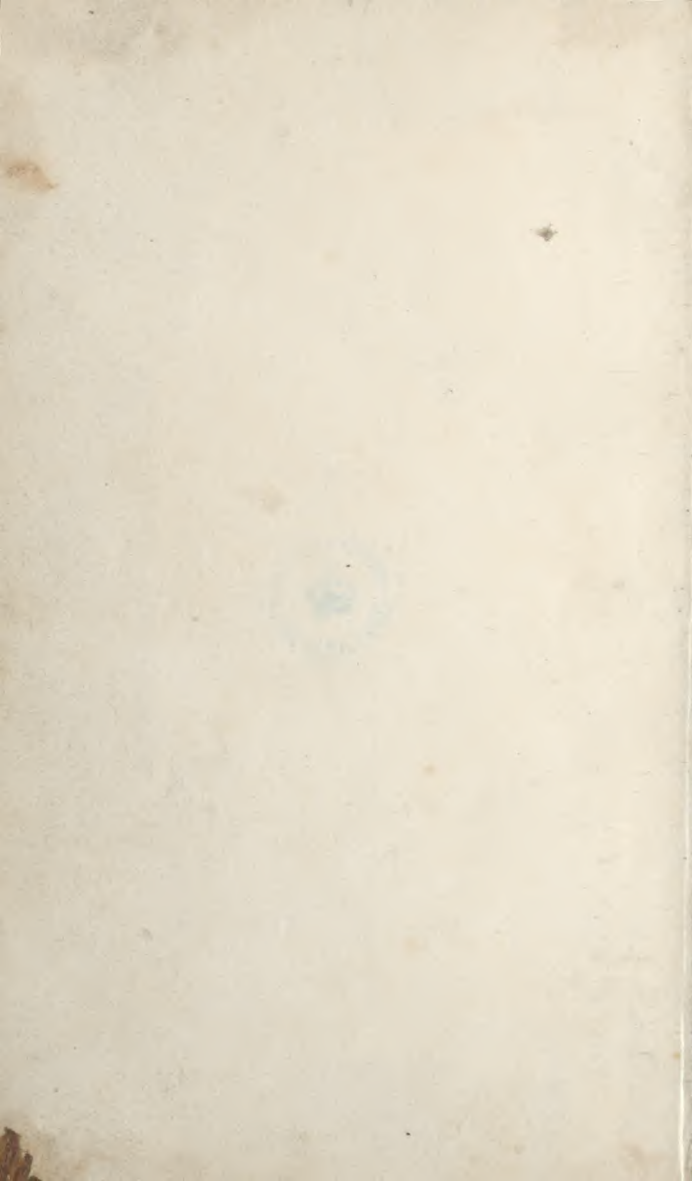
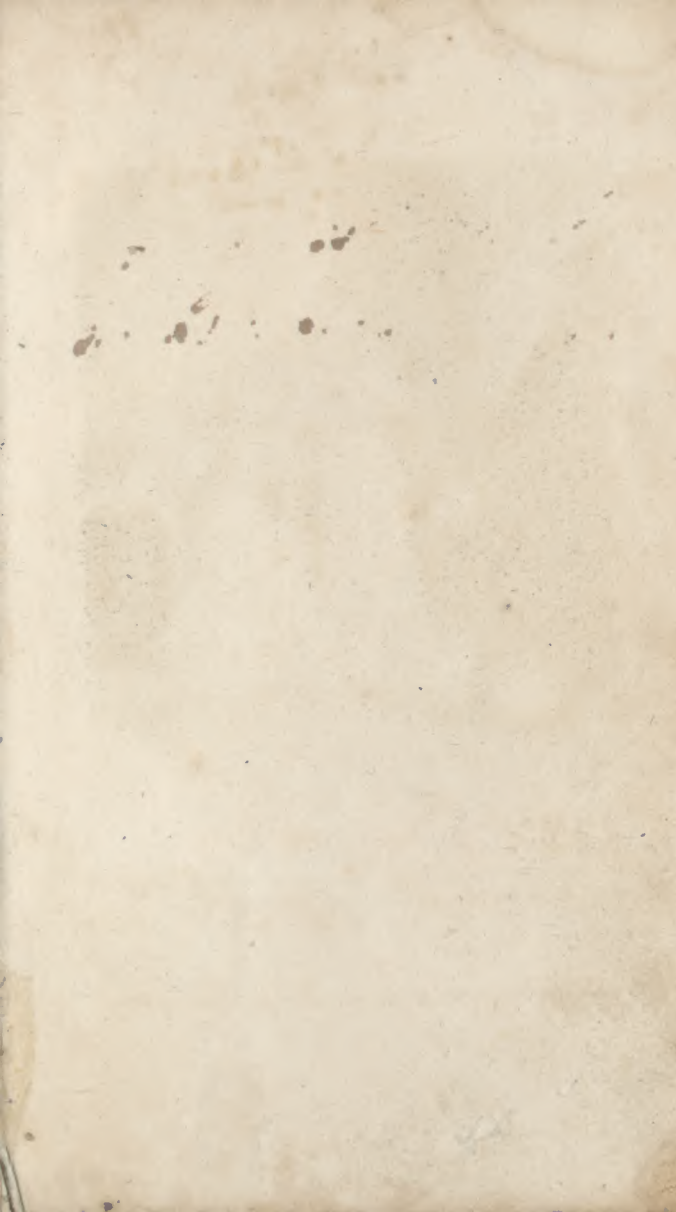




ABS.1,76.300











W K C W H  
HISTORICAL MEMOIRS  
LIBRARY

JOHN KNOX;

CONTAINING A

Sketch of the Scottish History

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERIOD OF HIS DEATH;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REFORMATION  
IN SCOTLAND.

