in which the youth commonly fall, either by over much liberty, which they have in strange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves, or else for lack of good attendance, and such necessity as their tender age requires. Secondly, The exercise of children in every kirk shall be great instruction to the aged. Lastly, The great schools, called the universities, shall be replenished with these that shall be apt to learning. For this must be carefully provided, that no father, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fancy, especially in their youth; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.

The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness, as heretofore they have done: but they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the kirk compelled, to dedicate their sons, by good exercises, to the profit of the kirk and commonwealth; and that they must do, of their own expences, because they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained at the charge of the kirk, trial being taken, whether the spirit of docility be in them found, or not: if they be found apt to learning and letters, then may they not (we mean, neither the sons of the rich, nor yet of the poor) be permitted to reject learning; but must be charged to continue their study, so that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them. And for this purpose must discreet, grave, and learned men, be appointed to visit schools, for the trial of their exercise, profit, and continuance; *viz.* the minister and elders, and the rest of the learned men, in every town, shall, in every quarter, make examination how the youth have profited.

And certain times must be appointed to reading and learning of the catechism, and certain to the grammar and to the Latin tongues, and a certain to the arts of philosophy, and the tongues; and certain to that study in the which they intend chiefly to travel for the profit of the commonwealth. Which time being expired, we mean in every course, the children should either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be set to some handy-craft, or to some other profitable exercise: providing always that first they have further knowledge of Christian religion; *viz.* the knowledge of God's law and commandments; the use and office

of the same; the chief articles of the belief; the right form to pray unto God; the number, use, and effect, of the sacraments; the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his office and natures, and such others; without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table: and therefore these principles ought, and must be learned in the youth.

The Times appointed to every Course.

TWO years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the catechism, and to have some entry in the first rudiments of grammar; to the full accomplishment whereof (we mean of the grammar) we think other three years, or four at most, sufficient; to the arts, *viz.* logic and rhetoric, and to the Greek tongue, four years; and the rest till the age of twenty-four years, to be spent in that study wherein the learner would profit the church or commonwealth, be it in the laws, physic, or divinity: which time of twenty-four years being spent in the schools, the learner must be removed, to serve the church or commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader in this same college or university. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things in practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years, will serve itself of true preachers, and of other officers necessary for the commonwealth.

Of the Erection of Universities.

THE grammar-school being erected, and of the tongues (as we have said); next we think it necessary there be three universities in this whole realm, established in three towns accustomed: the first in St. Andrews, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen. And in the first university and principal, *viz.* St. Andrews, that there be three colleges: and in the first college, which is the entry, of the university, there be four classes or seages; the first to the new supports shall be only *dialectica*, next only *mathematica*, the third of physic only, the fourth of medicine: and in the second college, two classes or seages; the first of moral philosophy, the second of the laws: and in the third college, *viz.* two classes or seages; the first of the tongues, *viz.* Greek and Hebrew, the second of divinity.

Of Readers, and of the Degrees and Time of Study.

Item, IN the first college, and first class, shall be a reader of *dialectica*, who shall accomplish his course thereof in a year. In *mathematica*, which is the second class, shall be a reader, which shall complete his course of arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and astrology, in one year. In the third class shall be a reader of natural philosophy, who shall complete his course in one year. And who, after these three years, by trial and examination, shall be found sufficiently instructed in the foresaid sciences, shall be laureat, and graduate in philosophy. In the fourth class shall be a reader of medicine, who shall complete his course in five years; after the study of the which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in medicine.

Item, In the second college, in the first class, one reader only in the ethics, oeconomics, and politics, who shall complete his course in the space of one year. In the second class shall be two readers in the municipal and Roman laws, who shall complete his course in four years; after which time, being by examination found sufficient, they shall be graduate in the laws.

Item, In the third college, in the first class, one reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who shall complete the grammar thereof in three months; and the remanent of the year, the reader of the Hebrew shall interpret one book of Moses, the prophets, or the psalms; so that this course and class shall continue one year. The reader of the Greek shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some place of the New Testament. In the second class shall be two readers in divinity, the one in the New Testament, the other in the Old, who shall complete their course in five years; after which time, who shall be found by examination sufficient, they shall be graduate in divinity.

Item, We think expedient, that none be admitted to the first college, and to be supports of the university, unless he have, from the master of the school, and minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, a testimony of his learning, docility, age, and parentage; and likewise trial be taken by certain examiners, depute by the rector and principals of the same. And if he be found sufficiently instructed in the *dialectica*, he shall incontinent the same year be promoted to the class of *mathematica*.

Item, That none be admitted to the class of medicine, but he that shall have his testimonial of his time well spent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, and *physic*; and of his docility in the last.

Item, That none be admitted unto the class of the laws, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, *physica*, ethics, oeconomics, and politics; and of his docility in the last.

Item, That none be admitted unto the class and seage of divinity, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, *physica*, *ethica*, *oeconomica*, and *politica*, and the Hebrew tongue; and of his docility in the moral philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue. But neither shall such as apply them to hear the laws, be compelled to hear medicine; neither such as apply them to hear divinity, be compelled to hear either medicine, or yet the laws.

Item, In the second university, which is Glasgow, shall be two colleges only. In the first shall be a class of *dialectica*, another of *mathematica*, the third of *physica*; ordered in all sorts as St. Andrews.

Item, In the second, four classes: the first, of moral philosophy, ethics, oeconomics, and physie; the second, of the municipal and Roman laws; the third, of the Hebrew tongue; the fourth, of divinity; which shall be ordered in all sorts to that we have written in the order of the university of St. Andrews.

The third university of Aberdeen shall be conform to this university of Glasgow in all sorts.

Item, We think needful that there be chosen, of the body of the university, to every college, a principal man of learning, discretion, and diligence, who shall receive the whole rents of the college, and distribute the same according to the erection of the college, and shall daily hearken the diet counts, adjoining to him weekly one of the readers or regents, above whom he shall take attendance upon their diligence, as well in their reading, as exercising of the youth in the matter taught upon the policy and uphold of the place; and for punishment of crimes, shall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the college. He shall be countable yearly to the superintendent, rector, and the principals convened, about the first of November. His election shall be in this sort: There shall be three of the most sufficient men of the university (not principals already nominate by the members of the college, sworn to follow their consciences) whose principal is departed, and publicly

proponed through the whole university; after the which time eight days, by the superintendent himself, or his special procurator, with the rector, and the rest of the principals, as a chapter, convened, shall confirm one of the three they think most sufficient, being before sworn to do the same with a single eye, without respect to feud or favour.

Item, In every college we think needful at least, a steward, a cook, a gardiner, and porter, who shall be subject to discipline of the principal, as the rest.

Item, That every university have a beadle, subject to serve at all times throughout the whole university, as the rector and principal shall command.

Item, That every university have a rector, chosen from year to year, as shall follow: The principals being convened with the whole regents chapterly, shall be sworn, that every man in his room shall nominate such a one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to bear such charge and dignity: and three of them that shall be ofteneft nominated, shall be put in edict publicly fifteen days before Michaelmas; and then shall on Michaelmas-even convene the whole principals, regents, and supposts, that are graduate, or at the least studied their time in ethics, oeconomics, and politics, and no others younger, and every one first protest in God's presence to follow the sincere dictates of their conscience, shall nominate one of the three; and he that hath most votes shall be confirmed by the superintendent and principals, and his duty with an exhortation proponed unto him; and this to be the twenty-eight day of September; and thereafter trial to be taken *hinc inde* of his just and godly government, and of the rests lawful submission and obedience: he shall be propyned by the university at his entry with a new garment, bearing *insignia magistratus*; and he holden monthly to visit every college, and with his presence decore and examine the lections and exercise thereof. His assessors shall be a lawyer and a theologe, with whose advice he shall decide all questions civil betwixt the members of the university. If any without the university pursue a member thereof, or he be pursued by a member of the same, he shall assist the provost and bailies in these cases, or other judges competent, to see justice be ministered: likewise, if any of the university be criminally pursued, he shall assist the judges competent, and see that justice be ministered.

Item, We think expedient, that in every college, in every university, there be twenty-four burfars,

divided equally in all the classes and seages, as is above mentioned; that is, in St. Andrews, seventy-two burfars; in Glasgow, forty-eight burfars; in Aberdeen, forty-eight; to be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the college; and to be admitted at the examination of the ministry and chapter of principals in the university, as well in the docility of the persons offered, as of the ability of their parents to sustain them themselves, and not to burden the commonwealth with them.

Of the Stipends and Expences necessary.

Item, **WE** think expedient, that the universities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the bishoprics temporality, and of the kirks collegiate, so far as their ordinary charges shall require; and therefore that it would please your honours, by advice of your honourable council, and vote of parliament, to do the same. And to the effect the same may be shortly expedite, we have recollected the sums we think necessary for the same.

Imprimis, For the ordinary stipend of the dialectician reader, the mathematician, physician, and moral philosopher, we think sufficient 100 pounds for every one of them.

Item, For the stipend of every reader in medicine and laws, 133 pounds 6 shillings and 8 pence.

Item, To every reader in Hebrew, Greek, and divinity, 200 pounds.

Item, To every principal of a college, 200 pounds.

Item, To every steward, 16 pounds.

Item, To every gardiner, to every cook and porter, to every one of them, 10 merks.

Item, To the board of every burfar without the class of theology, 20 pounds.

Item, In the class of theology, which will be only 12 persons in St. Andrews, 24 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences in the university of St. Andrews, 3976 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences of Glasgow, 2922 pounds.

Aberdeen as much.

Sum of the ordinary charges of the whole, 9820 pounds.

Item, The beadle's stipend shall be, of every entrant and supposit of the university, 2 shillings; of every one graduate in philosophy, 3 shillings; of every one graduate in medicine or laws, 4 shillings; in theology, 5 shillings; all burfars being excepted.

Item, We have thought good, for building and upholding of the places, a general collect be made. And that every earl's son, at his entry to the university, shall give 40 shillings; and likewise, at every graduation, 40 shillings. *Item,* Each lord's son likewise, at such time, 30 shillings; each freeholding baron's son, 20 shillings; every feuer and substantial husband's son, 1 merk. *Item,* Every substantial husband and burges's son, at each time, 10 shillings. *Item,* Every one of the rest, not excepting the burfars, 5 shillings, at each time. And that this be gathered in a common box, put in keeping to the principal of the theologians, every principal having a key thereof; to be counted each year once, with the rest of principals, to be laid in the same, about the 15th day of November, in presence of the superintendent, rector, and whole principals, and with their whole consent, or at least the most part of them referred, and employed only upon the building and upholding of the places, and repairing of the same, ever as necessity shall require. And therefore the rector, with his assistants, shall be holden to visit the places each year once, incontinent after he be promoted upon the last of October, or thereby.

Of the Privileges of the University.

SEEING we desire that innocence should defend us rather than privilege, we think that each person of the university should answer before the provost and bailiffs of each town where the universities are, of all crimes whereof they are accused; only that the rector be assessor to them in the said actions. In civil matters, if the question be betwixt members of the university, on each side making their residence and exercise therein for the time, in that case the party called shall not be holden to answer, but only before the rector and his assessors heretofore mentioned. In all other cases of civil pursuit, the general rule of the law to be observed, *actor sequatur forum rei*, &c.

Item, That the rector, and all inferior members of the university, be exempted from all taxations, imposts, charges of war, or any other charge that may onerate or abstract him or them from the care of his office, such as tutory, curatory, or any such like that are established, or hereafter shall be established in our common-weal; to the effect that (without trouble) they may wait on the up-bringing of the youth in learning, and bestow their time only in that most necessary exercise.

All other things touching the books to be read in every class, and all such particular affairs we refer to the discretion of the masters, principals, and regents, with their well-adviced counsel; not doubting but if God shall grant quietness, and give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to amass for them, which without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion, than help and comfort. And as this is most true, so we leave it, with the rest of the commodities, to be weighed by your honours wisdom, and set forward by your authority, to the most high advancement of this commonwealth committed to your charge.

The Sixth Head of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.

THESE two sorts of men, that is to say, ministers, and the poor, together with the schools, when order shall be taken thereanent, must be sustained upon the charges of the kirk; and therefore provision must be made, how, and by whom such sums must be lifted. But before we enter in this head, we must crave of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground; who, by these cruel beasts the Papists, have before been oppressed, that their life to them hath been dolorous and bitter. If ye will have God author and approver of this reformation, ye must not follow their foot-steps; but ye must have compassion of your brethren, appointing them to pay reasonable teinds, that they may find some benefit of Christ Jesus now preached unto them.

With the grief of our hearts we hear, that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papists, requiring of them whatsoever they afore paid to the kirk; so that the Papistical tyranny shall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so do. If we permit cruelty to be used, neither shall ye, who by your authority ought to gainstand such oppression, nor yet they that use the same, escape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the kirk to be restored to her li-

berty; that, in her restitution, the poor, who heretofore, by the cruel Papists, have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation; that their teinds and other exactions be clean discharged, and no more taken in times coming. The uppermost cloth, corps-present, clerk-mail, the Pasch-offering, teind-ale, and all handlings upaland, can neither be required nor received of good conscience. Neither do we judge it to proceed of justice, that any man should possess the teinds of another: but we think it a most reasonable thing, that every man have the use of his own teinds; provided that he answer to the deacons and treasurers of the kirk, of that which by justice shall be appointed to him. We require the deacons and treasurers rather to receive the rents than the ministers themselves, because that of the teinds must not only the minister be sustained, but also the poor and schools. And therefore we think it expedient, that common treasurers, *viz.* the deacons, be appointed, from year to year, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the kirk; and that commandment be given, that none be permitted either to receive, or yet to intromit with any thing appertaining to the sustentation of the persons foresaid, but such as by common consent of the kirk are thereto appointed.

If any think this prejudicial to the tacks and assedations of them that now possess the teinds; let them understand, that their unjust possession is no possession before God; for they of whom they received their title, and pre-supposed right or warrant, were thieves and murderers, and had no power so to alienate the patrimony and common good of the kirk. And yet we are not so extreme, but that we wish just recompence to be made to such as have disbursed sums of money to the unjust possessors, so that it hath not been done of late days in prejudice of the kirk. But such as are found and known to be done of plain collusion, in no ways ought to be maintained by you: and for that purpose we think it most expedient, that whosoever have assedation of teinds and kirks, be openly warned to produce their assedation and assurance, that cognition being taken, the just tacksmen may have the just and reasonable recompence for the years that are to run, the profit of the years past being considered and deduced, and the unjust and furnished may be served accordingly; so that the kirk in the end may receive her liberty and freedom, and that only for the relief of the poor. Your honours may easily

understand that we speak not now for ourselves, but in favour of the labourers defrauded and oppressed by the priests, and by their confederate pensioners: for while that the priests pensioner's idle belly is delicately fed, the poor, to whom the portion of that appertains, was pined with hunger; and moreover the true labourer was compelled to pay that which he ought not. For the labourer is neither debtor to the dumb dog, called the bishop, neither yet to his hired pensioner, but is debtor only to the kirk. And the kirk is bound to sustain and nourish of her charges the persons before mentioned, *viz.* the ministers of the word, the poor, and the teachers of the youth. But now to return to the former head. The sums able to sustain the forenamed persons, and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policy within the kirk, must be lifted off the tenths; *viz.* the tenth sheaf, hay, hemp, lint, fishes, tenth calf, tenth lamb, tenth wool, tenth foal, tenth cheefe. And because that we know that the tenth reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity; we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annualrents, both in burgh and land, pertaining to the priests, chantry colleges, chaplainries, and the friaries of all orders, to the sisters of the scenes, and such others, be retained still in the use of the kirk or kirks, within the towns and parishes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the superintendents, the whole revenue of the temporality of the bishops, deans, and arch-deans lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral-kirks whatsoever. And further, merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must take some provision of their cities, towns, and dwelling-places, for to support the need of the kirk.

To the ministers, and failing thereof, the readers, must be restored their manes and glebes; for else they cannot serve the flock at all times, as their duty is. If any glebe exceed six acres of ground, the rest to remain in the hands of the possessors, till order be taken therein.

The receivers and collectors of these rents and duties must be deacons or treasurers, appointed from year to year in every kirk, and by the common consent, and free election of the kirk. The deacons must distribute no part of that which is collected, but by command of the ministers and elders. And that they may command nothing to

be delivered, but as the kirk hath before determined; *viz.* the deacons shall off the first part pay the sums, either quarterly, or from half-year to half-year, to the ministers, which the kirk hath appointed. The same they shall do to the schoolmasters, readers, and hospital, if any be, receiving always an acquittance for their discharge. If any extraordinary sums be to be delivered, then must the ministers, elders, and deacons, consult, whether the deliverance of such sums doth stand with the common utility of the kirk, or not. And if they do universally condescend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, then, because they are in credit and office for the year, they may do as best seems; but if there be any controversy among themselves, the whole kirk must be made privy, and after that the matter be proponed, and the reasons; the judgment of the kirk, with the ministers consent, shall prevail. The deacons shall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the minister and elders of that which they received, as oft as the policy shall appoint: and the elders, when they are changed (which must be every year) must clear their accounts before such auditors as the kirk shall appoint: and both the deacons and elders being changed, shall deliver to them that shall be new elected, all sums of money, corns, and other profits, resting in their hands: the tickets whereof must be delivered to the superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great council of the kirk; that as well the abundance as the indigence of every kirk may be evidently known, that a reasonable equality may be had throughout this whole realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter. For the free and yearly election of deacons and elders, shall suffer none to usurp a perpetual dominion over the kirk: the knowledge of the rental shall suffer them to receive no more, than whereof they shall be bound to make accounts: the deliverance of money to the new officers shall not suffer private men use, in their private business, that which appertains to the public affairs of the kirk.

The Seventh Head of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

AS that no commonwealth can flourish, or long endure, without good laws and sharp execution of the same; so neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the same, without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproving and correcting of

the faults, which the civil sword either doth neglect, or not punish: blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital, worthy of death, ought not properly to fall under censure of the kirk; because all such open transgressors of God's laws ought to be taken away by the civil sword. But drunkenness, excess, be it in apparel, or be it in eating and drinking, fornication, oppressing of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying and selling, by wrong met and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do openly appertain to the kirk of God to punish them, as God's word commands. But because this accursed Papistry hath brought in such confusion into the world, that neither was virtue rightly praised, neither yet vice severely punished, the kirk of God is compelled to draw the sword, which of God she hath received, against such open and manifest contemners, curling and excommunicating all such, as well those whom the civil sword ought to punish, as the other, from all participation with her in prayers and sacraments, till open repentance appear manifestly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave, so being once pronounced against any person, of what estate or condition that ever they be, it must be kept with all severity. For laws made and not kept, engender contempt of virtue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sin. And therefore this order we think expedient to be observed afore, and after excommunication: First, if the offence be secret, or known to few men, and rather stands in suspicion than in manifest probation, the offender ought to be privately admonished, to abstain from all appearance of evil; which if he promise to do, and declare himself sober, honest, and one that fears God, and fears to offend his brethren, then may the secret admonition suffice for his correction. But if he either contemn the admonition, or, after promise made, do shew himself no more circumspect than he was before, then must the minister admonish him, to whom, if he be found disobedient, they must proceed according to the rule of Christ, as after shall be declared. If the crime be public, and such as is heinous, as fornication, drunkenness, fighting, common swearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called in presence of the minister, elders, and deacons, where his sin and trespass ought to be declared and aggregated, so that his conscience may feel how far he hath offended God, and what slander he hath raised in the kirk. If signs of un-

feigned repentance appear in him, and if he require to be admitted to public repentance, the minister may appoint unto him a day, when the whole kirk convenes together, that, in presence of all, he may testify his repentance, which before he professed. Which if he accept, and with reverence confess his sin, doing the same, and earnestly desiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in their society notwithstanding the former offence; then the kirk may, and ought to receive him as a penitent. For the kirk ought to be no more severe, than God declares himself to be, who witnesseth that in whatsoever hour a sinner unfeignedly repents, and turns from his wicked way, that he will not remember one of his iniquities. And therefore ought the kirk diligently to advert, that it excommunicate not those whom God absolves. If the offender, called before the ministry, be found stubborn, hard-hearted, or in whom no sign of repentance appears, then must he be dimitted, with an exhortation, to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands; assuring him, that if they find in him no other tokens of amendment of life, that they will be compelled to seek a further remedy. If he, within a certain space, shew his repentance to the ministry, they may present him to the kirk, as before is said: if he continue not in his repentance, then must the kirk be advertised, that such crimes are committed amongst them, which by the ministry hath been reprehended, and the persons provoked to repent, whereof because no signs appear unto them, they could not but signify unto the kirk the crimes, but not the person: requiring them earnestly to call to God, to move and touch the heart of the offender, so that suddenly and earnestly he may repent. If the person malign, the next day of public assembly, the crime and the person must be both notified unto the kirk, and their judgments must be required, if that such crimes ought to be suffered unpunished among them: request also should be made to the most discreet and nearest friend of the offender, to travel with him to bring him to knowledge of himself, and of his dangerous estate, with a commandment given to all men to call to God for the conversion of the impenitent. If a solemn and special prayer were drawn for that purpose, the thing should be more gravely done. The third Sunday the minister ought to require, if the impenitent hath declared any signs of repentance to one of the ministry; and if he hath, then may the minister appoint him to be

examined by the whole ministry, either then instantly, or another day affixed to the consistory : and if repentance appear, as well for his crime as for his long contempt, then he may be presented to the kirk, and make his confession, to be accepted as before is said : but if no man signify his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated ; and by the mouth of the minister, and consent of the ministry, and commandment of the kirk, must such a contemner be pronounced excommunicate from God, and from all society of the kirk. After which sentence may no person (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling, yea, in saluting or talking with him, except that it be at commandment or licence of the ministry for his conversion, that he, by such means confounded, seeing himself abhorred of the godly and faithful, may have occasion to repent, and so be saved. The sentence of excommunication must be published universally throughout the realm, lest that any man should pretend ignorance. His children begotten and born after that sentence, and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptism, till either they be of age to require the same, or else that the mother, or some of his special friends, members of the kirk, offer and present the child, abhorring and condemning the iniquity, and obstinate contempt of the impenitent.

If any man should think it severe, that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father, let him understand, that the sacraments appertain to the faithful and their seed ; but such as stubbornly contemn all godly admonition, and obstinately remain in their iniquity, cannot be accounted amongst the faithful.

The Order for Public Offenders.

WE have spoken nothing of them that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, manslaughterers, adulterers ; for such, as we have said, the civil sword ought to punish to death : but in case they be permitted to live, then must the kirk, as is before said, draw the sword, which of God she hath received, holding them as accursed even in their very fact : the offender being first called, and order of the kirk used against him, in the same manner as the persons for their obstinate impetence are publicly excommunicate : so that the obstinate impenitent, after the sentence of excommunication, and the

murderer or adulterer, stand in one case, as concerning the judgment of the kirk ; that is, neither of both may be received in the fellowship of the kirk to prayers or sacraments (but to hearing the word they may), till first they offer themselves to the ministry, humbly requiring the ministers and elders to pray to God for them ; and also to be intercessors to the kirk, that they may be admitted to public repentance, and to the fruition of the benefits of Christ Jesus, distributed to the members of his body. If this request be humbly made, then may not the ministers refuse to signify the same unto the kirk, the next day of public preaching, the minister giving exhortation to the kirk, to pray to God to perform the work which he appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender unfeigned repentance of his grievous crime and offence, and feeling of his great mercy by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thereafter one day ought publicly to be assigned unto him, to give open confession of his offence and contempt, and so to make public satisfaction to the kirk of God : which day the offender must appear in presence of the whole kirk, with his own mouth condemning his own impiety, publicly confessing the same : desiring God of his mercy and grace, and his congregation, that it would please them to receive him in their society, as before is said. The minister must examine him diligently, whether he finds a hatred or displeasure of his sin, as well of his contempt as of his crime : which if he confess, he must travel with him, to see what hope he hath of God's mercies ; and if he find him reasonably instructed in the knowledge of Christ Jesus, in the virtue of his death, then may the minister comfort him with God's infallible promises, and demand of the kirk, if they be content to receive that creature of God, whom Satan before had drawn in his nets, into the society of their body, seeing that he declared himself penitent. Which if the kirk grant, as they cannot justly deny the same, then ought the minister, in public prayer, to commend him to God, to confess the sin of that offender before the whole kirk, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus' sake. Which prayer being ended, the minister ought to exhort the kirk to receive that penitent brother into their favours, as they require God to receive themselves when they offend. And, in sign of their consent, the elders, and chief men of the kirk, shall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two, in the name of the rest, shall kiss and embrace him with reverence and

gravity, as a member of Christ Jesus. Which being done, the minister shall exhort the received, that he take diligent heed, in times coming, that Satan trap him not in such crimes; admonishing him, that he will not cease to tempt and try, by all means possible, to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God, and to the ordinance of Jesus Christ. The exhortation being ended, the minister ought to give public thanks unto God for the conversion of their brother, and for all benefits which we receive of Christ Jesus, praying for the increase and continuance of the same. If the penitent, after he hath offered himself unto the ministry, or to the kirk, be found ignorant of the principal points of our religion, and chiefly in the articles of justification, and of the office of Christ Jesus, then ought he to be exactly instructed before he be received; for a mocking of God it is to receive them to repentance, who know not wherein standeth their remedy, when they repent their sin.

Persons subject to Discipline.

TO discipline must all the estates within this realm be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poor within the kirk: and because the eye and mouth of the kirk ought to be most single, and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the minister ought to be diligently tried: whereof we shall speak, after that we have spoken of the election of elders and deacons, who must assist the minister in all public affairs of the kirk.

The Eighth Head touching the Election of Elders and Deacons.

MEN of best knowledge in God's word, and clearest life, men faithful, and of most honest conversation that can be found in the kirk, must be nominate to be in election, and their names must be publicly read to the whole kirk by the minister; giving them advertisement, that from amongst them must be chosen elders and deacons. If any of these nominate be noted with public infamy, he ought to be repelled: for it is not seemly, that the servant of corruption shall have authority to judge in the kirk of God.

If any man know others of better qualities within the kirk, than these that be nominate, let them

be put in election, that the kirk may have the choice.

If the kirk be of smaller number than that seniors and deacons can be chosen from amongst them, then may they well be joined to the next adjacent kirks: for the plurality of kirks, without ministers and order, shall rather hurt than edify.

The election of elders and deacons ought to be used every year once; which we judge to be most convenient at the first day of August, lest of long continuance of such officers, men presume upon the liberty of the kirk. It hurteth not that one be received in office more years than one, so that he be appointed yearly by common and free election; provided always, that the deacons and treasurers be not compelled to receive the office again for the space of three years.

How the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely, every several kirk may take such order as best seems them.

The elders being elected, must be admonished of their office, which is to assist the ministers in all public affairs of the kirk; viz. in determining and judging causes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in having respect to the manners and conversation of all men within their charge: for by the gravity of the seniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious must be corrected and bridled: yea, the seniors ought to take heed to the like manners, diligence, and study of their ministers. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him: and if he be worthy of deposition, they, with consent of the kirk and superintendent, may depose him, so that his crime deserve so. If a minister be light of conversation, by his elders and deacons he ought to be admonished. If he be negligent in study, or one that waits not upon his charge or flock, or one that propones not faithful doctrine, he deserves sharper admonition and correction. To the which if he be found stubborn and disobedient, then may the seniors of the kirk complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravity are; to whose admonition, if he be found disobedient, he ought to be discharged of his ministry, till his repentance appear, and a place be vacant for him. If any minister be depreended in any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, man-slaughter, perjury, teaching of heresy, or any other deserving death, or that may be a note of perpetual infamy, he

ought to be depofed for ever. By heresy we mean pernicious doctrine plainly taught, and openly defended, againſt the foundations and principles of our faith: and ſuch a crime we judge to deſerve perpetual depofition from the miniſtry: for moſt dangerous we know it to be, to commit the flock to a man infected with the peſtilence of heresy. Some crimes deſerve depofition for a time, and till the perſon give declaration of greater gravity and honeſty. And if a miniſter be deprehended drinking, brawling, or fighting, an open flanderer, or inſamer of his neighbours, factious, and a fower of diſcord, he muſt be commanded to ceaſe from his miniſtry, till he declare ſome ſign of repentance; upon the which the kirk ſhall abide him the ſpace of twenty days, or further, as the kirk ſhall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election. Every inferior kirk ſhall, by one of their ſeniors, and one of their deacons, once in the year, notify unto the miniſters of the ſuperintendent's kirk, the life, manners, ſtudy, and diligence of their miniſters, to the end the diſcretion of ſome may correct the levity of others. Not only muſt the life and manners of miniſters come under cenſure and judgment of the kirk, but alſo of their wives, children, and family, judgment muſt be taken, that he neither live riotouſly, neither yet avariciouſly; yea, reſpect muſt be had, how they ſpend the ſtipend appointed to their living. If a reaſonable ſtipend be appointed, and they live avariciouſly, they muſt be admoniſhed to live as they receive; for as exceſs and ſuperfluity is not tolerable in a miniſter, ſo is avarice, and the careful ſolicitude of money, utterly to be condemned in Chriſt's ſervants, and eſpecially in them that are ſed upon the charge of the kirk. We judge it unſeemly and intolerable, that miniſters ſhall be boarded in common ale-houſes, or in taverns; neither yet muſt a miniſter be permitted to frequent and commonly haunt the court, unleſs it be for a time, when he is either ſent by the kirk, or called for by the authority, for his counſel and judgment in civil affairs; neither yet muſt he be one of the council, be he judged never ſo apt for the purpoſe. But either muſt he ceaſe from the miniſtry (which at his own pleaſure he may not do), or elſe from bearing charge in civil affairs, unleſs it be to aſſiſt the parliament, if he be called.

The office of deacons, as before is ſaid, is to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the kirk; to keep and diſtribute the ſame, as by the miniſters and kirk ſhall be appointed: they may alſo aſſiſt

in judgment with the miniſter and elders; and may be admitted to read in aſſembly, if they be required, and be able thereto.

The elders and deacons, with their wives and houſehold, ſhould be under the ſame cenſure that is preſcribed for the miniſters: for they muſt be careful over their office; and ſeeing they are judges over others manners, their own converſation ought to be irreprehensible. They muſt be ſober, lovers and maintainers of concord and peace: and finally, they ought to be examples of godlineſs to others. And if the contrary thereof appear, they muſt be admoniſhed thereof by the miniſters, or ſome of their brethren of the miniſtry, if the fault be ſecret: and if the fault be open and known, they muſt be rebuked before the miniſtry, and the ſame order kept againſt the ſenior and deacon, that before is deſcribed againſt the miniſter. We think it not neceſſary, that any public ſtipend ſhall be appointed, either to the elders, or yet to the deacons, becauſe their travel continues but for a year; and alſo becauſe that they are not ſo occupied with the affairs of the kirk, but that reaſonably they may attend upon their domeſtic buſineſs.

The Ninth Head concerning the Policy of the Kirk.

POLICY we call an exerciſe of the kirk in ſuch things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, or elſe inflame the learned to greater fervency, or to retain the kirk in good order: and thereof there be two ſorts; the one utterly neceſſary, as that the word be truly preached, the ſacraments rightly miniſtered, common prayers publicly made, that the children and rude perſons be inſtructed in the chief points of religion, and that offences be corrected and puniſhed. Theſe things be ſo neceſſary, that without the ſame there is no face of a viſible kirk. The other is profitable, but not merely neceſſary: that psalms ſhould be ſung; that certain places of the Scripture be read, when there is no ſermon; that this day or that, few or many in the week, the kirk ſhould aſſemble. Of theſe, and ſuch others, we cannot ſee how a certain order can be eſtabliſhed: for in ſome kirks the psalms may conveniently be ſung, in others perchance they cannot: ſome kirks convene every day, ſome twice, ſome thrice in the week, ſome perchance but once: in this, and ſuch like, muſt every particular kirk, by their conſent, appoint their own policy. In great towns we think expedient, that every day there be either ſermon, or

common prayers, with some exercise of reading of Scriptures. What day the public sermon is, we can neither require, nor greatly approve, that the common prayers be publicly used, lest that we shall either foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the mass, or else give them occasion, that they think them no prayers but which be made before and after sermons.

In every notable town we require, that one day, beside the Sunday, be appointed to the sermon and prayers, which, during the time of sermon, must be kept free from all exercise of labour, as well of the master as of the servant. In smaller towns, as we have said, the common consent of the kirk must put order; but the Sunday must straitly be kept, both before and after noon, in all towns. Before noon must the word be preached, and sacraments ministered, as also marriage solemnized, if occasion offer: after noon must the young children be publicly examined in their catechism, in the audience of the people; whereof the minister must take great diligence, as well to cause the people understand the questions proponed, as answers, and that doctrine that may be collected thereof.

The order, and how much is appointed for every Sunday, is already distinguished in the book of our common order; which catechism is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the kirk: and after noon may baptism be ministered, when occasion is offered of great travel before noon. It is also to be observed, that prayers be after noon upon Sunday, where there is neither preaching nor catechism. It appertains to the policy of the kirk, to appoint the times when the sacraments shall be ministered. Baptism may be ministered whensoever the word is preached: but we think it more expedient, that it be ministered upon Sunday, or upon the day of prayers only after the sermon; partly to remove this gross error, by the which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without baptism; and partly to make the people have greater reverence to the administration of the sacraments than they have: for we see the people begin already to wax weary, by reason of the frequent repetition of those promises.

Four times in the year we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord's table, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstition of times may be avoided so far as may be: for your honours are

not ignorant, how superstitiously the people run to that action at Pasch, even as if the time gave virtue to the sacrament; and how the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them, but at that time only. We think therefore most expedient, that the first Sunday of March be appointed for one time, the first Sunday of June for another, the first Sunday of September for the third, the first Sunday of December for the fourth. We do not deny but any several kirk, for reasonable causes, may change the time, and may minister oftener; but we study to repress superstition. All ministers must be admonished, to be more careful to instruct the ignorant than ready to serve their appetite, and to use more sharp examination than indulgence, in admitting to these great mysteries such as be ignorant of the use and virtue of the same. And therefore we think that the administration of the table ought never to be without examination passing before, and specially of them whose knowledge is suspected. We think that none are to be admitted to this mystery, who cannot formally say the Lord's prayer, the articles of the belief, and declare the sum of the law. Further, we think it a thing most expedient and necessary, that every kirk have the Bible in English; and that the people be commanded to convene, and hear the plain reading and interpretation of the Scripture, as the kirk shall appoint. By frequent reading, this gross ignorance, which, in this cursed Papistry, hath overflowed all, may partly be removed. We think it most expedient, that the Scripture be read in order; that is, that some one book of the Old or New Testament be begun, and orderly read to the end: and the same we judge of preaching, where the minister, for the most part, remains in one place: for this skipping and divagation, from place to place of Scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edify the kirk, as the continual following of one text. Every master of household must be commanded, either to instruct, or cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principles of the Christian religion, without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus: for such as be so dull, and so ignorant, that they can neither try themselves, nor yet know the dignity and mystery of that action, cannot eat and drink of that table worthily. And therefore of necessity we judge, that every year at the least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders, of the knowledge

of every person within the kirk; viz. that every master and mistress of household come themselves, and their family, so many as be come to maturity, before the minister and the elders, and give confession of their faith. If they understand not, nor cannot rehearse the commandments of God's law, know not how to pray, neither wherein their righteousness stands or consists, they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table: and if they stubbornly contemn, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilful ignorance, the discipline of the kirk must proceed against them to excommunication: and then must that matter be referred to the civil magistrate. For seeing that the just lives by his own faith, and Christ Jesus justifies by knowledge of himself, insufferable we judge it, that men be permitted to live and continue in ignorance, as members of the kirk.

Moreover, men, women, children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in psalms, that when the kirk doth convene and sing, they may be the more able together, with common hearts and voices, to praise God. In private houses we think expedient, that the most grave and discreet person use the common prayers, at morning and at night, for the comfort and instruction of others. For seeing that we behold and see the hand of God now presently striking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of his judgments, or provocation of his anger more to be kindled against us; if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulness, and to earnest invocation of his name, whose only power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly turn unto him, remove from us these terrible plagues, which now, for our iniquities, hang over our heads. 'Convert us, O Lord! and we shall be converted.'

For Prophesying, or Interpreting of the Scriptures.

TO the end that the kirk of God may have a trial of mens knowledge, judgments, graces, and utterances; as also such that have somewhat profited in God's word, may, from time to time, grow in more full perfection to serve the kirk, as necessity shall require; it is most expedient, that in every town, where schools and repair of learned men are, there be one certain day, every week, appointed to that exercise which St. Paul calls prophesying; the order whereof is expressed by him in these words: 'Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge; but if any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the former keep

silence: ye may one by one all prophesy, that all may learn, and all may receive consolation. And the spirit, that is, the judgments of the prophets, are subject to the prophets.' By which words of the apostle, it is evident, that in the kirk of Corinth, when they did assemble for that purpose, some place of Scripture was read, upon the which one first gave his judgment, to the instruction and consolation of the auditors: after whom did another either confirm what the former had said, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct, or explain more properly, where the whole verity was not revealed to the former. And in case things were hid from the one, and from the other, liberty was given for a third to speak his judgment, to the edification of the kirk. Above which number of three (as appears) they passed not, for avoiding of confusion. This exercise is a thing most necessary for the kirk of God this day in Scotland: for thereby, as is said, shall the kirk have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances, of every man within their body: the simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study, and to proceed in knowledge: the kirk shall be edified. For this exercise must be patent to such as list to hear and learn; and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge, to the comfort and consolation of the kirk. But lest, of this profitable exercise, there arise debate and strife, curious, peregrine, and unprofitable questions are to be avoided. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to charity, or that stands in plain contradiction with any other manifest place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter, in this exercise, may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher (yea, although he be a minister appointed); but he must bind himself to his text, that he enter not in digression, or in explaining common places: he may use no invective in that exercise, unless it be of sobriety in confuting heresies: in exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place; following the sequel and dependence of the text, and observing such notes as may instruct and edify the auditor, for avoiding of contention: neither may the interpreter, nor any in the assembly, move any question, in open audience, where-to himself is not able to give resolution, without reasoning with another; but every man ought to speak his own judgment, to the edification of the kirk.

If any be noted with curiosity of bringing in of strange doctrine, he must be admonished by the moderator, ministers, and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended.

The whole ministers, a number of them that are of the assembly, ought to convene together, where examination should be had, how the persons that did interpret did handle and convey the matter (they themselves being removed): to every man must be given his censure. After the which the person being called, the faults (if any notable be found) are noted, and the person gently admonished.

In that assembly are all questions and doubts, if any arise, resolved without contention: the ministers of the parish-kirks in landward, adjacent to every chief town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation, within six miles, must concur and assist these that prophesy within the towns, to the end that they themselves may either learn, or others may learn by them. And moreover men, in whom is supposed to be any gift which might edify the church, if they were well employed, must be charged by the minister and elders, to join themselves with the session, and company of interpreters, to the end that the kirk may judge, whether they be able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the kirk, in the vocation of ministers, or not: and if any be found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them; provided that the civil magistrate concur with the judgment and election of the kirk: for no man may be permitted, as best pleaseth him, to live within the kirk of God; but every man must be constrained, by fraternal admonition and correction, to bestow his labours, when of the kirk he is required, to the edification of others. What day of the week is most convenient for that exercise, what books of Scripture shall be most profitable to read, we refer to the judgment of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wisdom of the minister and elders.

Of Marriage.

BECAUSE that marriage, the blessed ordinance of God, in this cursed Papistry, hath partly been contemned, and partly hath been so weakened, that the parties conjoined could never be assured in conscience, if the bishops and prelates list to dissolve the same, we have thought good to shew

our judgments how such confusion in times coming may be avoided.

And first, public inhibition must be made, that no person under the power or obedience of others, such as sons and daughters, and those that be under curators, neither men nor women, contract marriage privately, and without knowledge of their parents, tutors, or curators, under whose power they are for the time: which if they do, the censure and discipline of the kirk to proceed against them. If the son or daughter, or other, have their heart touched with the desire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to their parents, that they open unto them their affection, asking their counsel and assistance, how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If the father, friend, or master, gainstand their request, and have no other cause than the common sort of men have, *viz.* lack of goods, and because they are not so high born as they require, yet must not the parties, whose hearts are touched, make any covenant, till further declaration be made unto the kirk of God; and therefore, after that they have opened their minds to their parents, or such others as have charge over them, they must declare it to the minister also, or to the civil magistrate, requiring them to travel with their parents for their consent, which to do they are bound. And if they, *viz.* the minister or magistrate, find no cause, that is just, why the marriage required may not be fulfilled, then, after sufficient admonition to the father, friend, master, or superior, that none of them resist the work of God, the minister or magistrate may enter in the place of parents, and be consenting to their just requests, may admit them to marriage; for the work of God ought not to be hindered, by the corrupt affections of worldly men. The work of God we call, when two hearts, without filthiness before committed, are so joined, and both require, and are content, to live together in that holy band of matrimony. If any commit fornication with that woman he requires in marriage, they do both lose this foresaid benefit, as well of the kirk as of the magistrate; for neither of both ought to be intercessors or advocates for filthy fornicators. But the father, or nearest friend, whose daughter, being a virgin, is deflowered, hath power, by the law of God, to compel the man that did that injury to marry his daughter: and if the father will not accept him by reason of his offence, then may he require the dowry of his daughter; which if the of-

fender be not able to pay, then ought the civil magistrate to punish his body by some other punishment. And because whoredom, fornication, adultery, are sins most common in this realm, we require of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, that severe punishment, according as God hath commanded, be executed against such wicked contemners: for we doubt not but such enormities and crimes, openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the apostle speaketh, not only upon the offenders, but upon such places, where without punishment they are committed. But to return to our former purpose. Marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that have no election for lack of understanding. And therefore we affirm, that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age; *viz.* the man within fourteen years, and the woman twelve years at least: which if it hath been, and they have kept themselves always separate, we cannot judge them to adhere as men and wives, by reason of that promise, which in God's presence was no promise at all; but if in years of judgment they have embraced the one the other, then, by reason of that last consent, they have ratified that which others have promitted for them in their youth.

In a reformed kirk, marriage ought not to be secretly used, but in open face, and public audience of the kirk; and, for avoiding of dangers, expedient it is, that the banns be publicly proclaimed three Sundays, unless the persons be so known that no suspicion of danger may arise: and then may the time be shortened, at the discretion of the ministry. But no ways can we admit marriage to be used secretly, how honourable soever the persons be. The Sunday before noon we think most expedient for marriage, and it be used no day else, without the consent of the whole ministry. Marriage once lawfully contracted, may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, as our Master Christ Jesus doth witness, unless adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved, in presence of the civil magistrate, the innocent (if they so require) ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to suffer death, as God hath commanded: If the civil sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the kirk be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent party to be at freedom, be they never so honourable before the world. If the life be spared, as it ought not to be to the offenders, and

if fruits of repentance of long time appear in them, and if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the kirk, we judge they may be received to the participation of the sacraments, and other benefits of the kirk: for we would not that the kirk should hold them excommunicate whom God absolved, that is, the penitent. If any demand, Whether that the offender, after reconciliation with the kirk, may not marry again? We answer, That if they cannot live continently, and if the necessity be such, as that they fear further offence of God, we cannot forbid them to use the remedy ordained of God. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then we judge, that on no ways it shall be lawful to the offender to marry any other, except the party that before hath been offended; and the solemnization of the latter marriage must be in the open face of the kirk, like as the former, but without proclamation of banns.

This we do offer as the best counsel that God giveth unto us in so doubtful a case; but the most perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God his honour and glory, that ye would prefer his exprefs commandment to your own corrupt judgments, especially in punishing of these crimes, which he commandeth to be punished with death: for so should ye declare yourselves God's true obedient officers, and your commonwealth should be rid of innumerable troubles.

We mean not that sins committed in our former blindness (which be almost buried in oblivion), shall be called again to examination and judgment: but we require, that the law may be now, and hereafter, to established and execute, that this ungodly impunity of sin have no place within this realm: for in the fear of God we signify unto your honours, that whosoever persuades you, that ye may pardon where God commandeth death, deceives your souls, and provokes you to offend God's Majesty.

Of Burial.