~~~~~

“What I have been to my country, although this unthankful age do not acknowledge, yet the ages to come will be constrained to testify.”—*Knox*.

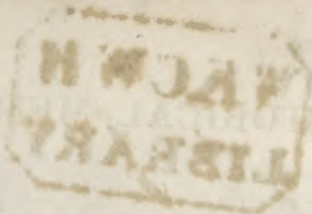
=====

EDINBURGH:

ARCHIBALD ALLARDICE AND CO.

AND W. OLIPHANT, 22, SOUTH BRIDGE STREET;  
M. OGLE, GLASGOW; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL, AND  
J. NISBET, LONDON; AND R. M. TIMS,  
DUBLIN.

1824.  
W K C W H  
LIBRARY

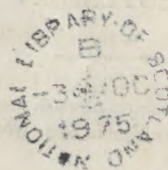


JOHN KNOX

Journal of the Scottish Mission

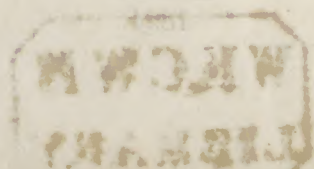
BY JOHN KNOX, MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN SCOTLAND, AND  
BY THE REV. JOHN KNOX, MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN SCOTLAND,  
AND BY THE REV. JOHN KNOX, MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN SCOTLAND.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION, FROM THE  
FIFTH OF JULY, 1706, TO THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1707.



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY JAMES KNOX, AT THE PRESS OF THE  
SCOTTISH MISSION, 1707.





TO THE

REV. STEVENSON M'GILL, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE COLLEGE

OF GLASGOW,

&c. &c.

WHOSE sentiments so congenial with those of the Reformer—whose exertions to inculcate and maintain that purity of our Church on which it was originally established—and whose zeal in suggesting and warmly recommending the erection of a Monument at Glasgow to the Memory of the subject of this Memoir, have procured him universal esteem—this LIFE OF KNOX is respectfully inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

Edinburgh, Nov. 1824.

REV. ELIZABETH M. M. M.

REMARKS OF THE REV. ELIZABETH M. M. M.

ON

THE

Whose sentiments so congenial with those of  
the Reformation—whose exertions to incalculable  
and maintain the purity of our Church on  
which it was originally established—and whose  
zeal in suggesting and warmly recommending  
the erection of a Monument at Glasgow to the  
Memory of the subject of this Memoir, have  
procured him universal esteem—the late Dr.  
Knox is respectfully inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

London, Nov. 1822.

## PREFACE.

---

A LIFE of JOHN KNOX had been long a desideratum in Scottish biography. The work was at last executed in a manner creditable to the acknowledged genius of its author; and, on its first appearance, found its way into the library of every man of letters. But as Dr M'Crie's Memoir is a large, a learned, and a costly production, it has hitherto been of little service to ordinary readers in the middling ranks of life: These, notwithstanding their piety and a desire to become acquainted with the transactions of this, confessedly the most important, period of our history, are still but partially informed on the subject of the Reformation. This imperfect knowledge is to be lamented for their own sakes, and on account of the appeal which has lately been made to the Scottish peasantry in the West, to contribute

to the erection of a Monument in memory of our illustrious Reformer. The more they are made acquainted with the exertions of Knox, the more liberal will be their contributions, and the more will they venerate his piety, his purity, and his firmness. To aid, then, in the erection of a monument, which ought to be a NATIONAL undertaking—to rekindle those sentiments of fearless independence which rendered the founders of our faith so distinguished—to dissipate that indifference to the growing corruptions of Presbyterianism, which has of late become one of the most alarming traits in the character of our people—to instil into the mind of the young and the pious the ennobling principles by which Knox was actuated—and to incite them to emulate his example in purifying our church, in defending its rights, and in advancing the glory of our Redeemer's cause—is the object of the following work. If the exertions of the author should prove useful in these respects, his most earnest desire will be gratified. If otherwise, the conviction that his object was laudable will afford consolation.

As many of the readers, for whose perusal this life is intended, are but indifferently acquainted with the history of their country, and as a familiarity with it is indispensable to a proper appreciation of Knox's character, there is given, in the introduction, a brief sketch of the History of Scotland to the period of his birth; and, in the course of the biographical narrative, a detail of the more prominent transactions is carefully kept up. So that this work, besides containing a life of the Scottish Reformer, also furnishes a short outline of the Scottish annals from the earliest times to the establishment of the Reformation.

As the facts which are narrated in the following sheets are well known to every historical reader, it has been deemed unnecessary to crowd the pages with references to the authorities from which they are taken; more especially as the readers of this work will probably have neither inclination nor opportunity to consult the originals. It may be sufficient to state generally, that Knox's own history, the Journal of his secretary,

Bannatyne, and the writings of Calderwood, Petrie, Keith, Spotswood, Buchanan, Robertson, Laing, M'Crie, and Cook, have all been brought into requisition. In justice to himself, the author will only add, that he is not aware of having taken any liberty with works lately published. That the work may prove useful in promoting the glory of God, and the salvation of man, is the fervent prayer of

THE AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH, Nov. 1824.



## INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

---

By way of Introduction to the LIFE OF JOHN KNOX, it may not be improper to sketch a brief outline of the ancient history of Scotland, leading to a connected view of the principal facts which happened in the period in which he lived. It is not proposed to enter into a minute detail of the progress of the history; but merely to give a very general view of the Scottish annals prior to his birth.

There is hardly any country, neither distinguished for great population nor extent of territory, whose history is more interesting than that of Scotland. This is necessarily the consequence of the many ages during which it has been inhabited by the same race—

who have enjoyed a continued independence from time immemorial: Nor can the reign of Edward I. or the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, be mentioned as any thing but very transitory exceptions to this inviolated independence of our native country. Our history is also interesting on account of the courage and unconquerable spirit of its natives, and other characteristics not less prominent.