BURIAL, in all ages, hath been holden in estimation to signify, that the same body which was committed to the earth should not utterly perish, but should rise again; and the same we would have kept within this realm: provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion, and for advantage sake, may be avoided; and singing of psalms, *psalms* and *dirige*, and all other prayers over or for the dead, which are not only superstitious and vain, but also

are idolatry, and do repugn to the plain Scriptures of God: for plain it is, that every one that dieth, departeth either in the faith of Christ Jesus, or departeth in incredulity: plain it is, that they that depart in the true faith of Christ Jesus rest from their labours, and from death do go to life everlasting; as by our Master, and his apostles, we are taught: but whosoever departeth in unbelief or incredulity, shall never see life, but the wrath of God abides upon him: and so we say, That prayers for the dead are not only superstitious and vain, but do expressly repugn to the manifest Scriptures, and verity thereof. For avoiding of all inconveniences we judge it best, that neither singing nor reading be at burial: for albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious think, that singing and reading of the living may profit the dead: and therefore we think it most expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial with some honest company of the kirk, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death.

We are not ignorant, that some require a sermon at the burial, or else some place of Scripture to be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewise they must die. But let these men understand, that the sermons which be daily made serve for that use, which if men despise, the funeral sermons shall rather nourish superstition, and a false opinion, as before is said, than that they shall bring such persons to a godly consideration of their own estate. Besides, either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in funeral sermons, or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor and despised departeth, and this with safe conscience cannot the minister do: for seeing that before God there is no respect of persons, and that their ministry appertaineth to all alike, whatsoever they do to the rich in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge. In respect of divers inconveniences, we think it neither seemly that the kirk, appointed to preaching and ministration of the sacraments, shall be made a place of burial, but that some other se-

cret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, be appointed for that use; which place ought to be walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only.

For Reparation of the Kirks.

LEST that the word of God, and ministration of the sacraments, by unseemliness of the place, come in contempt, of necessity it is, that the kirk and place where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired, with doors, windows, thatch, and with such preparation within, as appertaineth as well to the Majesty of God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all other which may not redound to their private commodity, strait charge and commandment must be given, that within a certain day the reparation must be begun, and within another day, to be affixed by your honours, that it may be finished. Penalties and sums of money must be enjoined, and without pardon taken from the contemners.

The reparation would be according to the ability and number of kirks. Every kirk must have doors, close windows of glafs, thatch able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptizing, and tables for ministration of the Lord's supper. In greater kirks, and where the congregation is great in number, must reparation be made within the kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expences are to be lifted partly of the people, and partly of the teinds, at the consideration of the ministry.

For Punishment of those that profane the Sacraments, and contemn the Word of God, and dare presume to minister them, not being thereto lawfully called.

AS Satan hath never ceased, from the beginning, to draw mankind in one of two extremities, *viz.* that men should either be so ravished with gazing upon the visible creatures, that, forgetting the cause wherefore they are ordained, they attributed unto them a virtue and power which God hath not granted unto them; or else that men should so contemn and despise God's blessed ordinance, and holy institutions, as if that neither in the right use of them there were any profit, neither yet in their profanations there were any

danger. As this way, we say, Satan hath blinded the most part of mankind from the beginning, so doubt we not but that he will strive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have seen, and presently do see, the experience of the one, and of the other. What was the opinion of the most part of men, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, during the darkness of superstition, is not unknown. How it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, borne in procession, and finally worshipped and honoured as Christ Jesus himself! And so long as Satan might then retain men in that damnable idolatry, he was quiet, as one that possessed his kingdom of darkness peaceably. But since that it hath pleased the mercies of God, to reveal unto the unthankful world the light of his word, the right use and administration of his sacraments, he assays man upon the contrary part: for where not long ago men stood in such admiration of that idol the mass, that none durst have presumed to have said the mass but the shaven sort, the beast's marked men; some dare now be so bold, as, without all vocation, to minister, as they suppose, the true sacraments in open assemblies: and some idiots (yet more wickedly and impudently) dare counterfeit in their house, that which the true ministers do in the open congregations. They presume, we say, to do it in houses, without reverence, without word preached, and without minister. This contempt proceeds no doubt from the malice and craft of that serpent, who first deceived man, of purpose to deface the glory of Christ's gospel, and to bring his blessed sacraments in a perpetual contempt. And further, your honours may clearly see, how stubbornly and proudly the most part despise the gospel of Christ Jesus offered unto you, whom unless that sharply and stoutly ye resist, we mean as well the manifest despiser as the profaner of the sacraments, ye shall find them pernicious enemies ere it be long. And therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, we require of your honours, that, without delay, strait laws be made against the one and the other.

We dare not prescribe unto you, what penalties shall be required of such; but this we fear not to affirm, that the one and the other deserve death: for if he who doth falsify the seal, subscription, or coin of a king, is judged worthy of death, what shall we think of him who plainly doth falsify the seals of Christ Jesus, Prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced that a balk should

be taken from the house of that man, and he himself hanged upon it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the material temple, what shall we say of those that contemptuously blaspheme God, and manifestly hinder the temple of God, which is the souls and bodies of the elect, to be purged, by the true preaching of Christ Jesus, from the superstition and damnable idolatry in which they have been long plunged, and helden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare yourselves careless over the true religion, God will not suffer your negligence unpunished: and therefore more earnestly we require, that strait laws may be made against the stubborn contemners of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to minister his sacraments, not orderly called to that office, lest while that there be none found to withstand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled against the whole.

The Papistical priests, have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation: and therefore to them must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have had in the time of blindness. It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the greasing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs called the bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh ministers of Christ Jesus; but the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the hearts to seek Christ's glory, and the profit of his kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and public admission (as before is said), make men lawful ministers of the word and sacraments. We speak of an ordinary vocation, and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himself, and by his only power, raiseth up to the ministry such as best pleaseth his wisdom.

The Conclusion.

THUS have we, in these few heads, offered unto your honours our judgments, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things, which heretofore have altogether been abused in this cursed Papistry. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appear strange unto you at the first sight. But if your wisdoms deeply consider, that we must answer not only unto man, but also before the throne of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, for the counsel which we give in this so grave a matter,

your honours shall easily consider, that more safe it is to us to fall into the displeasure of all men in the earth, than to offend the Majesty of God, whose justice cannot suffer flatterers and deceitful counsellors unpunished. That we require the kirk to be set at such liberty, that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to sustain the tyranny which heretofore hath been by violence maintained, we know we shall offend many; but if we should keep silence hereof, we are most assured to offend the just and righteous God, who, by the mouth of his apostle, hath pronounced this sentence, 'He that laboureth not, let him not eat.' If we, in this behalf, or in any other, require or ask any other thing than by God's express commandment, by equity and good conscience, ye are bound to grant, let it be noted, and after repudiate: but if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your honours take heed, how ye gainstand the charge of him whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape. If blind affection rather lead you to have respect to the sustentation of these your carnal friends, who tyrannously have empired above the flock of Christ Jesus, than that the zeal of Christ Jesus' glory provoke and move you to set his oppressed kirk at freedom and liberty, we fear your sharp and sudden punishments, and that the glory and honour of this enterprize be reserved unto others. And yet shall this our judgment abide to the ge-

nerations following, for a monument and witness how lovingly God called you and this nation to repentance; what counsellors God sent unto you, and how ye have used the same. If obediently ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but he shall hear you in your greatest necessity: but if, following your own corrupt judgments, ye contemn his voice and vocation, we are assured, that your former iniquity, and present ingratitude, shall together crave great punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his most just judgments, when, after many offences and long blindness, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence; and so bow the same to his obedience, that ye may prefer his revealed will to your own affections; and so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may punish vice and maintain virtue within this realm, to the praise and glory of his holy name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation and the good example of the posterity following. Amen.

From Edinburgh, 20th of
May 1560.

By your honours mg^t humble servants.

Act of Secret Council, 17th of January, Anno 1560.

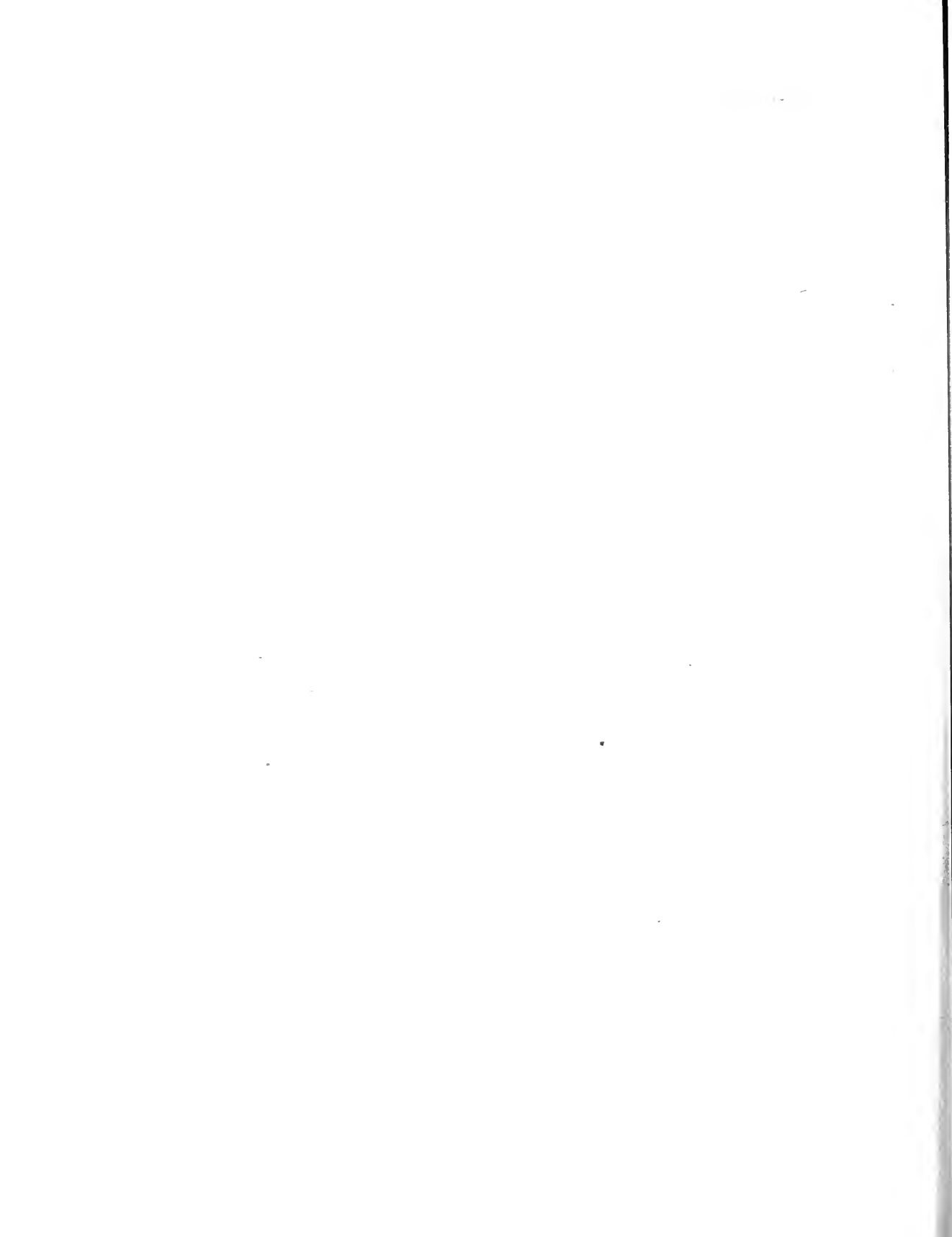
WE who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this Book, think the same good, and conform to God's word in all points; conform to the notes and additions hereto added: and promise to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers; pro-

viding that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who already have adjoined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes; they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of the word, and ministering of the sacraments.

Sic subscribitur,

*James Hamilton.
Arch. Argyle.
James Stewart.
Rothes.
Boyd.
William lord Hay.
Alexander Campb. M.
Mr. Alexander Gordon.
Glencairn.
Ochiltree.
Sanguhar.
S. Jones.
William of Culross.*

*Drumlanrig.
Barganny, younger.
Lochinvar.
Cunninghamhead.
James Haliburton.
John Lockart of Bar.
John Shazo of Haly.
Sect of Hamming.
James Maxwell.
George Fenton of that ilk.
Andrew Ker of Padon-side.
Andrew Hamilton of Leithan.
Dean of Murray.*



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
DISCIPLINE;
OR,
HEADS and CONCLUSIONS of the Policy of the KIRK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kirk and Policy thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the Civil Policy.

THE kirk of God sometimes is largely taken, for all them that profess the gospel of Jesus Christ; and so it is a company and fellowship not only of the godly, but also of hypocrites, professing always outwardly the true religion.

Other times it is taken for the godly and elect only, and sometimes for them that exercise spiritual function in the congregation of them that profess the truth.

The kirk in this last sense hath a certain power granted by God, according to the which it uses a proper jurisdiction and government, exercised to the comfort of the whole kirk.

This power ecclesiastical is an authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediator Jesus Christ, unto his kirk gathered, and hath ground in the word of God, to be put in execution by them unto whom the spiritual government of the kirk, by lawful calling, is committed.

The policy of the kirk, flowing from this power, is an order or form of spiritual government, which is exercised by the members ap-

pointed thereto by the word of God; and therefore is given immediately to the office-bearers, by whom it is exercised to the good of the whole body.

This power is diversely used: for sometimes it is severally exercised, chiefly by the teachers; sometimes conjunctly, by mutual consent of them that bear the office and charge, after the form of judgment. The former is only called *potestas ordinis*, and the other *potestas jurisdictionis*.

These two kinds of power have both one authority, one ground, one final cause; but are different in the manner and form of execution, as is evident by the speaking of our Master, in the 16th and 18th of Matthew.

This power and policy ecclesiastical is different and distinct, in its own nature, from that power and policy which is called civil power, and appertaineth to the civil government of the commonwealth: albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used; *viz.* to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good subjects.

For this power ecclesiastical floweth immediately from God, and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head in the earth but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his kirk.

It is a title falsely usurped by Antichrist, to call himself head of the kirk, and ought not to be attributed to angel nor man, of what estate that ever he be, saving to Christ the only Head and Monarch in the kirk.

Therefore this power and policy of the kirk should lean upon the word immediately, as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, the kirk hearing the voice of Christ the only spiritual King, and being ruled by his laws.

It is proper to kings, princes, and magistrates, to be called lords and dominators over their subjects, whom they govern civilly; but it is proper to Christ only, to be called Lord and Master in the spiritual government of the kirk: and all others that bear office therein, ought not to usurp dominion therein, nor be called lords, but only ministers, disciples, and servants: for it is Christ's proper office to command and rule his kirk universally; and every particular kirk, through his Spirit and word, by the ministry of men.

Notwithstanding, as the ministers, and others of the ecclesiastical estate, are subject to the magistrate civil, so ought the person of the magistrate be subject to the kirk spiritually, and in ecclesiastical government. And the exercise of both these jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinary.

The civil power is called the power of the sword, and the other the power of the keys.

The civil power should command the spiritual to exercise, and to do their office according to the word of God: the spiritual rulers should require the Christian magistrate to minister justice, and punish vice, and to maintain the liberty and quietness of the kirk within their bounds.

The magistrate commandeth external things, for external peace and quietness amongst the subjects: the minister handleth external things only for conscience cause.

The magistrate handleth external things only, and actions done before men: but the spiritual ruler judgeth both inward affections, and external actions, in respect of conscience, by the word of God.

The civil magistrate craves and gets obedience by the sword, and other external means; but the ministry, by the spiritual sword, and spiritual means.

The magistrate neither ought to preach, minister the sacraments, nor execute the censures of the kirk, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done; but command the ministers to observe the rule commanded in the word, and punish the transgressors by civil means: the ministers exercise not the civil jurisdiction, but teach the magistrate how it should be exercised according to the word.

The magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify the jurisdiction of the kirk: the ministers should assist their princes in all things agreeable to the word, providing they neglect not their own charge, by involving themselves in civil affairs.

Finally, As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend; so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion.

CHAP. II.

Of the Policy of the Kirk, and Persons and Office-bearers to whom the Administration is committed.

AS in the civil policy the whole commonwealth consisteth in them that are governors, or magistrates, and them that are governed, or subjects; so in the policy of the kirk, some are appointed to be rulers, and the rest of the members thereof to be ruled, and obey according to the word of God, and inspiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor, Jesus Christ.

Again, The whole policy of the kirk consisteth in three things, *viz.* in doctrine, discipline, and distribution. With doctrine is annexed the administration of sacraments: and, according to the parts of this division, ariseth a sort of threefold officers in the kirk, *viz.* of ministers or preachers, elders or governors, and deacons or distributors: and all these may be called by a general word, ministers of the kirk: for albeit the kirk of God be ruled and governed by Jesus Christ, who is the only King, High-priest, and Head thereof, yet he useth the ministry of men as the most necessary aids for this purpose.

For so he hath from time to time, before the law, under the law, and in the time of the gospel, for our great comfort, raised up men endued with the gifts of the Spirit, for the spiritual government of his kirk, exercising by them his own power, through his Spirit and word, to the building up of the same.

And to take away all occasion of tyranny, he willeth that they should rule with mutual consent as brethren, with equality of power, every one according to their functions.

In the New Testament, and time of the gospel, he hath used the ministry of the apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors, in administration of the word; the eldership for good order, and administration of the discipline; the deacons to have the care of the ecclesiastical goods.

Some of these ecclesiastical functions are ordinary, and some extraordinary or temporary. There be three extraordinary functions, the office of the apostle, the evangelist, and of the prophet, which are not perpetual, and now have ceased in the kirk of God; except when it pleased God extraordinarily, for a time, to stir some of them up again.

There are four ordinary functions or offices in the kirk of God, the office of the pastor, minister, or bishop; the doctor, presbyter or elder, and the deacon.

These offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the kirk, as necessary for the government and policy thereof; and no more offices ought to be received or suffered in the kirk of God, established according to his word.

Therefore all the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of Antichrist, and in his usurped hierarchy, which are not of one of these four sorts, together with the offices depending thereupon, in one word, ought to be rejected.

CHAP. III.

How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are to be admitted to their Office.

VOCATION or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way, by the which qualified persons are promoted to any spiritual office within the kirk of God.

Without this lawful calling, it was never lawful for any person to meddle with any function ecclesiastical.

There are two sorts of calling, one extraordinary, by God immediately; as was that of the prophets and apostles, which, in kirks established, and already well-reformed, hath no place.

The other calling is ordinary, which, besides the calling of God, and inward testimony of a good conscience, is the lawful approbation and outward

judgment of men, according to God's word, and order established in his kirk.

None ought to presume to enter in any office ecclesiastical, without this good testimony before God, who only knows the hearts of men.

This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, election and ordination. Election is the choosing out of a person or persons, most able, to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership, and consent of the congregation, to which the person or persons shall be appointed.

The qualifications in general requisite in all them who should bear charge in the kirk, consist in soundness of religion, and godliness of life, according as they are sufficiently set forth in the word.

In the order of election is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any offices of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership.

None ought to be intruded, or placed in the places already planted, or in any room that vakes not, for any worldly respect: and that which is called the benefice, ought to be nothing else but the stipend of the ministers that are lawfully called.

Ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed to God and his kirk, after he is well tried, and found qualified.

The ceremonies of ordination are, fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of hands of the eldership.

All these, as they must be raised up by God, and by him made able for the work whereto they are called; so ought they to know their message to be limited within God's word, without the bounds of the which they ought not to pass.

All these should take those titles and names only (lest they be exalted and puffed up in themselves) which the Scriptures give unto them, as these which import labour, travel, and work, and are names of offices and service, and not of idleness, dignity, worldly honour, or pre-eminence, which by Christ our Master is expressly reprov'd and forbidden.

All these office-bearers should have their own particular flocks, amongst whom they exercise their charge.

All should make residence with them, and take the inspection and oversight of them, every one in his vocation.

And generally these two things ought they all to respect; The glory of God, and edifying of his kirk, in discharging their duties in their calling.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Office-bearers in particular, and first of the Pastors or Ministers.

PASTORS, bishops, or ministers, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over the which they watch: in respect whereof, sometimes they are called pastors, because they feed their congregation; sometimes *episcopi*, or bishops, because they watch over their flock; sometimes ministers, by reason of their service and office; and sometimes also prebysters or seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have in taking care of the spiritual government, which ought to be most dear unto them.

They that are called unto the ministry, or that offer themselves thereunto, ought not to be elected, without some certain flock be assigned unto them.

No man ought to ingyre himself, or usurp this office, without a lawful calling.

They who are once called by God, and duly elected by man, after that they have once accepted the charge of the ministry, may not leave their functions.

The deserters should be admonished; and, in case of obstinacy, finally excommunicated.

No pastor may leave his flock without licence of the provincial or national assembly; which if he do, after admonitions not obeyed, let the censures of the kirk strike upon him.

Unto the pastors appertains teaching of the word of God, in season and out of season, publicly and privately, always travelling to edify, and to discharge his conscience, as God's word prescribes to him.

Unto the pastors only appertains the administration of the sacraments, in like manner as the administration of the word: for both are appointed by God as means to teach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes and other senses; that, by both, knowledge may be transferred to the mind.

It appertains, by the same reason, to the pastor to pray for the people, and namely for the flock committed to his charge; and to bless them in the name of the Lord, who will not suffer the blessings of his faithful servants to be frustrate.

He ought also to watch over the manners of his flock, that he may the better apply the doctrine to them, in reprehending the dissolute persons, and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord.

It appertains to the minister, after lawful proceeding by the eldership, to pronounce the sentence of binding and loosing upon any person, according unto the power of the keys granted unto the kirk.

It belongs to him likewise, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the eldership, to solemnize marriage betwixt them that are to be joined therein; and to pronounce the blessing of the Lord upon them that enter into that holy band in the fear of God.

And generally all public denunciations, that are to be made in the kirk before the congregation, concerning the ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the office of a minister: for he is as a messenger and herald betwixt God and the people in all these affairs.

CHAP. V.

Of Doctors, and their Office; and of the Schools.

ONE of the two ordinary and perpetual functions that travel in the word, is the office of the doctor, who may be also called a prophet, bishop, elder, catechizer; that is, teacher of the catechism, and rudiments of religion.

His office is, to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures simply, without such applications as the ministers use, to the end that the faithful may be instructed, and sound doctrine taught; and that the purity of the gospel be not corrupted through ignorance, or evil opinions.