The history of Scotland, anterior to the time of John Knox, has been, with propriety, divided by historians into three periods. *The first*, including the time from the origin of monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II. being altogether obscure, is more adapted to the research of antiquarians than to the sober disquisitions of the historian. *The second*, from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts to the death of Alexander III. is more worthy of attention. In this period truth first begins to dawn with a feeble but a gradually increasing light. *The third* from the death of Alexander III. to the birth of Knox, is most interesting; and should not only be carefully read, but minutely studied. In this period important events are correctly narrated, and their causes minutely explained—characters are drawn, and manners described.

The Roman eagle was twice brought across

the channel by the armies of Rome, under the command of Julius Cæsar. The first attempt to invade the provinces of Britain was made opposite to Gaul, with an insignificant equipment of military and naval forces. On the 26th of August, in the 55th year before the commencement of the Christian era, after a hard contest, in which his men fought to the neck in water, Cæsar effected a landing at Deal. But it was to little purpose. The year was so far advanced—his forces were so inadequate to the warfare—and the Caledonians were so formidable—that he was glad to make the best of his way back to Gaul before the setting in of the equinoctial gales, although he had almost done nothing, except obliging them to promise hostages for their future obedience.

But the intrepid spirit of the Roman was not to be intimidated by the imputation of a miscarriage, which he had incurred. Next summer he made the invasion on a much greater scale. He brought with him 20,000 veteran troops, divided into five legions, a very considerable body of hardy Gauls, and a fleet amounting, in all, to about 800 sail. After having had several engagements with the natives, in which he was generally successful—having traversed Kent and crossed the Thames, he contented himself

with imposing a tribute on the nations dwelling on the banks of that river, and exacting hostages for its payment. With these, and a numerous assemblage of prisoners, the principal spoils which the island could then furnish, he returned to the continent.

His successor, Augustus, was more a man of letters than of arms. Instead of commencing or even renewing any plans of conquest, he wisely resolved to confine the Roman empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and farthest boundaries. This most excellent example of policy and moderation, although followed by the immediate successor of that illustrious emperor, was soon abandoned for one which finally proved the ruin of that mighty empire. The conquest of Britain was the first exception to the golden system of Augustus. The proximity of its situation to the coast of Gaul seemed to invite the Roman arms; while revenge for their former defeats, avarice, and ambition, urged on the attempt. A war was undertaken by Claudius, who is said to have been the most stupid of all the Roman emperors; maintained by Nero, the most savage; and finished, after an endurance of 40 years, by Domitian, the most timid. At the conclusion of this war, by far the

greater part of the island we inhabit submitted to the Roman yoke.

The conquest of Britain was prosecuted with the greatest energy under the government of the last emperor, whom we have mentioned as having been remarkable for his timidity. But little of the merit of this conquest belonged to Domitian, further than that of having employed in the undertaking the celebrated Agricola, one of the ablest and most prudent generals of antiquity, and whose conquests have been handed down to us in the immortal pages of Tacitus, who may, perhaps, be styled the greatest historian the Roman empire ever produced. In the life of Agricola, we are informed by Tacitus that this distinguished general commenced his conquests in the south, and gradually extended it northwards in proportion as he got the territory annexed to the dominion of Rome. When he conquered England, and made the attempt on Scotland, he found that his hardships were but beginning. The brave Caledonians disputed every inch of ground, and gradually fell back upon their resources. At last Agricola reached the Grampian mountains, where a formidable enemy waited his arrival, and where the natives had mustered all their force, as if resolved to determine the fate of their nation by a single

blow. The battle which followed was not inferior, in any regard, to that of Cannæ, Pharsalia, Bannockburn, or Waterloo. Tacitus has given us the orations delivered by the two leaders to their respective armies when on the eve of engaging. That of Galgacus, the leader of the Caledonian tribes, is accounted, by Gibbon, the finest oration recorded in history, and is certainly well entitled to be engraven on the memory of every Scottish patriot. It is not now possible to decide whether these harangues, as thus recorded, were really spoken by the generals. But even granting that they are the mere inventions of the historian, they establish a point very honourable to our ancestors—namely, the high idea entertained, in that remote era, of Scottish valour, and the proud spirit of independence with which the Romans were convinced the Caledonians were actuated.

The battle was fought, and the Caledonians were defeated—but not subdued. They left Agricola in possession of the field; but they fled into the mountains that they might rally their forces and return to the combat. When the Roman general saw their determination to conquer or die, he wisely contented himself with securing the most fertile parts of the territory he had conquered, by drawing a line of



military stations across the narrow neck of land which divides the island by the Friths of Clyde and the Forth. This wall runs almost entirely along the line of the Forth and Clyde canal, and the remains of it are observable to this day. But the Romans found it very difficult to maintain even this territory, protected as it was. The Emperor Adrian, on account of the difficulty of defending so distant a frontier, was obliged to contract the limits of the Roman province, by abandoning this line of forts, and building a rampart of earth which stretched from the Tync to the Solway Frith. The territory between these two was alternately in possession of the Romans and of the Caledonians. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, the old boundary was, for a considerable period, reëstablished by Lollius Urbicus; and, to secure it still more, an earthen rampart was erected in the line of forts which Agricola had formerly constructed.

Although the Romans thus maintained, for many years, a footing in Scotland, still all their efforts to conquer the natives were vain. Emperors, who had carried all before them in other quarters, were worsted in every point in Scotland. Severus, who had risen to power by his merits as a commander, resolved to terminate

his military career, and to prove his invincibility, by completing the long but hitherto fruitlessly attempted conquest of Britain. To accomplish his purpose, he proceeded, in person, to the island, with the flower of the Roman army under his command. As he was an expert general, and was supported by a formidable and well-disciplined army, he forced his way to the very extremity of the island. But what of that?—The natives, with a prudence worthy of their noble cause, avoided a general engagement. Like the Russians with Bonaparte in 1812, they hung unseen on the rear and flank of the Roman army, and kept up a harassing and desultory warfare. The Romans had great difficulty in pursuing the Caledonians through the woods and defiles of the country. The mode of warfare—the nature of the country—and the severity of the climate—cost the indefatigable emperor upwards of 50,000 of the best troops in the world. Severus, determined to gain his object by perseverance, skill, and bravery, at last compelled the brave Caledonians to sue for peace. To defend the southern parts of the island from the inroads of the Scotch, he crected, from sea to sea, in the same line that Hadrian had formerly done, a wall of stone, strengthened by fortresses and numerous cas-

ties, and of so noble a structure that the historian, Spartan, describes it as being the greatest ornament of the empire. While Severus was thus indefatigable in his exertions to subdue the ancient inhabitants of Britain, he ended his earthly career at York—he having been the only one of the Roman emperors who died in our island.

The construction of these ramparts may be considered as an admission that Scotland could not be subdued without greater efforts than the object to be obtained was worth. Of all the countries which the Romans tried to conquer, Caledonia, defended by its barren mountains and inaccessible forests, successfully withstood their attacks. A variety of reasons may certainly be assigned for the fortunate issue of the struggle. The distance of Scotland from Italy—the contempt which the Romans entertained for it—the natural strength of their country—and, above all, that native valour, fierce and determined spirit of the Scots, who deemed war and even death less intolerable than subjection and slavery under the Roman yoke, are a few of the most obvious.

After the death of Severus little mention is made of the affairs of Britain by the Roman historians, except of a rebellion of the legions

quartered there, and of a usurpation of the imperial dignity by the governors. The period soon approached when that enormous fabric of the Roman Empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, peace and civility, over a great part of the world, began gradually to fall in pieces. Of the causes which led to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and the separation of Britain from its authority, it is unnecessary to give a minute detail. For many years Italy had lost its military spirit, while the legions had been recruited from the frontier provinces. These bordering barbarians, by being thus introduced into the service of the Romans, added discipline to their native bravery. Allured by the richness of the prize, the northern barbarians, in the reign of Areadius and Honorius, assailed the empire, and pressed, with their incumbent weight, the state, already unequal to the load which it sustained. Instead of arming the enervated people in their own defence, the distant legions, in whom the emperors alone had confidence, were recalled. Britain being a remote province, not much valued by the Romans, the regular forces which guarded it were from time to time withdrawn for the defence of the capital, and centre of the empire. In this way our island was abandoned without defence to

every invader. The Picts and Scots instantly embraced the opportunity of making incursions on their more effeminate neighbours in the south. They broke over the Roman Wall, no longer defended by Roman arms, and threatened the whole province with depredation and subjection, plunder and devastation. The Britons, on making application to Rome, procured a legion, who, having repelled the invaders, returned to the protection of the capital. No sooner were they gone than the Caledonians renewed the attack, on which the legion returned again and chased them into their ancient limits. But the Romans, now reduced to extremities at home, resolved to leave the Britons to themselves, and to relinquish all claims to their allegiance. That they might leave the island with a better grace, they repaired the wall of Severus, which the Britons could not do for want of skilful artificers. After having done the inhabitants this last service, the Romans bade a final adieu to the island, about the year 448, near 500 years after their ancestors had first landed in it, under the command of Julius Cæsar. Their long residence in the island had polished the rude inhabitants, who were indebted to their intercourse for the art of writing and the use of numbers.

Even the great and the good Agricola introduced laws and civility among the Britons—taught them to raise the conveniences of life—reconciled them to the Roman language and manners—and instructed them in letters and science.

Ancient Caledonia was, by the retreat of the Romans, left under the dominion of the Scots and Picts. The first reference made by the Roman historians to the Scots is about the end of the fourth century. They were probably a colony of Gauls—their affinity to whom appears from their language, manners, and religious lights. They first settled in Ireland, and afterwards landing on our coast, opposite to that island, fixed their habitations in the western part of Caledonia, which they occupy to this day. The origin of the Picts is much disputed. Some contend that they were of Scandinavian, others of British or Celtic extraction. According to the most probable authorities, they are the genuine descendants of the ancient Britons. Be that as it may, the Scots were termed *the men of the hills*; and lived in those parts of Scotland which rise irregularly into wild and barren hills or lofty mountains, the intervening valleys of which alone are fit for tillage, and were in those days immense forests occupied



by deer, or employed in pasturing cattle. The Picts, on the other hand, were *men of the plain*, who occupied the level and fertile country on the eastern coast of Scotland, which, even in its rudest state, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn. As the customs, manners, occupations, and interests of the Scots and Picts were totally different, mutual animosities, and fierce and bloody wars were carried on for ages between them. The Highlanders were hunters or shepherds, and despised the inhabitants of the Lowlands, to whom they applied the epithet of *corn-eaters*. Even in modern times, those of the Scots or Highlanders who were accused of cowardice in battle, were compelled to live upon porridge made of oatmeal, as inferior or degrading food. From the wandering life which the Highlanders generally led, according to Gibbon, they acquired the expressive name of Scots, which in the Celtic tongue signifies *wanderers*.