He is different from the pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of gifts: for to the doctor is given the word of knowledge, to open up, by simple teaching, the mysteries of faith; to the pastor the gift of wisdom, to apply the same, by exhortation, to the manners of the flock, as occasion craveth.

Under the name and office of a doctor, we comprehend also the order in schools, colleges, and universities, which hath been from time to time carefully maintained, as well among the Jews and Christians, as among the profane nations.

The doctor being an elder, as said is, should assist the pastor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders, his brethren, in all assemblies, by reason the interpretation of the word, which is only judge in ecclesiastical matters, is committed to his charge.

But to preach unto the people, to minister the sacraments, and to celebrate marriages, pertain not to the doctor, unless he be otherwise called ordinarily; howbeit the pastor may teach in the

schools, as he who hath the gift of knowledge is oftentimes meet for that end, as the examples of Polycarpus and others testify, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Of Elders, and their Office.

THE word elder, in the Scripture, sometimes is the name of age, sometimes of office. When it is the name of any office, sometimes it is taken largely, comprehending as well the pastors and doctors, as them who are called seniors or elders.

In this our division, we call these elders whom the apostles call presidents or governors. Their office as it is ordinary, so is it perpetual, and always necessary in the kirk of God. The eldership is a spiritual function, as is the ministry.

Elders once lawfully called to the office, and having gifts from God meet to exercise the same, may not leave it again. Albeit such a number of elders may be chosen in certain congregations, that one part of them may relieve another for a reasonable time, as was among the Levites under the law, in serving of the temple.

The number of the elders, in every congregation, cannot well be limited, but should be according to the bounds and necessity of the people.

It is not necessary that all elders be also teachers of the word, albeit the chief ought to be such; and so are worthy of double honour.

What manner of persons they ought to be, we refer it to the express word, and namely, to the canons written by the apostle Paul.

Their office is, as well severally as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners enter therein.

As the pastors and doctors should be diligent in teaching and sowing the seed of the word, so the elders should be careful in seeking after the fruit of the same in the people.

It appertains to them to assist the pastor in examination of them that come to the Lord's table, *Item*, in visiting the sick.

They should cause the acts of the assemblies, as well particular as general, to be put in execution carefully.

They should be diligent in admonishing all men of their duty, according to the rule of the gospel.

Things that they cannot correct by private admonitions, they should bring to the eldership.

Their principal office is, to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, who are also of their number, for establishing of good order, and execution of discipline; unto the which assembly all persons are subject that remain within their bounds.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Eldership, Assemblies, and Discipline.

ELDERSHIPS and assemblies are commonly constitute of pastors, doctors, and such as we commonly call elders, that labour not in the word and doctrine; of whom, and of whose several power, hath been spoken.

Assemblies are of four sorts. For either they are of particular kirks and congregations one or more, or of a province, or of a whole nation, or of all and divers nations professing one Jesus Christ.

All the ecclesiastical assemblies have power to convene lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the kirk, and pertaining to their charge.

They have power to appoint times and places to that effect; and, at one meeting, to appoint the diet, time, and place for another.

In all assemblies a moderator should be chosen, by common consent of the whole brethren convened, who should propose matters, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept in the assemblies.

Diligence should be taken, chiefly by the moderator, that only ecclesiastical things be handled in the assemblies; and that there be no meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction.

Every assembly hath power to send forth from them, of their own number, one or more visitors, to see how all things be ruled in the bounds of their jurisdiction.

Visitation of more kirks is no ordinary office ecclesiastical, in the person of one man; neither may the name of a bishop be attributed to the visitor only; neither is it necessary to abide always in one man's person; but it is the part of the eldership to send out qualified persons to visit *per se* *mutuo*.

The final end of assemblies is, first, To keep religion and doctrine in purity, without error and corruption; next, To keep comeliness and good order in the kirk.

For this order's cause, they may make certain rules and constitutions, appertaining to the good behaviour of all the members of the kirk, in their vocation.

They have power also to abrogate and abolish all statutes and ordinances concerning ecclesiastical matters, that are found noisome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the people.

They have power to execute ecclesiastical discipline and punishment upon all transgressors, and proud contemners of the good order and policy of the kirk; and so the whole discipline is in their hands.

The first kind and sort of assemblies, although they be within particular congregations, yet they exercise the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the kirk with mutual consent, and therefore bear sometimes the name of the kirk.

When we speak of the elders of the particular congregations, we mean not, that every particular parish-kirk can or may have their own particular elderships, especially in landward; but we think three, four, more or fewer particular kirks, may have one eldership, common to them all, to judge their ecclesiastical causes.

Yet this is meet, that some of the elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concur with the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their own kirks, and bring them to the assembly.

This we gather out of the practice of the primitive kirk, where elders or colleges of seniors were constituted in cities and famous places.

The power of their particular elderships is, to use diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order; to inquire diligently in naughty and unruly persons, and travel to bring them in the way again, either by admonition or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction.

It pertains to the eldership, to take heed that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the sacraments rightly ministered, the discipline rightly maintained, and the ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed.

It belongs to this kind of assembly, to cause the ordinances made by the assemblies provincial, national, and general, to be kept, and put in execution.

To make constitutions which concern *το περιον* in the kirk, for the decent order of these particular kirks where they govern: providing they alter no rules made by the general or provincial assemblies; and that they make the provincial assemblies foreseen of these rules that they shall make, and abolish them that tend to the hurt of the same.

It hath power to excommunicate the obstinate.

The power of election of them who bear ecclesiastical charges, pertains to this kind of assembly, within their own bounds, being well erected, and constitute of many pastors, and elders of sufficient ability.

By the like reason, their deposition also pertains to this kind of assembly, as of them that teach erroneous and corrupt doctrine; that be of slanderous life, and after admonition desist not; that be given to schism or rebellion against the kirk, manifest blasphemy, simony, corruption of bribes, falsehood, perjury, whoredom, theft, drunkenness, fighting worthy of punishment by the law, usury, dancing, infamy, and all others that deserve separation from the kirk.

These also who are altogether found insufficient to execute that charge should be deposed; whereof of other kirks should be advertised, that they receive not the persons deposed.

Yet they ought not to be deposed, who, through age, sickness, or other accidents, become unmeet to do their office; in which case, their honour should remain to them, their kirk should maintain them, and others ought to be provided to do their office.

Provincial assemblies we call lawful conventions of the pastors, doctors, and other elders of a province, gathered for the common affairs of the kirks thereof, which also may be called the conference of the kirk and brethren.

These assemblies are institute for weighty matters, to be handled by mutual consent and assistance of the brethren within that province, as need requires.

This assembly hath power to handle, order, and redress all things committed or done amiss in the particular assemblies.

It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province, for good and just causes deserving deprivation.

And generally, these assemblies have the whole power of the particular elderships whereof they are collected.

The national assembly, which is general to us, is a lawful convention of the whole kirks of the realm or nation, where it is used and gathered, for the common affairs of the kirk, and may be called the general eldership of the whole kirks in the realm. None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote but ecclesiastical persons, to such a number as shall be thought good by the same assembly, not excluding other persons that will

repair to the said assembly, to propone, hear, and reason.

This assembly is instituted, that all things either committed or done amiss in the provincial assemblies may be redressed and handled, and things generally serving for the good of the whole body of the kirk within the realm may be foreseen, treated, and set forth to God's glory.

It should take care, that kirks be planted in places where they are not planted.

It should prescribe the rule, how the other two kinds of assemblies should proceed in all things.

This assembly should take heed, that the spiritual jurisdiction, and civil, be not confounded, to the hurt of the kirk; that the patrimony of the kirk be not consumed, nor abused; and generally concerning all weighty affairs, that concern the weal and good order of the whole kirks of the realm, it ought to, interpose authority thereto.

There is, besides these, another more general kind of assembly, which is of all nations and all estates of persons within the kirk, representing the universal kirk of Christ, which may be called properly the general assembly, or general council of the kirk of God.

These assemblies were appointed and called together specially, when any great schism or controversy in doctrine did arise in the kirk; and were convocate at command of godly emperors, being for the time, for avoiding of schisms within the universal kirk of God; which because they pertain not to the particular estate of any realm, we cease further to speak of them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Deacons and their Office, the last ordinary Function in the Kirk.

THE word *diaconus* sometimes is largely taken, comprehending all them that bear office in the ministry, and spiritual function in the kirk.

But now, as we speak, it is taken only for them, unto whom the collection and distribution of the alms of the faithful, and ecclesiastical goods, doth belong.

The office of the deacons, so taken, is an ordinary and perpetual ecclesiastical function in the kirk of Christ.

Of what properties and duties he ought to be, that is called to this function, we remit it to the manifest Scriptures.

The deacon ought to be called and elected, as the rest of the spiritual officers, of the which election was spoken before.

Their office and power is to receive, and to distribute the whole ecclesiastical goods unto them to whom they are appointed.

This they ought to do according to the judgment and appointment of the presbyteries, or elderships (of the which the deacons are not members), that the patrimony of the kirk and poor be not converted to private mens uses, nor wrongfully distributed.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Patrimony of the Kirk, and Distribution thereof.

BY the patrimony of the kirk we mean whatsoever thing hath been at any time before, or shall be in times coming given, or by consent of universal custom of countries, professing the Christian religion, applied to the public use and utility of the kirk.

So that under the patrimony we comprehend all things given, or to be given, to the kirk and service of God, as lands, buildings, possessions, annual-rents, and all such-like, wherewith the kirk is doted, either by donations, foundations, mortifications, or any other lawful titles, of kings, princes, or any persons inferior to them, together with the continual oblations of the faithful.

We comprehend also all such things as, by laws or custom, or use of countries, have been applied to the use and utility of the kirk; of the which sort are tiends, manfes, glebes, and such-like, which, by common and municipal laws, and universal custom, are possessed by the kirk.

To take any of this patrimony by unlawful means, and convert it to the particular and profane use of any person, we hold it a detestable sacrilege before God.

The goods ecclesiastical ought to be collected and distributed by the deacons, as the word of God appoints, that they who bear office in the kirk be provided for, without care or solicitude.

In the apostolical kirk, the deacons were appointed to collect and distribute what sum soever was collected of the faithful, to distribute unto the necessity of the saints; so that none lacked amongst the faithful.

These collections were not only of that which was collected in manner of alms, as some suppose, but of other goods moveable and immoveable, of

lands and possessions, the price whereof was brought to the feet of the apostles.

This office continued in the deacons hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the kirk, and ay until the estate thereof was corrupted by Antichrist, as the ancient canons bear witness.

The same canons make mention of a fourfold distribution of the patrimony of the kirk, whereof one part was applied to the pastor or bishop, for his sustentation and hospitality; another to the elders and deacons, and all the clergy; the third to the poor, sick persons, and strangers; the fourth to the upholding other affairs of the kirk, especially extraordinary.

We add hereunto the schools and schoolmasters also, which ought and may be well sustained of the same goods, and are comprehended under the clergy: to whom we join also clerks of assemblies, as well particular as general, syndics or procurators of the kirk-affairs, takers-up of psalms, and such-like other ordinary officers of the kirk, so far as they are necessary

CHAP. X.

Of the Office of a Christian Magistrate in the Kirk.

ALTHOUGH all the members of the kirk be holden, every one in their vocation, and according thereto, to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ, so far as lieth in their power, yet chiefly Christian princes, and other magistrates, are holden to do the same.

For they are called in the Scripture, Nourishers of the kirk; for so much as by them it is, or at least ought to be maintained, fostered, uphelden, and defended, against all that would procure the hurt thereof.

So it pertain, to the office of a Christian magistrate, to assist and fortify the godly proceedings of the kirk in all behalfs; and namely, to see that the public estate and ministry thereof be maintained and sustained, as it appertains, according to God's word.

To see that the kirk be not invaded, nor hurt by false teachers and hirelings, nor the rooms thereof occupied by dumb dogs, or idle bellies.

To assist and maintain the discipline of the kirk, and punish them civilly that will not obey the censure of the same, without confounding always the one jurisdiction with the other.

To see that sufficient provision be made for the ministry, the schools, and the poor; and if they

have not sufficient to await upon their charges, to supply their indigence even with their own rents, if need require.

To hold hand as well to the saving of their persons from injury and open violence, as to their rents and possessions, that they be not defrauded, robbed, nor spoiled thereof.

Not to suffer the patrimony of the kirk to be applied to profane and unlawful uses, or to be devoured by idle bellies, and such as have no lawful function in the kirk, to the hurt of the ministry, schools, poor, and other godly uses, whereupon the same ought to be bestowed.

To make laws and constitutions agreeable to God's word, for advancement of the kirk, and policy thereof, without usurping any thing that pertains not to the civil sword, but belongs to the offices that are merely ecclesiastical, as is the ministry of the word and sacraments, using ecclesiastical discipline, and the spiritual execution thereof, or any part of the power of the spiritual keys, which our Master gave to the apostles, and to their true successors.

And although kings and princes that be godly, sometimes by their own authority, when the kirk is corrupted, and all things out of order, place ministers, and restore the true service of the Lord, after the example of some godly king of Judah, and divers godly emperors, and kings also, in the light of the New Testament; yet, where the ministry of the kirk is once lawfully constitute, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the present Abuses remaining in the Kirk, which we desire to be reformed.

AS it is the duty of the godly magistrate to maintain the present liberty, which God hath granted by the preaching of his word, and the true administration of the sacraments within this realm; so it is to provide, that all abuses, which yet remain in the kirk, be removed, and utterly taken away.

Therefore, first, the admission of men to Papistical titles of benefices, such as serve not, nor have no function in the reformed kirk of Christ, as abbots, commendators, priors, prioresses, and other titles of abbacies, whose places are now for the most

part, by the just judgment of God, demolished, and purged of idolatry, is a plain abuse, and is not to receive the kingdom of Christ amongst us, but rather to refuse it.

Such-like, that they that of old were called the chapters and convents of abbeys, cathedral-kirks, and like places, serve for nothing now but to set fees and tacks, if any thing be left of the kirk-lands and tiends, in hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teacheth; and therefore ought to be utterly abrogate and abolished.

Of the like nature are the deans, arch-deacons, chaunters, sub-chaunters, treasurers, chancellors, and others having the like titles, flowing from the pope and canon law only, who have no place in the reformed kirk.

The kirks also which are united together, and joined by annexation to their benefices, ought to be separated and divided, and given to qualified ministers, as God's word craves.

Neither ought such abusers of the kirk's patrimony to have vote in parliament, nor sit in council, under the name of the kirk and kirkmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and laws of the realm, made in favour of the reformed kirk.

Much less is it lawful, that any person amongst these men should have five, sixteen, twenty, or more kirks, all craving the charge of souls, and enjoy the patrimony thereof, either by admission of the prince, or of the kirk, in this light of the gospel: for it is but a mockage to crave reformation where such-like have place.

And in so far as, in the order taken at Leith, in the year of our Lord 1571, it appears that such may be admitted, being found qualified: either that pretended order is against all good order, or else it must be understood, not of them that be qualified in worldly affairs, or to serve in court, but of such as are qualified to teach God's word, having their lawful admission of the kirk.

As to bishops, if the name *episcopatus* be properly taken, they are all one with the ministers, as before was declared: for it is not a name of superiority and lordship, but of office and watching.

Yet because, in the corruption of the kirk, this name (as others) hath been abused, and yet is likely to be, we cannot allow the fashion of these new-chosen bishops, neither of the chapters, that are electors of them to such an office as they are chosen unto.

True bishops should addict themselves to a particular flock, which fundry of them refuse; neither

should they usurp lordship over their brethren, and over the inheritance of Christ, as these men do.

Pastors, in so far as they are pastors, have not the office of visitation of more kirks joined to the pastordhip, without it be given to them.

It is a corruption, that bishops should have further bounds to visit nor they may lawfully.

No man ought to have the office of visitation, but he that is lawfully chosen thereunto.

The elderships, being well established, have power to send out visitors one or more, with commission to visit the bounds within their eldership; and likewise, after account taken of them, either continue them, or remove them from time to time, to the which elderships they should be always subject.

Criminal jurisdiction, in the person of a pastor, is a corruption.

It agreeth not with the word of God, that bishops should be pastors of pastors, pastors of many flocks, and yet without a certain flock, and without ordinary teaching.

It agreeth not with the Scriptures, that they should be excused from the correction of their brethren, and discipline of the particular eldership of the kirk, where they shall serve; neither that they usurp the office of visitation of other kirks, nor any other function beside other ministers, but so far as shall be committed to them by the kirk.

Wherefore we desire the bishops that now are, either to agree to that order that God's word requires in them, as the general kirk will prescribe unto them, not passing their bounds, either in ecclesiastical or civil affairs, or else to be deposed from all function in the kirk.

We deny not, in the mean time, but ministers may and should assist their princes, when they are required, in all things agreeable to the word, whether it be in council or parliament, or otherwise; providing always they neither neglect their own charges, nor, through flattery of princes, hurt the public estate of the kirk.

But generally we say, No person, under whatsoever title of the kirk, and especially the abused titles in Papistry, prelates, convents, and chapters, ought to attempt any act in the kirk's name, either in council or parliament, or out of council, having no commission of the reformed-kirk within this realm.

And by act of parliament it is provided, That the Papistical kirk and jurisdiction should have no place within the same; and no bishop, nor other prelate, in times coming, should use any jurisdiction nowing from his authority.

And again, That no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be acknowledged within this realm, but that which is and shall be in the reformed kirk, and flowing therefrom.

So we esteem holding of chapters in a Papistical manner, either in cathedral-kirks, abbeyes, colleges, or other conventual places, usurping the name and authority of the kirk, to hurt the patrimony thereof, or use any other act to the prejudice of the same, since the year of our Lord 1562, to be an abuse and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the true kirk, and laws of the realm; and therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and, in times coming, utterly discharged.

The dependencies also of the Papistical jurisdiction are to be abolished; of the which sort is the mixed jurisdiction of the commissaries, in so far as they meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and have no commission of the kirk thereto, but were elected in time of our sovereign's mother, when things were out of order. It is an absurd thing, that several of them, having no function of the kirk, should be judges to ministers, and depose them from their places. Therefore they either would be discharged to meddle with ecclesiastical matters; or it would be limited to them in what matters they might be judges, and not hurt the liberty of the kirk.

They also that formerly were of the ecclesiastical estate in the pope's kirk, or that are admitted of new to the Papistical titles, and now are tolerate, by the laws of the realm, to possess the two parts of their ecclesiastical rents, ought not to have any further liberty, but to intrude with the portion assigned and granted to them for their lifetimes; and not under the abused titles which they had, to dispoise the kirk-rents, set tacks and feus thereof at their pleasure, to the great hurt of the kirk, and poor labourers that dwell upon the kirk-lands, contrary to all good conscience and order.

CHAP. XII.

Certain special Heads of Reformation, which we crave.

WHATSOEVER hath been spoken of the offices of the kirk, of the several power of the office-bearers, of their conjunct power also, and last of the patrimony of the kirk, we understand it to be the right reformation which God craves at our hands, that the kirk be ordered according thereto, as with that order which is most agreeable to the word.

But because something would be touched in particular, concerning the estate of the country, and that which we principally seek to be reformed in the same, we have collected them in these heads following:

Seeing the whole country is divided into provinces, and these provinces again are divided into parishes, as well in landward as in towns, in every parish, and reasonable congregation, there would be placed one or more pastors to feed the flock; and no pastor or minister always to be burdened with the particular charge of more kirks or flocks than one alone.

And because it will be thought hard to find out pastors or ministers to all the parish-kirks of the realm, as well in landward as in towns, we think, by the advice of such as commission may be given to by the kirk and prince, parishes in landward, or small villages, may be joined, two or three, or more, in some places together, and the principal and most commodious kirks to stand, and be repaired sufficiently, and qualified ministers placed thereat; and the other kirks, which are not found necessary, may be suffered to decay, their kirkyards always being kept for burial-places; and in some places, where need requires, a parish, where the congregation is over-great for one kirk, may be divided in two or more.

Doctors would be appointed in universities, colleges, and in other places needful, and sufficiently provided for, to open up the meaning of the Scriptures, and to have the charge of schools, and teach the rudiments of religion.

As for elders, there would be some to be censurers of the manners of the people, one or more in every congregation, but not an assembly of elders in every particular kirk, but only in towns and famous places, where resort of men of judgment and ability to that effect may be had, where the elders of the particular kirks about may convene together, and have a common eldership and assembly-place among them, to treat of all things that concern the congregations of which they have the oversight.

And as there ought to be men appointed to unite and divide the parishes, as necessity and commodity requires; so would there be appointed by the general kirk, with assent of the prince, such men as fear God, and know the estate of the countries, that were able to nominate and design the places where the particular elderships should convene, taking consideration of the dioceses, as they were divided of old, and of the estate of the countries and provinces of the realm.

Likewise concerning provincial and synodal assemblies, consideration were easy to be taken; how many, and in what places they were to be holden, and how oft they should convene, ought to be referred to the liberty of the general kirk, and order to be appointed therein.

The national assemblies of this country, called commonly the general assemblies, ought always to be retained in their own liberty, and have their own place.

With power to the kirk to appoint times and places convenient for the same: and all men, as well magistrates as inferiors, to be subject to the judgment of the same in ecclesiastical causes, without any reclamation or appellation to any judge, civil or ecclesiastical, within the realm.

The liberty of the election of persons called to the ecclesiastical functions, and observed, without interruption, so long as the kirk was not corrupted by Antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this realm.

So that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk, and good order crave.

And because this order, which God's word craves, cannot stand with patronage, and presentations to benefices, used in the pope's kirk, we desire all them that truly fear God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon law only, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks, having *curam animarum*.

And for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation. And therefore, whosoever will embrace God's word, and desire the kingdom of his Son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God, and upright estate of his kirk crave, otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same.

Notwithstanding, as concerning other patronages of benefices, that have not *curam animarum*, as they speak; such as are chaplainries, prebendaries founded upon temporal lands, annualls, and such-like, may be reserved unto the ancient patrons, to

dispose hereupon, when they wake, to scholars and burghs, as they are required by act of parliament.

As for the kirk-rents in general, we desire that order be admitted and maintained amongst us, that may stand with the sincerity of God's word, and practice of the purity of the kirk of Christ.

To wit, That, as was before spoken, the whole rent and patrimony of the kirk, excepting the small patronages before mentioned, may be divided in four portions: one thereof to be assigned to the pastor, for his entertainment and hospitality: another to the elders, deacons, and other officers of the kirk; such as clerks of assemblies, takers-up of the psalms, bedals and keepers of the kirk, so far as is necessary; joining with them also the doctors, and schools, to help the ancient foundations, where need requires: the third portion to be bestowed upon the poor members of the faithful, and on hospitals: the fourth for reparation of the kirks, and other extraordinary charges, as are profitable for the kirk, and also for the commonwealth, if need require.

We desire therefore the ecclesiastical goods to be uplifted, and distributed faithfully to whom they appertain; and that by the ministry of the deacons, to whose office properly the collection and distribution thereof belongs; that the poor may be answered of their portion thereof, and they of the ministry live without care and solicitude: as also, the rest of the treasury of the kirk may be reserved, and bestowed to their right uses.

If these deacons be elected with such qualities as God's word craves to be in them, there is no fear that they shall abuse themselves in their office, as the profane collector did before.

Yet because this vocation appeareth to many to be dangerous, let them be obliged, as they were of old, to give a yearly account to the pastors and eldership; and if the kirk and prince think expedient, let cautions be obliged for their fidelity, that the kirk-rents nowise be dilapidate.

And to the effect this order may take place, it is to be provided, that all other intromitters with the kirk-rent, collectors general or special, whether it be by appointment of the prince, or otherwise, may be denuded of further intromission therewith, and suffer the kirk-rents, in time coming, to be wholly intromitted with by the ministry of the deacons, and distribute to the use before mentioned.

And also, to the effect that the ecclesiastical rents may suffice to these uses for the which they are to be appointed, we think it necessary to be desired,

that all alienations, setting of feus, or tacks of the rents of the kirk, as well lands as tiends, in hurt and diminution of the old rentals, be reduced and annulled, and the patrimony of the kirk restored to the former old liberty.

And likewise, that in times coming the tiends be set to none but to the labourers of the ground, or else not set at all, as was agreed upon, and subscribed by the nobility before.

CHAP. XIII.

The Utility that shall grow from this Reformation to all Estates.

SEEING the end of this spiritual government and policy, whereof we speak, is, that God may be glorified, the kingdom of Jesus Christ advanced, and all who are of his mystical body may live peaceable in conscience; therefore we dare boldly affirm, that all those who have true respect to these ends, will even for conscience cause gladly agree and conform themselves to this order, and advance the same, so far as lieth in them, that their conscience being set at rest, they may be replenished with spiritual gladness, in giving full obedience to that which God's word, and the testimony of their own conscience, do crave; and in refusing all corruption contrary to the same.

Next, We shall become an example and pattern of good and godly order to other nations, countries, and kirks, professing the same religion with us, that as they have glorified God in our continuing in the sincerity of the word hitherto, without any errors (praise be to his name); so they may have the like occasion in our conversation, when as we conform ourselves to that discipline, policy, and good order, which the same word, and purity of reformation crave at our hands: otherwise that fearful sentence may be justly said to us, 'The servant knowing the will of his master, and not doing it,' &c.

Moreover, if we have any pity or respect to the poor members of Jesus Christ, who so greatly in-

crease and multiply amongst us, we will not suffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the patrimony of the kirk, which justly belongs unto them: and by this order, if it be duly put to execution, the burden of them shall be taken off us, to our great comfort; the streets shall be cleaned of the cryings and murmuring of them, as we shall no more be any scandal to other nations, as we have hitherto been, for not taking order with the poor amongst us, and causing the word which we profess to be evil spoken of, giving occasion of slander to the enemies, and offending the consciences of the simple and godly.

Besides this, it shall be a great ease and commodity to the whole common people, in relieving them of the building and upholding their kirks, of building of bridges, and other like public works; to the labourers of the ground, in payment of their tiends; and shortly, in all these things wherein they have been hitherto rigorously handled by them that were falsely called kirk-men, their tacksmen, factors, chamberlains, and extortioners.

Finally, To the king's majesty, and commonwealth of the country, this profit shall redound, that the other affairs of the kirk being sufficiently provided, according to the distribution, of the which hath been spoken, the superplus, being collected in the treasury of the kirk, may be profitably employed, and liberally bestowed, upon the extraordinary support of the affairs of the prince and commonwealth, and specially of that part which is appointed for reparation of kirks.

So to conclude, All being willing to apply themselves to this order, the people suffering themselves to be ruled according thereto; the princes and magistrates not being excused, and they that are placed in the ecclesiastical estate rightly ruling and governing; God shall be glorified, the kirk edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged; Christ Jesus and his kingdom set up; Satan and his kingdom subverted; and God shall dwell in the midst of us, to our comfort, through Jesus Christ; who, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, abides blessed in all eternity. Amen.

THE
FORM OF PROCESS

IN THE
JUDICATORIES

OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

WITH RELATION TO
SCANDALS AND CENSURES.



AN
A C T
OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Approving a FORM of PROCESS in the Judicatories of the Church, with relation
to Scandals and Censures.

EDINBURGH, 18th April 1707. Sess. II.

THE general assembly having this day, and at several former diets, had read in their audience the overtures concerning a Form of Process in the Judicatories of this Church, with relation to Scandals and Censures, which were transmitted by the late general assembly to the several presbyteries, for their judgment thereupon; and having maturely considered the said whole overtures, with the remarks and observations of presbyteries made upon the same, after full reasoning, both in committees and open assembly, upon the several particulars contained in the said Form of Process, the general assembly did, by their votes *nomine contradictente*, and hereby do, ratify and approve the foresaid Form of Process, as now amended, in the whole heads and articles thereof; and appoint and ordain the same to be observed and practised by the respective judicatories of this church, as an act and ordinance of assembly, and as fixed binding rules and directions in the whole matters therein contained, except the 7th, 8th, and 9th paragraphs of the fourth chapter, and what concerns the pressing of the oath of purgation: as to which the general assembly supercedes at this time to enjoin the observation thereof as positive standing rules: but they did, and hereby do, unanimously recommend to the several presbyteries and other judicatories of the church, that they regulate themselves, according to the advice therein insinuated, as they shall see to tend most for edification. The tenor of which Form of Process follows.

FORM OF PROCEEDINGS.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning Church-government, Discipline, Scandals, and Censures in general.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical, in his house, with power to meet for the order and government thereof: and to that purpose, the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hands of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise the same upon all occasions; and Christ hath, from time to time, furnished some in his church with gifts for government, and with commission to exercise it when called thereunto, and has promised his presence to be with them to the end of the world.

2. It is agreeable to, and founded on the word of God, that some others besides these who labour in the word and doctrine be church-governors, to join with the ministers of the word in the government of the church, and exercise of discipline, and oversight of the manners of the people; which officers are called ruling elders: as also, that the church be governed by several sorts of judicatories, and one in subordination to the other; such as kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies.

3. Church discipline and censures, for judging and removing of offences, are of great use and necessity in the church, that the name of God, by reason of ungodly and wicked persons living in the church, be not blasphemed, nor his wrath provoked against his people; that the godly be not leavened with, but preserved from the contagion, and stricken with fear; and that sinners, who are to be censured, may be ashamed, to the destruction of the flesh, and saving of the spirit in the day of the Lord Jesus.

4. Nothing ought to be admitted, by any church-judicatory, as the ground of a process for censure, but what hath been declared censurable by the word of God, or some act of universal custom of this national church agreeable thereto; and the several judicatories of this church ought to take timely notice of all scandals: but it is judged, that if a scandal shall happen not to be noticed, in order to censure, for the space of five years, it should not be again revived, so as to enter in a process thereunto, unless it be of an heinous nature, or become again flagrant; but the consciences of such persons ought to be seriously dealt with in private, to bring them to a sense of their sin and duty.

5. These assemblies or church-judicatories before mentioned, have power to convene and call before them any persons within their own bounds, whom the ecclesiastical business, which is before them, doth concern, either as party, witness, or otherwise, and to examine them according to the nature of the affair; and to hear and determine in such cases as shall orderly come before them, and accordingly dispense church-censures.

6. If a person be charged with a scandal, who lives within the bounds of another parish, the kirk-session of the parish where that person resides, should be desired to cause cite that person, to answer before the session in whose bounds the scandal happened: and the same course is to be followed, in such cases, by the other judicatories of the church, seeing, for order's sake, they should not presume to exercise their authority without their own bounds.

7. The minister of the word, being an office above that of the ruling elder, cannot be liable to the censure of the kirk-session, but to the superior judicatories of the church.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the entering of Processes, Citation of Parties and Witnesses, and taking Depositions; and ancient Fugitives from Discipline.

MEMBERS of kirk-sessions are wisely to consider the information they get of scandals, and consult with their minister thereabout, even before the same be communicate to others, that thereby the spreading of the scandal may be prevented, and it may be removed by private admonition, according to our Lord and Saviour's rule, *Math. xviii. 15.*; which, if amendment follow, is the far better way of gaining and recovering a laps'd brother; whereas the needless spreading of a scandal does sometimes harden the guilty, grieve the goodly, and is dishonourable to religion.

2. When any business is moved in a church-judicatory, whether by information, petition, or otherwise, they are, in the first place, to consider, whether the matter, in its circumstantial case, be proper for them to enter upon; and whether it be orderly brought in, and proper for them to cognosce and discuss it themselves, or prepare it for superior judicatories; and should endeavour to shorten their work as much as with the edification of the church they can, especially as to the head of scandal: but still, on all occasions, the office-bearers in the house of God are to shew all prudent zeal against sin.

3. In proceeding in all causes where there is any person or parties concerned, the judicatory is to see, that, before they proceed, these persons or parties be duly list'd before them, by a legal and timely citation in write, bearing its cause, either at the instance of a party complaining, or at least by order of the judicatory: and if they be residing within the parish, the same may be upon forty-eight hours advertisement; and the execution of the summons, bearing its cause, and made before two or three witnesses insert, is to be returned by the beadle or officer in writing; and the persons cited called at the door: and this is especially to be observed by presbyteries, and other superior judicatories of the church.

4. Sometimes it may be fit that the party be privately spoken to, before any citation be given, or process begun, for their better gaining; in which case the minister is to exercise his own discretion, and take the concurrence of elders and others with him: but if the party, cited as above, appear not, there ought to be a second, and then a third citation given, by the order of the sessions and presbyteries, either personally, or left at their dwelling-house, before the judicatory declare the person contumacious, unless the party be cited to appear before a superior judicatory by reference or appeal; in which case there is not that need of so many citations before the superior judicatory, the party having actually appeared before the inferior judicatory; and being cited *apud acta* to appear before the superior, and the same marked in the minutes, or having been declared contumacious before the cause was brought before the superior judicatory.

5. All citations *apud acta* are peremptory, and if instructed, infer contumacy, if not obeyed.

6. If the person do not appear on the third citation, or upon a citation *apud acta*, and no relevant excuse adduced and verified, though in that case he be censurable for contumacy, yet it may be fit the judicatory proceed to take cognition, either by examining witnesses upon oath, or by other documents, of the verity of the scandals delated against him, before they censure him for contumacy.

7. If the party appear, then the moderator is to inform the person of the occasion of his being called; and to give him, if desired, a short note in writing thereof, with the names of the witnesses that are to be made use of.

8. There seems to be no need of accusers or informers in ecclesiastic processes, where the same are not raised at the instance of a party complaining formally: but the party, if cited by order of the judicatory, is to answer the judicatory in what is laid to his charge; yet so, that if the party cited be found innocent and acquitted, those who informed the judicatory, whether the party require it or not, ought to be noticed, for either their calumny or imprudence, as the judicatory shall find cause.

9. If there be witnesses to be made use of in the process, a list of their names ought to be given to the defenders some time before, or at least at their compareance; and the witnesses ought to be timely cited to give evidence: and if they refuse, after three citations given, and executions returned, may be proceeded with as contumacious; or, if

judged needful, after the first or second citation, application may be made to the civil magistrate, that he may oblige them to appear.

10. Before the witnesses be judicially examined, the accused person is to be called, and the relevancy of the libel discussed: and if the defender compare, he may object against any of them; and if the objection be relevant, and made evident to the judicatory, the witnesses are to be cast: but a person's being the delator or informer doth not hinder him to be a witness, except in the case where he formerly complained for his own interest, or of pregnant presumptions of malice against the person accused.

11. Though there be no relevant objection, yet the witnesses are solemnly to be purged of malice, bribe, or good deed done, or to be done, and of partial counsel.

12. The witnesses are to be examined in presence of the accused party, if comparing: and he may desire the moderator to propose such questions, or cross questions, as may tend to his exculpation; which, if the judicatory think pertinent, are to be proposed: but no accused person is to interrupt the witnesses, or speak during the time of deposition.

13. If the party accused do, before probation, offer grounds of exculpation, to be proven by witnesses, the moderator and clerk, if required, are to give warrant to cite the witnesses, upon the party's charges, the relevancy of the offered exculpation being first considered and sustained by the judicatory: and if the exculpation be truly proven, as to the substance of the scandal, all further proof of the libel and accusation must there sit, and the defender is to be absolved; and if the libel be special as to the time and place of a fact, and the accused more pregnantly allege and clearly prove *alibi*: but if the substance of the scandal be once sustained and deposed upon, there can be no place for exculpation, unless it be as to some extenuating or alleviating circumstances, not contrary to, but consistent with the depositions already taken.

14. If the witnesses cannot subscribe their names to their depositions, the clerk is to mark, that they declare they cannot write; and the moderator is to subscribe the same, whether they can subscribe or not.

15. After the depositions are ended, the parties being removed, the members of the judicatory, at the same, or some after diet thereto appointed, are to advise the cause, and there and then to reason

the affair calmly, speaking always to the moderator, one after another, without interrupting one another, using no reflecting language, or of one another, nor too long harangues or digressions.

16. If any person or persons, under process for scandal, abscond, they shall, after being called before the judicatory, and not comparing, be cited first from the pulpit of the parish where the process depends, and where they reside: and if they do not thereupon appear before the judicatory, before whom the process depends, they are, by order of the presbytery, to be cited from the pulpits of all the kirks within their bounds, to compare before the presbytery: and if they do not then compare, they are to be declared fugitive from the church-discipline; and the same intimate in all the kirks within the bounds of the presbytery, desiring, that if any knows of the said fugitives, they may acquaint the minister or elder of the bounds thereof: and the presbytery are to sit there, until they get further notice of these persons.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Swears, Curses, Profaners of the Lord's-day, Drunkards, and other Disorders of that Nature.

IF may fall out, that one single act of drunkenness, or breach of the Lord's-day, swearing, cursing, scolding, fighting, lying, cheating, or stealing, may be clothed with such circumstances as may be a just ground of process immediately, and even bring the persons guilty under the censure of the lesser excommunication, and suspension from the benefit of the sealing ordinances, and require their appearance, in presence of the congregation, to be rebuked, before relaxation: but the weight of this is duty to be pondered; and church-judicatories, and members thereof, are to consider, whether private admonition of the persons, alleged and found guilty of the above scandals, if not clothed with such circumstances of the bringing them to the public, will tend most to edification, and proceed accordingly.

2. But ordinarily, in all such offences, the guilty, for the first fault, would be spoken to in private by the minister, or an elder, and admonished; and on promise, from a sense of guilt, to amend, they may sit there.

3. But if the person relapse, he should be called before the session, and if found guilty, may be

there judicially rebuked; where the fession, on promise, from a due sense of sin, to amend, may again fill.

4. But if the person amend not after that, the fession should orderly proceed, unless repentance appear, and due satisfaction be offered, till they incur the censure of the lesser excommunication, and suspension from the benefit of the sealing ordinances; under which the censured are to lie, till amendment and reformation.

5. With respect to scandals, the grossness whereof makes it necessary to bring the persons guilty offender than once before the congregation, the rules prescribed by the fourth act of the general assembly, *anno* 1705, are to be followed.

6. If the guilty persons continue in this condition, or lie under the censure of the lesser excommunication a considerable time, and yet be found frequently relapsing in these vices they are censured for, it may be contracted such a degree of contumacy, and so aggravate the crime, as to found a process of the censure of the higher excommunication; which is to be inflicted, or not, as may tend most to the reclaiming of the guilty person, and edification of the church.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Sin of Fornication, Adultery, and scandalous Carriage towards therets.

IN delations about the sin of uncleanness, it falls frequently out, that when the matter is put to the strictest trial, all that can be proven is but presumptions of guilt, or scandalous behaviour, and not the act of uncleanness, the same being a work of darkness; and therefore this should oblige the kirk-session to be very cautious, how to admit the public entering a process without good warrant, where there is not a child in the case, unless the scandal be very flagrant.

1. Many of these actions, which give occasion to the raising a scandal of uncleanness, are such as are not themselves alone publicly censurable, but to be pass'd by with a private rebuke or admonition.

2. Yet some of these actions, which come under the name of scandalous behaviour, may be so lascivious and obscene, and clothed with such circumstances, as may be as offensive as the act of uncleanness itself, and as censurable.

4. If a married woman, whose husband hath been notoriously absent for a considerable time, be-

yond the ordinary time that women use to go with child, be found with child, this also may give ground to a kirk-session for a process against her: but, in this case, judicatories would be prudent in considering well all circumstances; and whether or not the person hath been always of entire fame before, as also how the public fame now runs.

5. When an unmarried woman is known to be with child, the same gives ground to a kirk-session for a process against her: and after she is cited before the session, and appeareth, she is to be interrogate, who is the father of that child? and though, in other cases, the divulging of a secret may be very imprudent, and indeed the raising of a scandal; yet, in this case, where there is a child, whereby there is an undeniable scandal, and the keeping secret of the father a ground of greater offence, and of suspecting many innocent persons, if she discover not the father, she is to be looked upon as contumacious.

6. Prudence may sometimes require, that the person the maneth to be the father of the child be informed thereof, and spoke to privately: and if he deny the same, he is seriously to be dealt with to confess; but if he still deny, then the session is to cause cite him to appear before them.

7. In this process, when the delated father compareth, he is to be interrogate: and if he deny, he is to be confronted with the woman, and the presumptions as particularly held forth as possible; and all along there should be private treating with him, in all meekness, charity, and seriousness: and if, after all this, he deny, though the woman's testimony can be no sufficient evidence against him, yet pregnant presumptions, such as suspicious frequenting her company, or being *seus cum se* in loco suspecto, or in suspect postures and such like, which he cannot disprove to the satisfaction of the session, may so lay the guilt upon him, as to shew him, that there appears no other way of removing the scandal, but his appearance to be publicly rebuked therefor: if he will not submit himself to be rebuked as above, it perhaps may be more for edification, that a true narrative of the case be laid before the congregation, and intimation given, that there can be no further procedure in that matter, till God in his providence give further light, to sit there at the time, than that an oath be pressed, and upon refusal proceed to the higher excommunication: but if the person accused do offer his oath of purgation, and crave the privilege thereof, the presbytery may (if they shall judge it for edification, and removing of the

scandal) allow the same; which may be to this purpose: "I *A. B.* now under process, before presbytery of _____ for that sin of _____ alleged to be committed by me with *C. D.* and lying under that grievous slander, being reputed as one guilty of that sin; I, for ending of the said process, and giving satisfaction to all good people, do declare before God, and this _____ that I am innocent and free of the said sin of _____ or having carnal knowledge of the said *C. D.* and hereby call the great God, the judge and avenger of all falsehood, to be witness and judge against me in this matter, if I be guilty; and this I do, by taking his blessed name in my mouth, and swearing by him who is the great judge, punisher, and avenger, as said is, and that in the sincerity of my heart, according to the truth of the matter and mine own conscience, as I shall answer to God in the last and great day, when I shall stand before him, to answer for all that I do in the flesh, and as I would partake of his glory in heaven after this life is at an end."

8. In taking this oath for purgation, all tenderness and caution is to be used; nor is the session to press any man thereto, but they are to deal with him and his conscience as in the sight of God: and if he offer to give his oath, the judicatory are to accept it, or not, as they shall see cause; and then to proceed to remove the scandal, with the advice of the presbytery, as may be most to edification: but this oath is not to be taken in any case but this, when the presumptions are so great, that they create such jealousy in that congregation and session, that nothing will remove the suspicion but the man's oath of purgation, and when his oath will probably remove the scandal and suspicion: in all other cases, this oath is in vain, and so should not be admitted; and never but by advice of the presbytery.

9. This oath for purgation is to be taken either before the kirk-session, or presbytery, or the congregations, as the presbytery shall determine: and if the oath be taken before the session or presbytery, it is to be intimate to the congregation, that such a person hath taken such an oath; and the party may be obliged to be present in the congregation, and may be put publicly to own his purging himself by oath, and so be declared free from the alleged scandal.

10. After an end is made, as above, with the delated father, the woman is to be dealt with to

give the true father; and if, after all serious dealing and due diligence, she give no other, she is to be censured according to the quality of the offence confessed by her, without naming the person delated by her, the judicatory reserving place for further censure upon further discovery.

11. If the woman who hath brought forth the child, doth declare she knoweth not the father, alleging she was forced, as in the fields by a person unknown, or any the like reason; in these cases great prudence is to be used, the former behaviour of the woman exactly searched into, and the seriously dealt with to be ingenuous: and if she hath been of entire fame, she may be put to it to declare the truth, as if she were upon oath; but not without the advice of the presbytery; and no formal oath should be taken: and if the woman confess she was not forced, but doth not know the man, whether married or unmarried, the same censure is to be inflicted upon her as in the case of adultery.

12. If a person doth voluntarily confess uncleanness, and if there be no child, and the case be brought to the kirk-session, the session is to inquire, what presumptions there are of the truth of the thing confessed, or what may have moved the person to make that confession, whether it floweth from disquietness of mind, or from sinister design; as when a man suing to a woman for marriage is denied, and for revenge, or for to obtain his desire, spreads the report that he hath been guilty with her, they are to be dealt with according as the presumptions upon search are found or not.

13. If it be found, that there is no ground for the confession, and that it is false, the person confessing is to be censured as defaming himself, and likewise as a slanderer of the other party: and without application is to be made by the session to the civil magistrate, that he may be punished according to law.

14. If there be need of witnesses, the directions formerly mentioned, chap. ii. are to be followed.

15. When persons guilty of uncleanness live one in one parish, and another in another parish, the process against them, and censures, are to be before the session of the parish where the woman liveth, or where the scandal is most notorious.