It is not our intention to bestow any minute detail on the barren and fabulous annals of those remote periods. For several centuries, fierce and savage wars were waged between the men of the hills and those of the plains, in which the powers of both were greatly exhausted. At length Kenneth Macalpine, heir and

representative of the Scottish regal line, mounted the throne. The fabulous historians of the period represent him as having been the sixty-ninth king of the Scots. However this may be, he was certainly a man of no ordinary attainments. When he acquired the crown the affairs of the kingdom were in the most deplorable condition. He defeated the Piets in several bloody engagements; in the last of which, fought near Seone, the king and all his nobles, together with their best troops, were left dead on the field. This was the death-blow to the Piets. They were then obliged to fly to other countries, or to incorporate with their conquerors. From this engagement they were no more heard of as a distinct nation. Nor were military conquests the only circumstances in the history of Kenneth worthy of record. He did not content himself with merely enlarging the boundaries of his kingdom. He governed it with great ability—he maintained peace at home by the excellence of his laws, and secured tranquillity abroad by the respect which his warlike character inspired.

We have already mentioned, that the barbarians who occupied the northern provinces assailed all at once the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and finally overturned it. These sa-

vage nations buried the whole of western Europe in ignorance and barbarity. When learning and civilization were driven from Rome they found a safe retreat in a sequestered island off the coast of Argyleshire. In the year 563, the celebrated monastery of Iona was founded by St Columba, a native of Ireland, who was nearly allied to the kings of Scotland. Here, for a period of 200 years, the chief and almost only seminary in Europe existed. From Dr Smith's Life of St Columba it would appear, that the monks of Iona shed a lustre on the nation to which they belonged, and were received and honoured abroad as men of extraordinary piety and wisdom. Their influence throughout Europe was by no means insignificant or ill directed. Principally through their laudable exertions upwards of twenty religious houses were erected in Germany, twelve in Lorraine, and many more in other parts of the Low Countries. Besides contributing to the establishment of many others of the Continental universities, they were nearly the sole founders of the celebrated university of Paris. On this account the Scots were wont to enjoy greater privileges there than those of any other nation, not even excepting the natives of Picardy and Normandy, who were feudal subjects to the French monarchy. In this way the revival of

learning in Europe, after the long night of Gothic Papal darkness, may be said to have originated with the natives of Scotland.

In time, Iona itself, sequestered as it was, and notwithstanding the high celebrity it enjoyed, became exposed to the attacks of the Danes and Norwegians, who, unfortunately, were not more disposed to favour learning or piety than the Goths and Vandals had formerly been. They repeatedly pillaged and burnt the monastery, and put its defenceless monks and abbots to the sword. But it was not till about the year 1093 that the western Highlands, and of course Iona, came under the confirmed dominion of the Norwegians. From this period the College of Iona, although it continued to exist, began to decline. Ever after, its connexion with Great Britain and Ireland was in a great measure cut off.

From the period of Kenneth's conquest of the Picts the history of Scotland would merit attention, had not a peculiar calamity, occasioned by the malicious policy of Edward I. of England, rendered it altogether uncertain. That monarch, having called in question the independence of Scotland,—with a view to establish the validity of his claims, seized the public archives, ransacked churches and monasteries, and, by force and fraud, possessed himself

of the historical monuments tending to prove the freedom of the kingdom. Some of these he burnt, and others he carried with him to London. On this account, our sources of information, prior to his time, are some imperfect chronicles which escaped his rage, and a few facts relating to Scotland, recorded by foreign writers. These broken fragments were first collected in the fourteenth century by John de Fordun, whose history was copied in many monasteries, and the thread of whose narrative was, by different monks, brought up to the sixteenth century, when John Major, Hector Boethius, and the classical George Buchanan wrote their histories.

From these authorities, such as they are, we learn, that the incursions of the Danes and Norwegians began as early as the reign of Kenneth, and continued for a period of several hundred years. These northern barbarians, impelled by starvation at home, and excited by the hopes of plunder abroad, poured in swarms upon the coasts of France and England. In France, where they were opposed only by the degeneracy and dissensions of Charlemagne's posterity, they acquired the province of Normandy, and became the terror of all the maritime, and even inland countries. They also visited this island in their frequent excursions. They avoid-

ed coming to general engagements. They ran their small vessels easily up the creeks and rivers, which having been drawn ashore, entrenched and guarded, they scattered themselves everywhere, carried off the inhabitants, cattle, and goods, hastened to their ships, and disappeared to make another similar incursion elsewhere. After holding England in continual alarm for a considerable period, greedy of power and of slaughter, they came almost as a nation, overrun the country, and seated themselves on the throne, from which they were driven by Alfred, than whom no greater monarch or citizen ever appeared in any age or nation. The piratical Danes were not quite so successful in Scotland. Although they brought under subjection the Orkney and Western Islands, and even, for some time, gained a permanent settlement on the coasts of Caithness and Moray; yet, after having been totally routed in two engagements,—the one at Lunearthy at Perth, the other at Largs,—and often defeated in smaller battles, they were compelled to give up their possessions in the Western Islands and on the shores of the Moray Frith, and to bind themselves by a solemn oath never again to return to Scotland as enemies.

Our third period, from the death of Alex-



ander III. to the birth of Knox, behoves to be more minutely detailed, as it is better known, and rendered interesting on account of the repeated attacks made by the English on the independence of Scotland. The exertions of the English kings to subdue Caledonia were carried on with great force and ability, and were productive of much misery to the Scots. Upon the death of Alexander, and of his grand-daughter, Margaret of Norway, the right of succession belonged to the descendants of David, Earl of Huntington, third son of David I. And Robert Bruce and John<sup>r</sup> Baliol, as such, became the illustrious competitors for the Scottish crown.