16. If a scandal of uncleanness be committed where neither parties reside, as if persons having their fixed residence in one parish, do commit uncleanness in another parish, or perhaps in the fields,

or in the time of fairs or markets; in these cases they are to be processed and censured where their ordinary abode is, except the place of their abode be at a considerable distance from the place where the sin was committed, and the scandal be most flagrant where it was committed.

17. When there is a scandal of uncleanness, whereof persons are guilty living in different parishes, the session where the sin was committed, is to acquaint the other sessions where any of the persons reside; who are *ex debito* to cause summon these persons to appear before that session where the scandal is to be tried.

18. When a person is convicted of scandal, by a session of another congregation than his own, and the censure of the lesser excommunication is inflicted, the session is to send an account thereof to that session to which he belongs: but there is no need of any other sentence of his own session, to fix the censure on him, but only a public intimation thereof to be made in his own parish.

19. When a person is censured, and absolved from his scandal, in another congregation than where he lives, he is to bring a testimonial of his absolution; which is to be intimate to the congregation he lives in, if the scandal be also flagrant there, otherwise it will be sufficient to intimate the same to the session: and the same is to be done in the case of the profession of repentance, where there has been a sentence of the lesser excommunication.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Appeals from a Kirk-session to a Presbytery, &c.

ALL persons who judge themselves leaved by the procedure or sentence of a kirk-session, may appeal to the presbytery, by declaring and protesting at passing of the sentence; and should thereupon, according to the eight act of the general assembly 1694, give in the appeal, with the reasons thereof, in writ, to the moderator or clerk of the session, within the space of ten days after the time of appealing, and procure extracts thereof; and present the same to the next meeting of the presbytery thereafter, if there be a competent time, at least ten days free betwixt the time of appealing and the meeting of the presbytery: and should then insist in the appeal; wherein, if the appellant fail, the appeal *ipso facto* falls and becomes null, and the ap-

pellant is to be held as contumacious, and proceeded against accordingly by the kirk-session.

2. When an appeal is brought from a kirk-session to a presbytery, the presbytery is to consider, whether the cause is of that nature as it behoveth at length to come to the presbytery, by the course of discipline, before the final determination thereof; as if it be in a process of alleged adultery, or such-like, then the presbytery, to save themselves time, may fall upon the consideration of the affair, without insisting much upon the *bene* or *male appellatum*, though it seems to be preposterously appealed.

3. But if the cause be such as the kirk-session are the competent and proper judges of, even to its ultimate decision, and if there hath been no cause given by the kirk-session, by their breaking the rules of an orderly process, either by the course of the process, or by the incompetency of the censure, the presbytery is not to sustain the appeal.

4. If the presbytery do not sustain the appeal, and find there hath been some fault, passion, or culpable mistake in the appellant, the presbytery is to inflict some censure; such as a reproof before the presbytery, or appoint an acknowledging of their precipitancy before their own session, or such-like, on these appellers they find to have been malicious and litigious, thereby to prevent unnecessary appeals; and that besides remitting back to the session, to stand either to the censure of the session, if it be inflicted already, or to sit themselves during the process, if it be depending.

5. If the appeal be sustained, and yet, upon proceeding on the cause, the presbytery find the appellant censurable, it is always to be minded, that whatever censure be inflicted; to remove the offence he hath given to the presbytery, yet the appellant, if found guilty, is to undergo a censure, either before the kirk-session or congregation he belongs to, such as the presbytery thinks he deserves, else presbyteries will be always troubled with appeals.

6. If, on the other hand, on trial of the process, the presbytery find the kirk-session hath unwarrantably proceeded, either in contributing to the raising of a scandal, or inflicting the censure without a sufficient cause, and thereby the appellant leaved, the presbytery is not only to assilzie the appellant, but to take such ways as may be proper and effectual to vindicate the appellant's innocency, and wipe off the scandal taken at him.

7. Herein the presbytery is to exercise great prudence, doing justice to the innocent, yet so as not to weaken the kirk-session's authority in that congregation, if in justice it can be avoided.

8. But such an emergent may very well occasion the presbytery's giving the minister, and elders of that session, suitable injunctions and rules to walk by, or private admonitions, or to call for a visitation of their session-register.

9. The same method is to be followed, in appeals from presbyteries to synods, and from synods to general assemblies.

10. An appeal being made by parties, should sist the execution of the sentence appealed from, only while the appeal is duly and diligently prosecuted, and may thereby be determined, otherwise not, unless the judicatory appealed to receive the appeal, and take the affair before them; and, in that case, the judicatory appealed from is to sit, until the appeal be discussed.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Processes, which natively begin at the Kirk-session, but are not to be brought to a final Determination by them.

THERE are some processes which natively begin at the kirk-session, which, for the atrocity of the scandal, or difficulty in the affair, or general concern, the session, having the opportunity of frequent meetings of the presbytery to have recourse thereunto, do not determine of themselves; such as scandals of incest, adultery, trisapses in fornication, murder, atheism, idolatry, witchcraft, charming, and heresy and error vented and made public by any in the congregation, schism and separation from the public ordinances, processes in order to the highest censures of the church, and continued contumacy: but the kirk-session having received information of such gross scandals, they are to weigh the same according to the rules and directions prescribed them in processes, which belong to their peculiar province; and if they find good ground for a process, they are to deal with the person accused, to confess that which now cannot be hid nor amended, till satisfaction be made to the church; which, when done, the session is to refer the case, and send an extract of their procedure thereunto to the presbytery.

2. When there is no confession of the scandals above mentioned, the session are not to proceed to

lead probation by witnesses or presumptions, till an account of the matter be brought by reference to the presbytery, as aforesaid; and the presbytery do thereupon appoint the session to proceed, and lead probation: and after probation is led, the same is to be brought to the presbytery, who may inflict what censure they see cause.

3. Sometimes it will fall out, that the process is so clear, as in a case of judicial confession, that the kirk-session may summon the delinquent when before them *apud acta*, to compare before the presbytery, without previous acquainting them thereof: but where there is any difficulty, the kirk-session should inform the presbytery, and take their advice, before a party be summoned before them.

4. When the party or parties compare before the presbytery, if they confess and profess repentance for their sin, then the presbytery, having gravely rebuked, and seriously exhorted the party or parties, are to determine the censure, and prescribe the time and place of the parties, their profession of their repentance publicly in the church of that congregation where the process began, the scandal being there to be taken away; or remit them to the session, to stand either to the censure of the session, or to receive orders thereanent.

5. It is thought more fit, that the delinquents be appointed to remove the scandal in the congregation where the offence is most flagrant, especially if they reside there, rather than in the place where it was committed, if it be not public there; and that intimation of the removing thereof be made in other places, if the judicatory shall find it needful.

6. When persons censured for these grosser scandals, do apply to the kirk-session for relaxation, they may both be privately conferred with, and likewise their acknowledgments heard before the session; but they ought not to be brought before the congregation, in order to their absolution, nor absolved, but by advice and order of the presbytery.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Processes against Ministers.

ALL processes against any minister, are to begin before the presbytery to which he belongeth, and not before the kirk-session of his own parish.

2. The credit and success of the gospel (in the way of an ordinary mean) much depending on the

entire credit and reputation of ministers, their sound doctrine, and holy conversation, no stain thereof ought lightly to be received, nor, when it comes before a judicatory, ought to be negligently inquired into, or, when found evident, ought to be slightly censured.

3. And because a scandal committed by a minister hath, on these accounts, many aggravations, and once raised, though it may be found to be without any ground, yet it is not easily wipt of, therefore a presbytery would exactly ponder by whose information and complaint it comes first before them: and a presbytery is not so far to receive the information, as to proceed to the citation of a minister, or any way begin the process, until there be first some person who, under his hand, gives in the complaint, with some account of its probability, and undertakes to make out the libel. *2do*, Or at least do, before the presbytery, undertake to make it out, under the pain of being censured as slanderers. Or, *3tio*, That the *fama clamejfa* of the scandal be so great, as that the presbytery, for their own vindication, see themselves necessitate to begin the process, without any particular accuser: but the presbytery, in this case, would be careful, first, to inquire into the rise, occasion, broachers, and grounds, of this *fama clamejfa*.

4. All Christians ought to be so prudent and wary, in accusing ministers of any censurable fault, as that they ought neither to publish nor spread the same, nor accuse the minister before the presbytery, without first acquainting the minister himself, if they can have access thereto; and then, if need be, some of the most prudent of the ministers and elders of that presbytery, and their advice got in the affair.

5. If there shall be ground found to enter in a process against a minister, the presbytery should first consider the libel, then order him to be cited, and to get a full copy, with a list of the witnesses names to be led for proving thereof: and a formal citation in writ is to be made, either personally, or at his dwelling-house, bearing a competent time allowed to give in answer to the libel, and his just defence and objections against witnesses, at least ten free days before the day of compearance; and the citation should bear the date when given, and the names of the witnesses to the giving thereof: and the execution bearing its date, with the names and designations of the witnesses, should be made in writ, and signed by the officer and witnesses; which being accordingly returned, he is to be call-

ed; and if he compear, the libel is to be read unto him, and he is to be inquired, if he has answers to give in to the libel, that they may be read and considered, in order to the discussing of the relevancy? and if the presbytery find the same, and that there is cause to insist, they are to endeavour to bring him to a confession, whereby he may most glorify God: and if he confess, and the matter confessed be of a scandalous nature, censurable in others, such as the sin of uncleanness, or some other gross scandal, the presbytery (whatever be the nature of his penitency, though to the conviction of all) are *instante* to depose him *ab officio*; and to appoint him, in due time, to appear before the congregation where the scandal was given, and in his own parish, for removing the offence, by the public profession of his repentance.

6. If a minister be accused of any scandal, and cited to appear before his own presbytery, and do absent himself by leaving the place, and be contumacious, without making any relevant excuse, after a new public citation and intimation made at his own church, when the congregation is met, he is to be holden as confessed, and to be deposed, and censured *instante* with the lesser excommunication: but if, after some time, he do not return, and subject himself to the censure of the church, he may be proceeded against, till he be censured with the greater excommunication, if the judicatory see cause for it.

7. If the minister accused do appear, and deny the fact, after the relevancy is found, the presbytery proceeding to probation, and to find the truth of the matter, all the circumstances are to be exactly canvassed, and the accused heard to object against the witnesses. As also, he should be allowed to be present at the examination, and modestly to cross-interrogate: and then the reputation of the witnesses, and their hability, duly regarded, and the examination considered. If, after consideration of all these, the judicatory shall find the scandal sufficiently proven, they are to proceed to censure, as advised in the case of confession, in paragraph 5th.

8. If the matter laid to the minister's charge, be such practices as, in their own nature, manifestly subvert that order, unity, and peace, which Christ hath established in his church, or unsoundness and heterodoxy in doctrine, then great caution should be used, and the knowledge and understanding of witnesses much looked into; and withal if the errors be not gross, and striking at the vitals of religion, or if they be not pertinaciously stuck unto,

or industriously spread, with a visible design to corrupt, or that the errors are not spreading among the people, then lenitives, admonitions, instructions, and frequent conferences, are to be tried to reclaim without cutting off, and the advice of other presbyteries sought; and unless the thing be doing much hurt, so as it admits of no delay, the synod, or general assembly, may be advised with in the affair, and the same intimate to the minister concerned.

9. If the libel and complaint brought against a minister, be a multitude of smaller things laid together, as several acts of negligence, or other unsuitable actions, the presbytery, in proceeding therein, are to make a presbyterial visitation of that parish to which the minister belongs; and, at the said visitation, are first to see, if any of these things, now laid to the minister's charge, were committed *prior* to the last presbyterial visitation of that parish, and whether they were then laid to his charge; and, if they were not, it should be tried, how they come to be laid to his charge now.

10. If the presbytery find these things laid to his charge, to be committed since the last visitation, or find a satisfying reason wherefore they were not then tabled, they are to inquire, what diligence hath been used in acquainting the minister with the offence taken at these things, when first committed by him, and how far the minister hath been guilty of giving offence, after he knew offence to be taken.

11. It should likewise, in this case, be inquired, whether any of the complainers did first, in a prudent, private way, inform any of the neighbour ministers, of some of these things committed by their minister, who is now challenged, before these offences came to be so many, as to merit a public and solemn trial; and accordingly the presbytery is to judge.

12. If the presbytery find, upon trial, the complaint to resolve upon the minister's having committed such acts of infirmity or passion, as, considering all the circumstances, may be either amended, and the people satisfied, and no such offence taken, or at least not to remain, so as to hinder the minister's profiting the people, and that the offence was taken by the minister's own people only or mainly; then the presbytery is to take all prudent ways to satisfy and reclaim both minister and people, and do away the offence.

13. But before a minister, deposed for scandalous carriage, can be restored to the exercise of the

ministry, there should not only be convincing evidences of a deep sorrow for sin, but an eminent and exemplary humble walk, and edifying conversation, so apparent and convincing as hath worn out and healed the wound the scandal gave.

14. Immediately on the minister's being deposed by the presbytery, the sentence is to be intimate in his congregation, the church declared vacant, the planting thereof with another minister hastened; and never delayed, on the expectation of his being reposed, it being almost impossible, that ever he can prove useful in that parish again.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Processes in order to the Censure of the Greater Excommunication.

SINCE there is a distinction betwixt the greater and the lesser excommunication, it seems that whatever have been the causes of the first process, yet ordinarily all processes that are in order to the greater excommunication, are to be grounded on manifest contumacy, or obstinate continuance in scandalous practices; and, where there is no manifest contumacy, or continuance as aforesaid, the lesser excommunication needs only have place; yet, in some extraordinary cases, the church, according to Scripture-warrant, hath summarily excommunicated persons guilty of netour, atrocious, scandalous sins, to shew the church's abhorrence of such wickedness.

2. Even where there hath been a scandal detected, and contumacy following by not appearing, it would be considered, whether any scandalous practice hath been proven, or not: if not proven, then only the simple contumacy is to be proceeded against, for which it were hard to go a greater length than the lesser excommunication.

3. If the scandal hath been proven, and the censure of the lesser excommunication intimated, as in chapter iii. it seems most reasonable, that there be no farther proceeding, unless the scandal be gross, or of an heinous nature; or that it is spreading and infectious, as in heresies, or schisms, in the church: in which cases, contumacy is to be proceeded against, in order to the greater excommunication.

4. The kirk-session having brought the process to an intimation of the censure of the lesser excommunication, before they inflict the same, they are to refer the affair to the presbytery, bringing their

whole proceeding to be done by the presbytery in with-
out the presence of the people, to have a clear and
full view of the whole.

6. The next business is to give the sinner his full
warning, and to give him the minister's exhortation,
and to signify to him, that the sentence is to
be put up, and to give him notice of the place,
and time, and manner of execution of the sentence.

7. And then the minister, if he should have any
particulars to say, or to do, about the
sentence, or the manner of execution of it,
then to say the same, as he shall see fit, as in
order else.

8. But if the party upon whom the sentence
is pronounced, the party upon whom the sentence
shall be laid, get notice of the same, and after the
time of notice, he shall not do more, but to
stand for the farther execution of it, concerned,
and to move to be heard, that the sentence will
be read and inquire into the particulars of pro-
cedure of the order, and do as to be done, although
the sentence shall be acted.

9. And then the presbytery is to order the mini-
ster of the congregation next Sabbath, after time
of prayer, to go into the congregation, what
time he shall see fit, and to read the
sentence both male and female, and how com-
munications are cut off, and that the presbytery
is to proceed to the banishment, and to
communicate as given to do, and to the party of
the church, to sign and seal the same, and to the dis-
cretion of the church, to sign and seal, if he con-
sider it fitting, that the church will proceed;
and to sign and seal, if the minister is to re-
quire the same, that the church requires him
to sign and seal, as above said, under the for-
mal act of banishment.

10. And there shall be three public admonitions;
and if the presbytery shall intervene between each
admonition, and if, after all, that person continue
in his obstinacy, and contumacious, the same is to be re-
ported to the presbytery; and are thereupon
to appoint public prayers three to be made, in
which the minister is to exhort the congregation,
faithfully to join with him in prayer, for the scan-
dalous, impious, and contumacious person, which
he is to do, and to do so, humbly begging,
that he will not use the field of the impatient,
and every member of the congregation.

11. These public prayers of the church are to
be put up three several Sabbath-days, a presbytery

(where his meetings are more frequent, once a
month at least) intervening betwixt each public
prayer, both to show the church's tenderness to-
wards their typical brethren, their earnestness to
have him reclaimed, and likewise to create a
greater regard and terror of that dreadful sentence,
both in the person, and in all the people.

12. If, after all, the scandalous person makes
no application, but continues impenitent, the mini-
ster, after prayer, is to give sentence, and ap-
point a minister to intimate the same; and to
show the presbytery's resolution to proceed upon
such a Sabbath as they shall name, for pronun-
cing of it, and at once to solemnly in face of the
congregation, either on the party, or some for
him, signify some relevant ground to stop their
procedure.

13. That day being come, it were fit the mini-
ster did preach a sermon suited to that solemn oc-
casion; or at least, after prayer, the minister
should show the congregation, what he is going
about, introducing the narrative of the records,
with a discourse concerning the nature, use, and
end of church-censures, particularly that of the
greater excommunication, if he have not done it
fully in his sermon.

14. Then narrating all the steps of the proceed-
ing in order, showing the church's faithfulness and
tenderness towards the scandalous person, and de-
claring his obstinate impenitency, and that now,
after all other means were used, there remained
only that of cutting off the scandalous person from
the society of the faithful, and intimating the
church's warrant and order to him to do.

15. And before the minister pronounce the
sentence, he is to pray, and desire all the con-
gregation to join with him therein, that God
would grant repentance to the obstinate person,
would graciously bless his own ordinance, and
make the sentence effectual, both to edify others,
and to be a mean to reclaim the obstinate sinner.

16. Then, after prayer, the minister is, with
great gravity and authority, to pronounce the sen-
tence, showing his warrant from our Lord's com-
mand, and the apostle Paul's direction, and reca-
pitulating the presbytery's warrant in obedience
thereunto, and returning the scandalous and obsti-
nate person's behaviour, whom he is to name; he
therefore, in the name and authority of our Lord
and Master Jesus Christ, doth, *in veris de presbiteris*,
pronounce and declare him or her excommuni-
cated, and shut out from the communion of the

‘ Lord Jesus Christ, and God may be glorified,
 ‘ the church edified, and the penitent saved in
 ‘ the day of the Lord.’

2. Then shall follow the sentence of absolution,
 in these, or the like words; ‘ Whereas thou, *N.*
 ‘ hast, for thy sin, been shut out from the commu-
 ‘ nion of the faithful, and hast now manifested
 ‘ thy repentance, wherein the church resteth satisfi-
 ‘ ed, I, in the name of the Lord Jesus, before
 ‘ this congregation, pronounce and declare thee
 ‘ absolved from the sentence of excommunication,
 ‘ formerly denounced against thee; and do re-

‘ ceive thee to the communion of the church, and
 ‘ the free use of all the ordinances of Christ, that
 ‘ thou mayest be partaker of all his benefits to thy
 ‘ eternal salvation.’

3. After this sentence of absolution, the mini-
 ster speaketh to him as to a brother, exhorting
 him to watch and pray, and comforting him as
 there shall be cause; the elders embrace, and the
 whole congregation holdeth communion with him,
 as one of their own: and the absolution should be
 intimate in all the churches where the excommu-
 nication was intimate.

I N D E X.

A

	<i>Page</i>
A ARON's dignity freed him not from judgment	376
Abbey of Holyrood-house burnt by the Englishmen	92
Abbot of Paisley (of many names) arrives from France	83
Abraham and seed, while in, and freed of bondage, differ	315
Act against the mass, and the sayers and hearers of it	242
— for abolishing the pope's authority in Scotland	<i>ibid.</i>
— for destroying the monuments of idolatry	255
— and proclamation for defence of the Papists, &c.	264
Acts anent the thirds of bishops rents, &c.	272
Adam Reid's bold and godly answers	65
Adam Wallace's accusation and answers	125
— is burnt on the Castle-hill for heresy alledged	126
Administration of the sacraments in purity	261
Admonition to the commonalty of Scotland	381
— to the professors of the truth in England	387
— second, and request to the queen regent	191
Advertisement to the reader of God's just judgment	109
— unto the professors of the truth	348
Agreement of this, with other reformed churches	345
Ambassador's letter, of negotiations, with queen of Scots at Paris	256
Ambassadors sent to England, for constant assistance	244
Ambassador from the king of Sweden, for marriage with queen Mary	282
Anointing kings, since Christ, the pope's invention	64
— was formerly a figure of Christ's unction	317
Antichrist's great words and blasphemies	113
Appellation of John Knox to the estates of Scotland	359
Apparel superstitious condemned in the English	350
Application of regal duties to princes and judges	370
Appointment concluded at Perth, presently broken	161

Argyle's answers to the bishop of St. Andrews' articles	137
— charge, at death, to his son, concerning religion	140
Argyle and lord James treat, for agreement at Perth	160
Argyle and lord James desert the queen regent, and avow it	166
Arithe, a friar, his sermon at St. Andrews	72
Arrival of the English ships in the Firth of Forth	266
Articles, thirty-four, against professors of the truth	64
— of appointment at Leith, in July 1559	171
— of agreement at Leith, &c. anno 1560	224
— and petition of the general assembly to the queen, &c.	321
— (ix) required to be ratified in parliament; are answered by the queen herself	328, 329
Affault made upon the Frenchmen in Leith, 1560	222
Affurance (or truce) a few days at Coupar-muir	163
Augustine's words, how kings should serve God	370
Authority and power of kings is not unlimited	460

B

B ALFOUR (Sir James) dissembles and apostatizeth	116
Bands of matrimony between the queen and Bothwell; are married with offence in May 1567; press a bond, and raise men to defend them	353
Banqueting and mirth at the court instead of mourning	369
Beaton (James) Archbishop of St. Andrews, a plurality man	65
Bishop of Glasgow's ridiculous sermon at Air	94
Bishop of St. Andrews' letter of credit to Argyle	135
Bishops intrench on the king's humour and sovereignty	8
— pretend reformation in some circumstances	140
— not feeding the flock are thieves and murderers	200

Blasphemy, and blasphemous expressions	247	Chalmers of Gathgirth's bold words to the queen regent	130
Blood-thedders of Christians are guilty with Cain, &c.	473	Character of bishops, Wolves, thieves, murderers, &c.	256
Bond of mutual defence, in the cause of religion	300	—— of the Hamiltons, by cardinal Beaton	85
—— for defence of the young prince	353	Chatellet and the queen were too familiar; her desire concerning him, and his death	291
Book of discipline, or church-policy, drawn up	244	Christ is ours, and hath done for us, &c.	57
—— subscribed and approved in form	<i>ibid.</i>	—— came not to the disciples till the fourth watch	397
Bothwell (earl) takes Mr. Withart	38	—— and his word, in all ages mistaken	396
—— robs Ormiston, bringing four thousand crowns from Berwick	196	—— uses his word to relieve his people	359
—— is married to Huntley's sister	340	Churchmen engage the king in a war with Henry VIII.	81
—— is divorced from her	353	Church of malignants without the word	113
—— is persuaded to all with the queen, after David Rizzo	343	—— of Rome is the queen's church that she will nurse	277
—— is hurt at the border, visited by the queen, and cured	345	Civil was afforded some respite to God's flock	70
—— his affliction could not await divorce of the king	352	Clawbacks enraged at absolving Mr. Knox	374
—— is put to an assize, for murdering the king	<i>ibid.</i>	Clothes of the dead fall to the hangman	351
—— is pardoned for carrying off the queen, and all other crimes	<i>ibid.</i>	Coldingham's last words, or message to the queen	298
—— his challenge is accepted by several lords	355	Comet, called the Fiery Besom, appears November 1554	129
—— declared murderer, and one thousand crowns bid for him	356	Coiming-irons, why staid by the lords	169
Prothugh in Kyle remonstrates against the trait's Brecknie-craig, why seized by the lords, &c.	324	Commissioners sent to the west by the general assembly	286
Buchanan (George) persecuted, but escapeth	79	Commotions raised by the Gordons at Aberdeen	287
Burning of the bill, a sign of recantation	78	Communication of the earl of Bothwell with John Knox	278
		Communing with the queen regent's party, at Preston	163
		—— second, of John Knox with the queen	280
		Comparison betwixt faith and incredulity	69
		—— between fathers and princes	267
		Complaint in prayer, with confession	409
		Conclusion reasoned and determined at Bononia	319
		Conclusions, five, proved by the reasoning with Lethington	318
		Conditions, in admitting of councils and doctors	280
		Confession of faith, professed in Scotland	251
		Confederacy and league made with England	209
		Congregation, the opposers of Popery, so called	135
		—— and preachers staid at Perth	152
		—— comes to Edinburgh to reform	166
		Conquest of Scotland intended by the French	216
		Contract at Berwick, between Scotland and England	<i>ibid.</i>
		Convention of the estates at Edinburgh, October 21, 1559	192
		—— of the nobility at Edinburgh, why	247
		Conversion of the queen doubtful to some	310
		Convocation of lieges may be lawful or unlawful	302
		Correthie-field fight	287
		Corruption prevails by carnal reasons	262
		Council's answer to the queen of England	260
		Council to the weak in faith in time of trial	409
		Coupar-muir, many assembled without blood, in June 1559	162

C

C ALF with two heads, shewed to the queen regent	129
Calumnies of the queen regent against the lords, &c.	168
—— may prevail for a time	190
Calberry-field, near Musselburgh, not bloody	255
Cardinal Beaton's cruelty, &c. noticed	78
—— is taken and confined, but makes his escape	86
—— imprisoned earl Rothes, lord Gray, &c.	91
—— his cruelty upon some in St. Johnston	<i>ibid.</i>
—— his boasts of security from his enemies	108
—— his castle is seized, May 29th 1546, and he is slain	109
Captives taken in the castle are ill-entertained	122
—— set at liberty in July 1550	124
Castle of St. Andrews besieged in August, until January; and heads of appointment with the nobles	110
—— besieged the second time, July 1547	116
Castle of Semple taken in, and why	244
Causes moving the nobility to oppose tyranny, &c.	189
—— why Christ's disciples knew him not	396
—— of fear in the elect	404
—— why sinners are now persecuted	412
Cecil's letter to John Knox: and the answer	212, 213
Ceremonies abide not the fire of God's word	113

Court, its holy water inchanting to many 265
 Covenant, the first at Edinburgh, December 3d 1557 134
 — the second made at Perth, May 31st 1559 160
 — the third, or bond of defence, at Stirling 172
 — the fourth at Leith, April 27th 1560 220
 — betwixt Scotland and England 228
 — or bond at Air, anno 1562 286
 Creature can never dispute with God without sin 392
 Crown matrimonial, a court solecism, the second time 326
 Cruelty of Scots whores, harlots to the French 222

D

DANCERS, and dalliers with dames, preferred at court 306
 David Rizio, an Italian, becomes great in court 307
 — has over-great familiarity, and is suspected 340
 — gets a seal, like the king's, to use for him 341
 — his character and carriage *ibid.*
 — is slain (justly, p. 124) by nobles, March 9, 1566 *ibid.*
 Dean John Annan declines disputation with Mr. Knox 112
 Dean of Restalrig, a speaker of treason against God 296
 Death of Panter, and Reid bishop of Orkney 131
 — of a French plunderer in a tub 205
 — of Francis king of France, queen Mary's husband 245
 — of Francis made alteration in France, England, and Scotland 249
 Debates in the assembly anent the supplication 284
 Declaration or claim of the blind, lame, &c. against friars 140
 — of the lords against the queen regent's proclamation 186
 Defection general distinguished from particular 375
 Defence just and necessary, against cruelty and tyranny 155
 Delivery of St. Johnston again resolved 151
 Demands of the French ambassador 252
 Departure of the lords from Edinburgh to Stirling 170
 Despitefulness of the Papists at Edinburgh *ibid.*
 Devil reigns by idolatry, superstition, and tyranny 394
 Difference between the person, and the authority 156
 Disciples fore afraid, though troubled at sea before 390
 Discomfiture of the congregation at Leith twice 187, 138
 Disputation accepted with conditions 143
 Dissimulation, or inconstancy, in queen Elizabeth 338
 Distribution of the ministers to several places 229
 Diverse ways of deliverance of believers 409
 Division of the lords lands by the French in fancy 177
 Doctrine of obedience to magistrates 182

Doctrines damnable, 249
 Duke Hamilton's purgation by proclamation 191
 Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow a fool, and the cardinal proud 99
 Duntibers, French dames, and priests, have mass 269
 Dury, bishop of Galloway, his infidel death 131
 Duty of the nobility anent reformation, &c. 134
 — to defend innocents, and bridle tyrants 155
 — of magistrates declared from Rom. xiii. 366
 — of God's people to contend him, &c. 461
 — of magistrates, required in the Scriptures 417
 — of people to covenant solemnly, as did Ash, &c. 2 Chron. xv. 428
 — of all Christ's ministers to resist every usurper, &c. 429

E

EARL of Arran made governor, reasons thereof 86
 — opposition made to him, he renounceth 88
 — is reckoned bastard, and earl Lennox his rival 89
 — joins with the congregation 182
 Earl of Glencairn's resolution provokes many 157
 — hasteth with relief to St. Johnston 159
 Earl Marshal's vote, with solemn protestation 242
 Earl Huntley's odd prayer before battle 287
 — his corps brought to Edinburgh 288
 Earl of Murray denounced rebel, and Argyle 331
 — is constituted and proclaimed regent 357
 Edgar the first king anointed in Scotland, 1100 64
 Edinburgh burnt and spoiled by the English, 1544 92
 Edinburgh-castle, as commanded, shoots at the town 534
 Edward VI. king of England, died 6th July 1553 126
 Enemies of truth are oft great politicians 393
 England's interest is not to let Scotland perish 209
 — called heretic, for renouncing the pope 81
 — their misery may be a mirror to Scotland 379
 — these calamities by the Spanish king 368
 English get strengths delivered to them 93
 — their help and support acknowledged by the Scots 100
 English army enters into Scotland for aid 121
 Epistle to the reader, before Mr. Knox's printed sermon 457
 Equality illustrated by the equal offering, Exod. xxx. 382
 Erskine, captain of the castle, is against the lords 170, 100
 — his plain words to the queen regent 223
 — is against the book of discipline, why 242
 Escape of Mr. Kirkcaldy and others from prison 123
 Examples of the priests resisting Uzziah 317
 — of Paul's appeal to Caesar, improved 363
 — extraordinary, conformable to the law, imitable 316

Examples of good king Hezekiah and Josiah, in reforming religion	367
— of the godly kings of Judah do appertain to Christian powers	369
— of the three children, Daniel, and Ebed-melech	371
Exclamation against England, by Mr. Knox	402
Exhortation by him to the lords, &c. at Coupar	204
— to the clerical minister, or superintendent	250
— to God's people in England, in time of trouble	410
— to England, for embracing the gospel	423
Expatriance of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c.	400

F

FACTS of Pharaoh, and of king Saul, applied	156
Facts of ancient prophets appertain to our age	311
Fact of a prophet, anointing Jehu to execute God's judgments, &c.	316
Faith, what it is, whence, and how it acteth	68
— in Jesus Christ, compared with incredulity	69
— redeth with God's people in greatest danger	406
— not quenched by fear, danger, nor doubting	408
Famine and dearth for idolatry of rulers, &c.	292
Fear is greatest when deliverance is nearest	396
Fiddling and flinging, fiddlers and flatterers, at court	231
Fire from heaven burns corns in both realms	129
Flatterers in courts, a contagious pestilence	418
Form of the election of superintendents, &c.	248
Fortification of Leith, by the French, alarms all	184
Fray among cross-bearers at Glasgow church	100
French galleys, twenty-one, arrive at St. Andrews, 1547	116
— navy arrives, 1549	120
— forces arrive in parcels, 1559	177
French come with their wives and children, why	180
— shew their cruelty on aged, infirm, &c.	197
— many drowned, while coming against us	203
French captain with his band slain in Fife	205
French waste and destroy towns and countries near Leith	219
French faction, their practisings, to raise new troubles	245
— ambassador deals for peace	355
Frenzy discovered in the eail of Arran	280
Friar Forrest burnt at St. Andrews, 1526	76
Friars, &c. burnt for professing true religion	78
— two gray, molest the people hearing Mr. Withart	96
— their opulent convents spoiled at Perth, 1559	153
Frost unusual	306
Furrow (Alexander) his examination and answers	73

G

GENERAL assembly of the church, May 28th 1561, supplicate	254
— in December that year, division of lords at court	270
— in June 1562, handle notable heads of order, &c.	282
— in December 25th, the same year, great complaints, &c.	290
— 25th December, 1563, quick reasonings among members	305
— in June 1564, some nobles assist, and some accuse ministers	307
— in December 1564, answers to Paul Methven's supplication	321
— in July 1565, the church national presents articles, to be ratified by the queen	328
— in December 25th 1565, two heads concluded	339
— appoint public fasting in May	<i>ibid.</i>
— met at Edinburgh, 25th June 1566, supplicate	345
— met at Edinburgh, December 25th 1566, their proceedings	347
— met in June 1567, send letters to the lords	356
— agree on eight articles to be ratified in parliament	<i>ibid.</i>
George Withart (Mr.) came to Scotland in 1544	93
— his words in Dundee, when he was prohibited from preaching	<i>ibid.</i>
— preached at Air, in Machlyne-muir, &c.	94
— returns to Dundee in their calamity	<i>ibid.</i>
— saves the priest, sent there to murder him	95
— escapes a second plot laid for his life, at Montrose	<i>ibid.</i>
— his prophecy anent himself, and the church of Scotland	<i>ibid.</i>
— preached at Leith, Inveresk, &c.	96
— threatened the friars that molested the people	<i>ibid.</i>
— denounced vengeance against Haddington	97
— is taken by Bothwel at Ormiston	<i>ibid.</i>
— is carried from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, 1546	99
— his oration before the prelates,	104
— answers	102
— unjust sentence against him	105
— his prayer before death	106
— his martyrdom; and several sentiments thereanent	107
— his words against Haddington are verified	124
God craves that we should oppose iniquity, &c.	314
— his messengers may appeal from unjust sentences, and civil powers should admit their appeal, and support them	361
— his judgments appear to carnal men rigorous	373

God brings not his people to trouble for hurt 395
 — his word hath power and efficacy with it 400
 — his works are sufficient reason for themselves 405
 — is near to deliver in extreme peril 406
 — his word the only ground of true religion 417
 — his promises are the chambers that his people must enter 471
 Mr. Goodinan, a minister, answered, and is checked 395
 A goose eaten on Friday, cost four men their lives 91
 Gordon, for pursuing lord Ogilvy, is imprisoned 285
 Gospel, what it is, good tidings, &c. 67
 Government of an ill woman is rage without reason 398
 Ground of the Papistical religion, time, councils, multitude 417

H

HADDINGTON possessed and fortified by the Englishmen 119
 — besieged; and a parliament held in the abbey there, 1549, in which they conclude the young queen's marriage 120
 — almost surpris'd by the Frenchmen 121
 — infected with pestilence and famine 124
 Halibouton, a captain, dies, confessing his faith 128
 Mr. Patrick Hamilton is raised a witness, anno 1527 65
 — his determinations of the law, faith, &c. 67
 John Hamilton of Milburn, a famous clerk, illiterate 118
 Duke Hamilton, &c. against the Congregation, at Perth 154
 Hamiltons against Bothwel and the marquis, a fray, &c. 277
 Heads concerning religion concluded by the council 135
 — demanded of the queen regent by Protestants 168
 — of appointment notified by proclamation 172
 Heads that rule over the whole world are two, Christ and Satan 473
 Henry VIII. sends an ambassador, to contract perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland, and marriage 87
 — arrests the Scots ships, &c. for breach of contract 89
 — denounced war, kept merchants, &c. prisoners *ibid.*
 Henry king of France dies in his pride, 1559 169
 Henry Stuart lord Darnley arrives in Scotland, 1565 323
 — is made earl of Ross, and afterwards duke of Rothesay 327. 331

Henry Stuart's banss of marriage, and the queen's, proclaimed 331
 — his and the queen's progress against the Protestant lords, &c. 334
 — is murdered, February 9, 1567, and buried obscurely 351
 — his character, carriage, age, and end *ibid.*
 Honours which magistrates receive of God, should move them to promote his religion 365
 Hope, a trusty looking for of things promised 70
 Hume-castle recovered from the English 121
 Hypocritical ostentation of worldlings with Bibles 87
 Hypocrites are made manifest in the day of trouble 389

I J

KING James born in Edinburgh-castle, June 17, 1566 344
 — is baptized at Stirling with great pomp, December 17th 346
 — is crowned at Stirling in July 1567 357
 Idol, stock Gile, or young St. Gile cast down 131
 Idolatry is no way to be countenanced 127
 — abolished, and images broken in Perth 153
 — erected there again, contrary to the appointment 161
 — is introduced with the queen, and set up 263
 — to be punished without respect of persons 362
 — of a few brings wrath on the multitude 374
 — is the mother of all vice and immorality 419
 — defended is destruction to princes and posterity 420
 Jeremiah's cause and words applied by Mr. Knox 313
 — his case and appeal to the princes improved 361
 Image of old St. Gile at Edinburgh abolished 139
 Imagination by the queen called conscience 268
 Inhumanity of the merciless French at Perth 222
 Instructions to the Scots commissioners that went to Berwick 218
 Intelligence with England grievous to the queen regent 183
 Mr. John Craig's free and faithful dealing with Bothwel, &c. 353
 St. Johnston defends their liberty against lord Gray, &c. 90
 — embraced the gospel of Christ, 1559 152
 — their first assembly for defence of preachers, &c. *ibid.*
 — summoned to surrender, communing there, &c. 164, 165
 An Italian possiet, or French figs, kill nobles 131
 Judgment of the learned in all ages was free 266
 Just cause of appellation, and what is not just 363

K

- K**ENNEDY and Ruffel condemned by the bishop of Glasgow, &c. 79
- King James the Fifth's answer to the cardinal, &c. accusing the lords 82
- foretells his own death; died at Falkland 84, 85
- King Henry's inconstancy and weakness observable 343
- grows into contempt with the queen, and all 245
- complains to the pope, and to Popish princes *ibid.*
- is poisoned at Stirling; recovers at Glasgow 346
- and queen Mary prepare war against the lords 332
- shows displeasure at Mr. Knox's sermon *ibid.*
- march with eighteen thousand to Dumfries, against the lords 337
- Kings may be resisted lawfully by the people 313
- guilty of crimes, should suffer as offenders 318
- Kinghorn taken and possessed by the Frenchmen 204
- Kirkcaldy of Grange valiant against the French 205
- cuts the bridge of Tullibody 206
- Knave, Mr. Knox so termed by a mitred prelate 414
- Mr. Knox enters the castle of St. Andrews, in 1547 111
- his vocation to the ministry by the people *ibid.*
- his first sermon against Antichrist, pope, &c; divers opinions of his sermon; articles drawn from his doctrine disputed 112, 113
- his reasoning with the sub-prior and friar Arbuckil 114
- his protestation, that he be heard ere people judge 116
- his sentiments of the castle of St. Andrews 117
- is detained all winter in the French galleys *ibid.*
- foretells temporal deliverance of, and counsels the captives 122, 123
- delivered, preaches at Berwick, Newcastle, and London 123
- accused of treason at Francfort, escapes *ibid.*
- returns to Scotland at the end of harvest, 1555 127
- preaches frequently, some nobles attending him 128
- called to Geneva, is burned in effigy, and appeals 129
- his second call by the lords from Geneva, March 1556 132
- his third vocation by the lords and churches of Scotland 135
- arrived from France, when preachers were summoned 152
- his oration to the lords at Perth, and message to the queen regent 158
- his resolution to preach, though threatened, at St. Andrews 162
- his letter to the queen regent, October 26, 1559 190
- Mr. Knox's judgment in the deprivation of the queen regent 192
- his sermon at Stirling, on Psal. lxxx. with application 199
- his letters to Sir William Cecil, queen Elizabeth, and lords 206, 214
- his judgment upon suffering the mass again 265
- answers the queen's accusations against him 267
- his judgment of queen Mary first and last 269
- his judgment of the thirds of bishops rents, &c. 275
- his travels in the west 286
- his letter to Argyle 294
- his discharge to the earl of Murray 295
- his discourse of God's mercies, and man's ingratitude 296
- his affirmation anent the queen's marriage *ibid.*
- his discourse to the ladies at court 297
- his form of prayer in three petitions 298
- his letter advertising the brethren to assemble 299
- is called before the queen and council thereupon 301
- his defence against the charge of treason, and answers 302
- his answer to Lethington 309
- his prayer for the queen *ibid.*
- dares sustain no untrue position, on Rom. xiii. 1. 312

L

- L**ADY Forbes's words on Huntley's discomfiture 288
- Lawder a priest, with a roll of cursings, &c. 101
- Law and gospel opposed 68
- Law, though perfect, cannot give life, through our imperfection 236
- Law against adultery, &c. the guilty to be carted 252
- Laws made, anno 1524, against reformation 77
- Leasing of the sons of the father of lies 248
- Leith deserts the Congregation, and surrenders to the French 170
- what title the queen has to it, and how 187
- summoned by the lords, October 25, 1559 195
- besieged more than three months, by eight thousand men 220
- Earl Lennox and his lady imprisoned in the tower, &c. 382
- Lethington reforms the supplication into flattery 285
- his prayer before battle at Aberdeen 288
- his politic practice in England and Scotland 298
- condemns Mr. Knox of treason 301
- gives himself to the devil conditionally 306
- his harangue at the general assembly, 1564 308
- Letter, with demands, to the parliament, 1558 149

Letter to the queen regent, by the Congregation,
at Perth 154
 — to the nobility of Scotland, monitory, &c. 155
 — to the pestilent prelates and shavelings in
Scotland 157
 — third, to the queen regent, by the lords,
July 2, 1559 167
 — of lord James, in answer to the king of
France and queen 174
 — to the queen regent, by the nobility 183
 — by lord James 185
 — by the general assembly, to their brethren
in England, &c. 349
 — with additions, to the queen regent, by
Mr. Knox 411
 Letters minatory to d'Orléans, and other French
men of war 154
 — to the queen regent, by the earl of Argyle
and lord James 164
 — by the king and queen of France, to lord
James, feigned 173, 174
 Liberality of lord James earl of Murray for the
public 248
 Lindisay (Sir David) of the Mount with the re-
formed 111
 Lockhart (Mr. Robert) his negotiations for the
queen regent 190
 Lollards of Kyle, thirty of whom are accused, &c. 1
 Lord James, ambassador, escapes from danger at
Paris 255
 Lords letter to lord Erskine, captain of the castle, &c. 202
 — their first letter to Sir William Cecil, agent
supplies 209
 — abide part at Glasgow, part in Fife 214
 — their answer to the French ambassador's de-
mands 255
 — divide from the brethren in the general as-
sembly 307
 — get no support or supply at Edinburgh 333
 — of the congregation, the chief nobility, are
exiled 338
 — absent, are summoned against a set day *ibid.*
 — not comparing, all must be attainted, &c. 340
 — return, on the king's letter, after David Ri-
zio's death, &c. 342

M

MAGISTRATES superior and inferior, their
power is God's ordinance 240
 Maitland of Lethington, how and why he left
Leith 198
 — his mockage of God in his messengers 229
 Malice of the devil compared to the stormy wind 391
 Marriage contracted by commissioners betwixt king
Edward VI. and Mary queen of Scots, the con-
tract signed, &c. 83

Marriage of lord James earl of Murray 276
 — of Henry Stuart and queen Mary, July
19, 1565 332
 Martick's cruel action at Glasgow 219
 Mary of Lorraine, wife to king James V. arrived,
1537 78
 Mary queen in England, and Mary regent in Scot-
land, both ill 126
 Mask of Orleans, dancing, music, &c. 277
 Mass cannot be defended by the Papists, &c. 247
 — one is more terrible than ten thousand ene-
mies 247
 — is the invention of men, and an abomination 263
 — bended up again with all mischievous solem-
nity 269
 — is the fountain of all impiety and immorality 282
 Mass-mongers taken and brought to judgment 294
 Master of Maxwell's discharge to John Knox,
&c. 300
 — his words in the general assem-
bly 309
 Merriment of an Englishman at St. Gile's fray 131
 Merry fact, a painted lady cast into the river 122
 Walter Miln condemned and burnt, 1558 149
 Ministers of Christ not to wait on the court 282
 — have a double battle to fight, &c. 307
 — their complaint to God against mockers *ibid.*
 — supplicate the king and queen for their
stipends 337
 Modifiers of the ministers stipends appointed 275
 Money received from England by the lords, &c. 213
 — demanded of Edinburgh by the court in
loan 336
 Monks preach against the bishops vices 72
 Monuments of idolatry, great edifices, demolished 153
 Mumbling psalters, or reading homilies, cannot
feed hungry souls 429
 Murder and whoredom discovered at court 305

N

NAVY of ships arrives at Leith, May 3, 1544 92
 Necessity of general assemblies in the church 271
 Negotiation betwixt the queens of England and
Scotland 282
 Nobility absolve Mr. Knox of all crimes alleged 304
 Nobles are born, and sworn protectors of com-
mons 194
 — seek money in loan at Berwick, &c. 196
 — being absent, are denounced rebels, &c. 343
 Norfolk (duke of) treats with the lords at Ber-
wick 216
 — his comfortable message to the besiegers of
Leith 222
 Notes, by Mr. Knox, on Matth. xiv. 22. &c. 388
 — four, on the end of storm and trouble 396

O

OBEDIENCE unto princes must not be unlawful 415

Obstinacy and great blindness in sinners 402

Occasion painted with a bald hind-head, why 295

Occurrences from 1567, when this history ends, till 1644, when it was printed i. to xii.