As Bruce was the son of the second daughter, and Baliol the grandson of the first, the point to be settled was no less intricate than important. As each of the rivals was supported by a powerful faction, arms alone would have determined the dispute, had not the nation, to avoid the horrors of a civil war, chosen Edward as umpire. Owing to Edward's deceitful policy, this judicious arrangement had well nigh proved fatal to Scottish independence. Under the pretence of solemnly settling the point, he collected all the Scottish barons at Norham, where, by threats and promises, he induced them to surrender the

independence of their country, and to intrust him with the keeping of its strong holds, that he might be the more able to deliver the kingdom to him whose right he should find preferable. Having found Baliol the more obsequious of the two, he conferred the crown upon him. Edward, having availed himself of this state of affairs to acquire authority, aimed at bringing the kingdom under dependence to him. He alleged, as his excuse for doing so, that the Scottish kings held their crown as feudatory to those of England; and he prevailed on Baliol to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the English crown—to profess himself the vassal of England—and to submit to every condition which the sovereign he acknowledged was pleased to prescribe. In a word, he at once assumed the master, and ruled with so high a hand, that not only the barons, but even Baliol himself mutinied. Edward instantly drove the pageant king from his throne, and grasped at the crown, as fallen to him by the rebellion of his vassal.

The conquest of Scotland would probably have been achieved at this critical period, had not the justly celebrated Sir William Wallace stepped forward to save his country. History does not record a character more distinguished for

valour and genuine patriotism, integrity and wisdom, than this hero, to whom the fond admiration of his countrymen has ascribed so many fabulous acts of prowess. When Scotland was deserted by its chiefs—torn by faction—and oppressed by a foreign foe—single-handed, he stepped forward to rally the friends of liberty around his banners, and, by his boldness, to revive the broken spirit of his countrymen. He defeated the English wherever he encountered them, and finally drove them back into their own country, where he, for a time, made the English feel those horrors arising from a destructive invasion which they had so long inflicted on the Scots. Edward, having afterwards put forth his whole energies, totally routed the Scottish army. Still, while Wallace lived, he esteemed the conquest insecure. Nor did he disdain to stoop to the basest treachery to secure his person, and compass his death. Having been betrayed by the wretch in whom he had confided, he was bound in chains and sent to London, where he was tried as a rebel against a sovereign whom he had never acknowledged. To the indelible disgrace of Edward's memory, the hero was condemned as a traitor, and forthwith put to death.

About this period, Robert Bruce, grandson

of Baliol's competitor, began to assert his own rights, and to defend and to vindicate the honour of his country. This distinguished prince, the Alfred of Scotland, defended his crown with greater firmness—surmounted greater difficulties—and was, ultimately, crowned with more signal success—than any man of ancient or modern times. The nobles, ashamed of their former baseness, and enraged at the indignities they had received, crowded to his standard; and, by their courage, attachment, and fidelity, bore him through his various and unparalleled distresses. To crush him at once, the English monarch invaded Scotland with a powerful army. Many battles were fought, with various success. The Scots, though often defeated, were never subdued. The prudent valour of Bruce—the ardent zeal of the barons—and the national enthusiasm of the natives, all panting for liberty—were more than a match for the advantages Edward derived from superior numbers or wealth. The war was waged, with little interruption, for a period of seventy years. Scotland was five times invaded by a conquering enemy; and, during the struggle, 200,000 Scotchmen perished in battle. Besides sustaining several losses in various engagements, Edward II. who had renewed his father's attempts to unite Eng-

land and Scotland by conquest, was defeated by Bruce at Bannockburn. At this, the greatest battle ever fought in Britain since that of Hastings, 60,000 of the English army were cut to pieces, and Edward himself narrowly escaped with his life. In the end, Bruce not only kept possession of the throne of his ancestors, but he also secured the independence of Scotland by ruling with a discretion and authority superior to that of any of its former monarchs. After restoring peace and tranquillity, his first endeavour was to heal the wounds of his country, which had bled so long and so profusely. Anxious to serve his beloved subjects after his death, he left instructions behind him for the conduct of his successors.

The son of Robert Bruce, David II. although a minor, succeeded his father. During the minority, Edward Baliol, aided by England, and supported by the disaffected Scottish nobility, forced the young king to retire to France, and took possession of the throne. After an absence of nine years, he returned and regained his kingdom. But he did not inherit, with the crown, his father's valour or success. On the contrary, he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by the English under Edward III.

On the death of David, the illustrious family

of Stuarts succeeded to the sovereignty of Scotland in the person of Robert II.; and his kingdom, in the life of the first of that celebrated line, was exposed to less calamity than any of his successors. After a reign of 19 years, which, although chequered with various fortunes, was, upon the whole, successful and glorious, he died at an advanced period of life in the Castle of Dundonald. It was in this reign, and on the 19th of August, 1388, that the famous battle of Otterburn was fought. Here the Scots gained a great victory, although the English were three times more numerous. On the part of the English, there were taken, or killed and wounded, nearly 8000 men. Among the prisoners, were Henry Percy, and many other no less distinguished warriors. The Scots lost, in all, scarcely 300 men; but among them was the brave Earl of Douglas, who, when he fell mortally wounded, exclaimed,—“Thanks be to God, there are few of my ancestors who have died in their chambers, or in their bed.” In fact, most of them perished in the field, fighting for their country.

In the person of Robert III. began the calamities of the Scottish kings, than whom, for a time, there never was a race of monarchs more unfortunate. It was during his reign that the



lamentable battle of Homeldon, so destructive to the Scots, was fought. His eldest son, Prince David, was a youth of such depravity that it was found necessary to confine him. Nor are suspicions wanting that he was starved to death by his uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, who had an eye to the crown. His son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, was to have been sent to France, where he might be free from the intrigues of his ambitious uncle, but was captured at sea by the English during the continuance of a truce, and ungenerously detained a prisoner for nineteen years. When the news of so grievous a domestic and public calamity reached the already disheartened parent, he became overwhelmed with grief, and very soon died of a broken heart, at Rothsay Castle, in Bute.