Offer of the Papists, with reserves, is rejected 148

Offer of sound doctrine to Scotland 384

Offers of the Protestants to the queen regent, &c. 169

Oliver Sinclair, lieutenant general at Holway-mofs road 83

———— is taken without fighting a stroke, flying manfully 84

———— compared to Benhadad at Samaria, *ibid.*

Oration and petition of the Scots Protestants to the queen regent 147

Order of monks and nuns, a new one brought in 306

Order of Paul Methven's repentance 344

P

PAPISTS cannot, or will not come to disputation 268

Passages of Mr. Knox's life and death xiii to xxvi

Paul Craw burnt with a bras ball in his mouth 1

Paul's fact anent a vow, &c. unwarrantable 128

Paul Methven's supplication to the general assembly 321

Parliament enacts reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue 87

———— lawful and free, without the king's presence 243

Peace made between France, England, and Scotland 124

People may execute God's judgments on their kings 314

Persuasions of courtiers to spare the queen's idolatry 263

Peter was not faithless, yet feared and fainted 407

Petition of the Protestants for the rendering of Perth 159

———— of Protestants in other churches 360

———— of John Knox, in answer to an objection 365

———— of such as are persecuted by Papists 413

Pinky-cleugh, or Friday's chafe 118

Piaceboes inform the court against Mr. Knox 296

———— flatter the queen, and deal craftily with Mr. Knox 304

Poor of three sorts, labourers, beggars, ministers 283

Poulet the treasurer compared to Shebna, &c. 393

Power, and the person clothed with it, differ far 312

Practices of Papists to cover wickedness, &c. 116

Prayer for a blessing and assistance to the elected 250

———— with a condition or doubt warrantable 310

———— of the author, and his exhortation to others 395

Prayer-book, compiled by archbishop Laud, revised at Rome, viii

Preachers, Thomas Guillian and John Rough, employed, 1543 86

Preachers in Scotland after king Edward's death, 1553, who 127

———— all put to the horn as rebels 152

———— their free preaching against vice called railing 289

———— are called the salt of the earth, why 389

Prelates, by their fruits, proven evil trees 156

———— some left Antichrist, and adhered to Christ 229

———— termed place-holders of the ministry *ibid.*

———— claim prerogative and privilege in vain 376

———— histories shew whence they arrogate immunity 377

———— the maintainers of their privileges plagued with them 378

Presence of God, symbolical and spiritual signs of it 583

Prince is limited, and his will is not law 225

Princes misinformed against God's servants 266

Proclamation by the queen regent, to delude the people 177. 135

———— by the lords, answering the queen regent's 178

———— of the agreement and peace, July 8, 1560 227

———— by the king and queen, against the lords as rebels 335

———— by the lords, declaring Bothwell a murderer; and another by the queen on the contrary, &c. 354

Professors of the truth called Lollards 64

Promise of duke Hamilton, Huntley, &c. to the lords 172

Prophets touched policy, and reproved the corruptions thereof 182

———— privileges saved them not from death 372

Propositions made by the lords to the king and queen 335

———— two, to be noticed by princes 414

Prosperity succeeding a fact, shews it is approved, how 317

———— for a time proves not religion good 420

Protestation made in parliament, at Edinburgh, 1558 150

———— against the queen's mas, &c. 264

———— in favours of the earl of Bothwell, who is attainted 326

Protestants first petition in Scotland, what 261

Proverb on Pittarro the comptroller, degenerate 275

Provoſt of Ediubargh, &c. ſlain by the Frenchmen 121
 Purgatory proven by the ſilar from Virgil 115

Q

QUEEN Mary born at Linlithgow, November 8, 1542 84
 — her marriage-contract ratified a ſecond time 85
 — re-contracted, or ſold to France, in 1549 120
 Queen mother paſſeth to France with ſome nobles 126
 Queen regent, with her French faction, decrees war againſt England 129
 — grants ſome liberty to the reformed, with reſtriction 140
 — her blaſphemy againſt miniſters and preaching 152, 204
 — her hypocriſy, malice, craft, and falſhood, evident 147, 152, 60, 175
 — her vow to deſtroy Perth, and complaint againſt it 153
 — her falſe ſuggeſtions againſt the Congregation 153
 — is freely warned of the danger and end of her courſe 159
 — ſtoſſing at the lords, requiring reformation 169
 — her fall, flattering letter to duke Hamilton 176
 — her craft, practiſing upon all the lords, &c. 184
 — can make no promiſe ſhe can keep, or the lords credit 161, 189
 — her letter and credit by lion-herald to the lords 192
 — order of her ſuſpenſion, and articles againſt her 192, 193
 — deprivation intimate to her, with the council's letter 195
 — her joy and behaviour at the French victory, &c. 197
 — her malediction to ill counſellers 221
 — her cruelty expreſſed againſt the Proteſtants 222
 — her miſerable death in the caſtle, June 9, 1560 223
 — her burial four months thereafter in France 254
 Queen of England's letter to the Scots lords, &c. 258
 Queen Mary's arrival from France, Auguſt 19, 1561 263
 — with her came dolor, darkneſs, and all impiety 263
 — her firſt practice is flattery, and pretending conſcience 265
 — her firſt conference with John Knox 265 to 268
 — is amazed, and her countenance altered 267
 — her firſt progreſs to Stirling, Perth, &c. 269
 — her firſt fray fancied in Holyrood-houſe 270
 — diſallows all conventions of the church 271
 — her mirth and dancing until the morning 280
 — viſits the north, where deviſed troubles ariſe 285

Queen Mary's marriage variously ſkild of her ſelf 269
 — chides Mr. Knox for his ſplendours in the papit, weeps 297
 — liberates the imprifoned Papifts, and viſits the welt 298
 — her carriage, when ſhe had Mr. Knox's portrait 322
 — ſhews her purpoſe to marry lord Darnley 324
 — her letter to the town-council of Edinburgh 325
 — is once preſent at a Proteſtant baptiſm 331
 — commands four Proteſtants to be ſequeſtred, &c. 331
 — writes circular letters to many of the lords, &c. 331
 — is more afraid of falling, &c. than of ten thouſand men 332
 — declares ſhe would ſtudy revenge for David Rizo's death 341
 — retires early, with the king, &c. to Dunbar privately 342
 — intends to pardon all the attainted lords, to be avenged on the ſlayers of David Rizo 343
 — bears a man-child in Edinburgh-caſtle, June 19, 1566 349
 — viſits Bothwel, lately hurt; her paſſion at Jedburgh 345, 349
 — grants the Proteſtants petitions 347
 — goes to Glagow, to viſit the king, recovering there 351
 — pretends a neceſſity to take arms againſt the lords, &c. 354
 — ſends Bothwel off, and ſurrenders to the lords, &c. 355
 — is ſent priſoner to the caſtle in Lochleven 356
 — ſubſcribes a renunciation of the crown, &c. 357
 Queſtion, If the queen's idolatrous maſs may be hindered 299, 314
 Queſtions anent reformation, with answers 145, 200

R

RAITH (the laird) ſuffers death, for writing to his ſon 129
 Readers not allowed to adminiſter the ſacraments 351
 Reasoning between the queen and Mr. John Knox 262
 — betwixt ſecretary Lethington and Mr. John Knox 308 to 319
 Reconciliation betwixt the earls of Arran and Bothwel 270
 Reformation by the lords of St. Andrews, in 1559 162
 — of religion pertains to civil powers 367
 — belongs to all who hope for life everlaſting 382
 — of ſome diſorders in England is required 428
 Reformers moved to take up the ſword of juſt defence 145
 Relief brought by lords and lairds to their brethren 159,

Religion among the people, attended with two inconveniences	423
----- vain and idolatrous, what so called	360
----- is to be tied by the word of God	381
----- corrupted, brings a corrupt life with it	313
Romero to enemies designs, by the duke of Buckingham's death	vi
Repentance requires that religion be reformed, kept pure, &c.	428
Reiby (James) burnt, 1422, for testifying against the pope	63
Reward of dancers, said to be to drink in hell	281
Right that princes have to the patrimony of the church	275
Riot committed in Edinburgh by three lords	276
Robin-Hood, a foolish play, turned to a proverb	253
Roger (John) a black-friar, godly and learned, is murdered	92
Rhyme, by the earl of Glencairn, upon the gray-friars	80

S

SANDILANDS of Calder, the church's commillioner to the queen regent	146
Sands (Andrew) took two French ships in the Firth of Forth	205
Satan has learned two things of the world, what	367
Scots made in St. Giles's church, for sealing Leith	115
Scots spoiled and burnt, in June 1549	165, 166
Scroll of the nobility, held heretics by prelates, given to king James	82
Sea not dicing and flowing for twenty-four hours	306
Security of the English, besieging Leith, slays many	220
Sentence pronounced against Mr. Knox appealed from	360
Sharp sentence against idolaters, executed	403
Sermon preached by Mr. Knox, upon Isa. xxvi. 3, &c.	455
Seton (Alexander) a black-friar, his positions concerning the law, &c.	74
----- his accusation, and bold witty answer to the bishop	221
----- his letter to king James V. from Berwick	75
Sheep at length know the voice of their pastors	401
Ship called is a figure of Christ's church	371
Shelair, dean of Restalrig, his hypocrisy detected	132
Skirmish with the Frenchmen at Pettiear	104
Skirmishing at and near Dyfart with the French	205
----- at Leith, where three hundred French fell first	220
Slaves of Satan, how princes are so termed, &c.	311
Spaniards are the sons of pride and superstition	399
Speech of an old matron, when Scoun was burning	156
Spence of Condie condoles Mr. Knox's case	301
Stirling taken by the lords, preventing the French	166

Straiton and Goulay, two gentlemen, burnt, 1534	77
Subjects no less bound to believe than kings	382
----- may require true preachers from rulers	315
----- do offend oft with their princes, how so	222
----- shall be punished with their princes, why	315
Supplication of the Protestants to the parliament	29
----- to the council, requiring several articles	254
----- of the professors of the gospel, for justice	276
----- by the assembly to the queen, against the mass, &c.	252
----- against idolaters, mass-mongers, and others	324
----- of the ministers to the queen, for their stipends	343
----- by the general assembly to the lords, against wrongs, &c.	347
Support fought by the lords from England, and way	187
Suspension of the queen regent from authority	193

T

TARBAT, a priest, served with Easter-eggs at the market-cross	325
Tempest of wind and rain impedes the army's march	333
Temptations of God's people in England, 1554	408
Thanksgiving for deliverance from the French	228
Thieves on the borders, fifty taken, and executed	282
Threatenings qualified without any battery	330
Throgmorton comes ambassador from England	326
Tippet, surplice, &c. badges of idolatry	350
Tithe of fish demanded by bishops agents	77
Tokens of love between the two queens	321
Townsmen imprisoned for David Rizio's death	343
Transubstantiation overthrown by Thomas Cranmer	292
Treason among the council, 1559, discovering all	196
Treason it is to conceal treason in others	279
Treatise of justification by Mr. Balnaves, printed 1584	122
Trial of Paul Meffon's adultery at Jedburgh, who is convicted, and excommunicated	290, 291
Trial of one's faith, in declining times, &c.	409
Trumpet, first blast	431
----- contents of the second blast	452
Tuesday's chase, near Haddington, 1544	120
Tyranny of the Frenchmen is hateful to the Scots	221
Tyranny cruelly contrived and practised	245
Tyrants cannot cease to persecute Christ's members	394

U

Unfaithful are all in bondage to one tyrant	311
Unthriffts of the time, and court-chaplains, admonished	282

V

VARIANCE betwixt the earl of Murray and Mr. John Knox 295
 Victory to be found in the crofs of Chrift 412
 Vilions of Sir James Hamilton and Thomas Scot to king James V. 79
 Vocation of God makes none tyrants, &c. 249
 Votes anent removal of the queen's maſs 319

W

WHOREDOM and idolatry agree well together 222
 Whoſe ear, and delivers not the innocent, is guilty 313
Why and what produce a ſad affirmative 262
 Why all are held guilty of common corruption 314
 Why no law was executed againſt the Gentiles, being idolaters 374
 Why God lets tribulation abound and continue 397
 Why Peter was ſuffered to ſink, and to fall after 405
 Why we have leſs pretence of excuſe than Peter had 407

Wickedneſs of biſhops is ſheltered at the court 187
 Wickedneſs muſt ſometimes declare itſelf, &c. 359
 Will ruled, inſtead of law, &c. at the court 250
 Willock (Mr. John) his ſermon returned to the king 100
 ----- his diſcourſe aent the queen regent at a penſion 102
 Wincheſter upbraided of the clergy and ingratitudinal 399
 Wind that blew in the days of king Henry VIII. 394
 Windram (Mr. John) his ſermon againſt heresy, &c. 100
 Word of God, ancient laws, and golly counſels, ſafe topics 360
 ----- is powerful, and moves great multitudes ſometimes 473
 Words of the dying queen regent may warn other princes 210
 Works, though good, make us not righteous, nor good, &c. 73
 Worldly princes are conſpired againſt God, &c. 438
 When the goſpel was embraced by the Scots, and how; the denominations of the country and people; of the Cullers; of Palatine; and his intralling of the church to Rome; paſſages of hiſtory, in the ſeveral ages, until the Reformation. xxvii. to lx.

CONTENTS of the BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE, and FORM OF PROCESS.

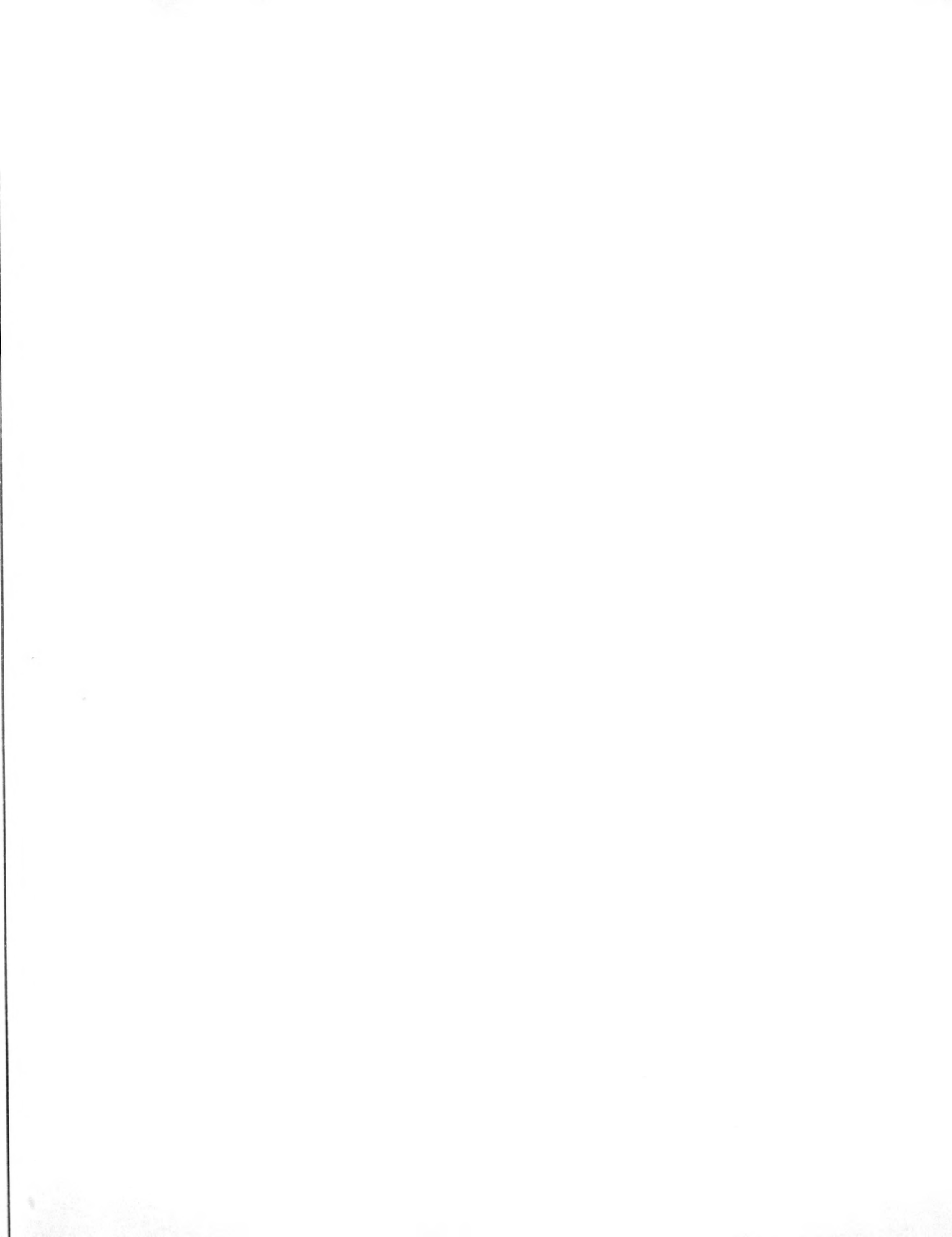
THE Books of Diſcipline 405
 The preface 487
 Act of the general aſſembly, for clearing and confirming the ſaid Books, &c. 493
 Act of parliament, for ratification of the liberty of the true kirk, &c. 503
The Firſt Book of Diſcipline.
THE firſt head, of doctrine 505
 The explication of the firſt head *ibid.*
 The ſecond head, of ſacraments 506
 The third head, touching the abolishing of idolatry 507
 The fourth head, concerning miniſters, and their lawful election *ibid.*
 What may enable any perſon that he may not be admitted to the miniſtry 508
 Explication *ibid.*
 Admiſſion *ibid.*
 For readers 509
 The fifth head, concerning the proviſion for the miniſters, and for the diſtribution of the rents and poſſeſſions juſtly appertaining to the church 515
 The head of the ſuperintendents 516
 The names of the places of reſidence and ſeveral dioceſes of the ſuperintendents 517
 The election of ſuperintendents *ibid.*
 For ſchools 514
 The neceſſity of ſchools *ibid.*
 The times appointed to every courſe 515
 Of the erection of univerſities *ibid.*
 Of readers, and of the degrees and time of ſtudy *ibid.*
 Of the ſtipends and expences neceſſary 517
 Of the privileges of the univerſity *ibid.*
 The ſixth head, of the rents and patrimony of the church 518
 The ſeventh head, of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline 519
 The order for public offenders 521
 Perſons ſubject to diſcipline 522
 The eighth head, touching the election of elders and deacons *ibid.*

The discipline, concerning the policy of the church	523	Chap. XI. Of the present abuses remaining in the	
For prophesying, or interpreting of the Scriptures	525	kirk, which we desire to be reformed	<i>ibid.</i>
Of marriage	526	Chap. XII. Certain special heads of reformation,	
Of burial	527	which we crave	242
For reparation of the kirks	528	Chap. XIII. The utility that shall flow from this	
For punishment of those that profane the sacra-		reformation to all estates	544
ments, &c.	<i>ibid.</i>		
The conclusion	529		
Act of the secret council, 17th of January, anno			
1570	531		

The Second Book of Discipline.

CHAP. I. Of the kirk and policy thereof in		AN act of the general assembly, approving a	
general, and wherein it is different from the		Form of Process, &c.	547
civil policy	533	Chap. I. Concerning church-government, disci-	
Chap. II. Of the policy of the kirk, and persons		pline, scandals, and censures in general	549
and office-bearers to whom the administration is		Chap. II. Concerning the entering of processes,	
committed	534	citation of parties and witnesses, and taking de-	
Chap. III. How the persons that bear ecclesiasti-		positions; and absent fugitives from discipline	550
cal functions are to be admitted to their office	535	Chap. III. Concerning swearers, cursers, profaners	
Chap. IV. Of the office-bearers in particular, and		of the Lord's-day, drunkards, and other scan-	
first of the pastors or ministers	536	dals of that nature	551
Chap. V. Of doctors, and their office; and of the		Chap. IV. Concerning the sin of fornication, adul-	
schools	<i>ibid.</i>	tery, and scandalous carriage tending there-	
Chap. VI. Of elders, and their office	537	to	552
Chap. VII. Of the elderships, assemblies, and dis-		Chap. V. Concerning appeals from a Kirk-session	
cipline	<i>ibid.</i>	to a presbytery, &c.	554
Chap. VIII. Of the deacons and their office, the		Chap. VI. Concerning processes, which natively	
last ordinary function in the kirk	539	begin at the kirk-session, but are not to be	
Chap. IX. Of the patrimony of the kirk, and dis-		brought to a final determination by them	555
tribution thereof	<i>ibid.</i>	Chap. VII. Concerning processes against mini-	
Chap. X. Of the office of a Christian magistrate		sters	<i>ibid.</i>
in the kirk	540	Chap. VIII. Concerning processes in order to the	
		censure of the greater excommunication	557
		Chap. IX. Concerning the order of proceeding to	
		absolution.	559

THE END.



BR
385
K6
1790

Knox, John
The history of the
reformation of religion

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