As both the Duke of Albany and Murdo, his son, aspired to the crown, and, in the meantime, governed the kingdom as regents, they used every endeavour to prolong the captivity of James. To strengthen their hands, they shared the spoil of the monarchy with the nobles who connived at their enormities. On the arrival of James from England, where he had received a liberal education, he found Scotland a scene of anarchy, fraud, and rapine. His anxiety to restore the blessings of a regular government

brought upon him the resentment of his nobles, who knew no liberty but license,—who esteemed the punishment of crime a cruelty—who accounted the salutary strength of government despotism—and who considered the necessary taxation tyrannical extortion. James, too haughty to submit, declared—“that although he himself should lead the life of a dog, yet, with the help of God, the key should keep the castle, and the bush secure the cow.” But, alas! all his exertions for the benefit of his subjects were unavailing. His administration, vigorous as it was, engendered a conspiracy to which, on the 20th of February, 1437, he fell a sacrifice. On the first intimation of the conspiracy, he disbanded his army, and retired to a monastery near Perth, where he was murdered in a most barbarous manner. He was a prince of great abilities, and conducted himself with much prudence. His great misfortune was, that his maxims and manners were too refined for the period. Had his nobility been more civilized, his love of peace, justice, and elegance, had gained him their universal esteem. Such was his admiration of science and fondness of learning, that he often attended at the University of St Andrew’s, where the professors delivered their lectures. He conferred on that

seminary most of the valuable privileges it enjoys, while he still more effectually encouraged the cultivation of literature by rendering proficiency in it the certain method of acquiring civil and ecclesiastical promotion.

James II. was also a minor when he ascended the throne ; but was fortunate in having his affairs intrusted to Chrington, who had been the able minister of his father. The most remarkable feature in the reign of this prince was his eager endeavours to curb the overgrown authority of his nobility, and the barbarous policy with which he prosecuted his design. William, the sixth Earl of Douglas, contemning the authority of an infant prince, almost openly aspired to independency. Chrington, having decoyed him and his brother, by promises, to an interview in the Castle of Edinburgh, murdered them both. Upon which William, the eighth Earl of Douglas, united against his sovereign nearly one half of the kingdom. But having ventured to meet the king at Stirling Castle, on his solemn promise of being safe, he was urged to abandon the confederacy. Upon the Earl obstinately refusing to do so, the infuriated king drew his dagger, and, plunging it into the earl's heart, said—"If you will not, this shall." This base conduct of the king filled the nation with

horror, and roused the earl's vassals to arms. They marched to Stirling—burnt the town—and would have besieged the castle had not a compromise ensued. They afterwards both took the field, and met near Abercorn. Here, as the earl's army was superior in numbers and in valour, a single battle might have raised Douglas to the throne. While the army impatiently expected the signal to engage, Douglas ordered them to retire to their camp, in consequence of which his nobility deserted him that very night; and the poor earl, despised and forsaken by all, became an exile and a beggar. Some time afterwards, at the siege of Roxburgh, while the king was overlooking the firing of some pieces of ordnance, one of them unexpectedly burst—a splinter struck his thigh—produced a great effusion of blood, and occasioned his instantaneous death.

The reign of James III. was disastrous, and his death tragical. Destitute of the abilities of his father or grandfather, his government was feeble and tyrannical. Instead of making the nobles his companions and favourites, he shut himself in Stirling Castle with musicians, fencing masters, masons, tailors, smiths, and such like. The nobles felt justly indignant at the neglect with which they were treated; and in

the end, after having, to no purpose, warned him by murdering his minions, they entered into a conspiracy to drive him from the throne. The armies of both met near Bannoekburn, and the king's forces were defeated. In the flight, James fell from his horse; and, having been discovered in a mill, the place to which he was conveyed, he perished by the hands of an assassin.

The character of James IV. was dignified with every quality becoming a young and a noble mind. He was, by nature, brave, generous, and munificent. Never did Scotland, as a separate kingdom, enjoy greater prosperity than during his reign. Justice was strictly administered—every useful art and science was patronized—laws were passed for the establishment of schools, and for the teaching of Latin. Methods were taken upon to introduce civilization into the Highlands and islands, and plans were adopted for promoting the fisheries, as sources of industry and national wealth; and also for encouraging plantations, orchards, and hedges. Between the king and the nobles there was confidence on the one hand, duty and affection on the other. With all these advantages, James was a Stuart, and of course was unfortunate at the close of his life. From a spirit of

chivalry, and the ardour of his courage, and, above all, from his connexion with France, he was induced to undertake an invasion of England; and, such was the zeal of his nobles, and other subjects, for the glory of their king, that he was supported by the most gallant army that ever crossed the border. But he had unfortunately formed an attachment to an English lady, in attendance on whom much precious time was lost. And, although he delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame, he had no experience as a general, and consequently lost several opportunities of attacking the enemy to advantage. The English waited their time; and, by a single blow, almost annihilated the Scottish army. King, nobles, and vassals, from mutual attachment to each other, fought until they were cut to pieces. When the issue of the fatal day was no longer doubtful, the nobles thronged around their king, and defended him to the last. The king, twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of noblemen, and about ten thousand barons and persons of inferior birth, were left dead on the fatal field of Flodden. Of James IV. it has been justly said, that his faults were few but fatal.

We must not omit to mention that, by the marriage of James IV. to the daughter of

Henry VII. of England, the union of the two kingdoms was ultimately effected; and the two nations who, from their earliest infancy, had been engaged in perpetual wars and reciprocal destruction, were concentrated into one powerful state.

In the history of James V.'s reign, a more minute detail is requisite, as it was then that the dawning of the Reformation began in Scotland. A narrative of the condition of the church, and the state of parties in the kingdom, will enable the reader more fully to comprehend the motives, and more highly to appreciate the conduct, of Knox.

James V. became King, by his father's untimely death, when an infant of a year and a half old. Of course, his subjects suffered all the evils resulting from a long minority. The Duke of Albany, a man of genius and enterprise, was appointed regent during the minority. Being a native of France, and having, on that account, esteemed the power of kings to be supreme, he strenuously endeavoured to curb the nobility, and to extend the royal authority. With this view, he put to death Lord Home, and banished the Earl of Angus, two of the most powerful nobles in Scotland. By doing so, however, he did not intimidate the nobles.



Reluctantly convinced of their independence, and of his own want of power, he, after a series of unsuccessful struggles, voluntarily retired to France. The king, although he was then only thirteen years old, assumed the reins of government with the advice of eight persons, who attended him by turns, and assisted him in the administration of public affairs. Although James had been educated among men who strove to keep him ignorant, and who basely ministered to his most irregular passions, he, at the commencement of his administration, showed some spirit, firmness, and prudence. When the ambitious Earl of Angus not only endeavoured, by removing some of his colleagues and intimidating others, to procure the sole management of the king, and when he tried to confine him as a sort of prisoner within his own palace—to treat him with little respect, and to deprive him of all power—the youth did not conceal his indignation or resentment. After vainly endeavouring to secure the heart of the king, Angus resolved to make sure of his person by surrounding him with spies, and watching all his motions. But it was to no purpose. James, having made his escape from Falkland, fled to the residence of his mother at Stirling Castle. No sooner was this decisive step taken,

than the nobles, actuated by resentment to Angus, and affection to their king, repaired to his court from all quarters of the country. After having made a feeble attempt to recover his authority, and after having endured much misery and escaped many dangers, Angus finally took refuge in England.

The overbearing manner in which James had been treated by Angus induced him to follow the example of his father in humbling the nobles. The miscarriage of their schemes led him to adopt a more profound plan, and to follow it out with greater steadiness. At this period the church was esteemed a third estate, and had great influence in Parliament. They possessed a great portion of the national wealth, and an authority superior to that derived from riches. Unlike the Roman Catholic clergy of any other country, their power depended entirely on the crown. Ever since the struggle in the twelfth century between King William and the Pope in regard to the appointment of the bishop of St Andrew's, and since the refusal, on the part of Alexander III. to allow the Scottish clergy to pay the king of England a tenth of their benefices, although ordered to do so by the church, the popes affected, in some measure, to neglect Scotland as a poor and dis-

tant kingdom, and permitted its kings to exercise powers unknown to them in other countries. James possessed the whole patronage of the church, and had no difficulty in getting the clergy to promote his designs against the nobles, who had, on their part, long despised the clergy, envied their power, and aimed at their wealth. Knowing the disgust and mutual animosities of the two parties, and feeling himself secure of the concurrence of the most powerful, James proceeded to repair the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and to fill them with arms and ammunition. He treated the nobles with coldness, and, latterly, with contempt, and bestowed his offices of trust on the clergy, who were men of genius and intriguing habits, far superior to the nobles. He banished the Earl of Bothwell without sufficient reason—he beheaded the Master of Forbes without evidence of guilt—and burnt the sister of the Earl of Angus for *witchcraft*. Yet the nobles, incapable of acting with unanimity, brooked his hatred and bore his severity.

It is difficult to say how long matters might have gone on in this way, had they not been checked by a false step which the nobles did not fail to take advantage of, and by a new train of circumstances altogether unforeseen.

Long before this period, Wickliffe, a native of Yorkshire, promulgated opinions which struck at the root of papal despotism. These were widely circulated and cordially embraced, especially by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, both of whom testified the sincerity of their belief by allowing their bodies to be burned at a stake before they would recant. Soon after the appearance of Wickliffe, two men, who had endeavoured to introduce a purer religion into Scotland, suffered for supporting his tenets. Towards the end of the fifteenth century numbers in the west of Scotland declared their dissatisfaction with the faith as established by the church of Rome. Early in the sixteenth century Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Fern, was called upon to suffer for the reformed religion. Having become acquainted with the most eminent reformers in Germany, he boldly opposed the corruptions of the church. The avidity with which his discourses were received by the people alarmed the clergy, who brought him to the stake ere he was twenty-four years of age. His youth, virtue, magnanimity, and his sufferings, excited universal curiosity and indignation. Converts to the new opinions multiplied in every quarter, and even among the Roman clergy. Seton, the king's confessor, recom-

mended the doctrines of the reformers, for which he was obliged to make his escape into England; while Henry Forest, a benedictine friar, who also discovered a propensity to the reformed doctrines, was first imprisoned in the tower of St Andrew's, and finally brought to trial, condemned, and led out to the flames. Among others, two private gentlemen, Norman Gourlay and David Straton, were tried at Holyrood, and condemned. James, who was present, appeared exceedingly anxious that they should recant. Not long after, Killor and Beverage, two Dominican friars, with Sir Duncan Symson, a priest—Robert Forrester, a gentleman from Stirling—and Thomas Forrest, a vicar in Perth, were consumed in the same fire. At Glasgow, Heronymus Russel, a grey friar, and a Mr Kennedy, who was not eighteen years of age, suffered, exclaiming, amid the flames—“Now I defy thee, death—I praise my God I am ready.” After the promotion of the ambitious, cruel, and designing Cardinal Beaton to the see of St Andrew's, the flight of Sir John Borthwick, and the escape from prison of Andrew Cunningham, son to the Master of Gleneairn, James Hamilton, brother to Patrick Hamilton, the martyr, and the celebrated George Buchanan,—the project of an inquisito-

rial court was entered into, and a commission granted, for the extirpation of heresy, to Sir James Hamilton of Finnard. But, as he was soon after beheaded for treason, the clergy did not think of appointing a successor to him in their court of inquisition.

Such was the fate of the Scottish church when James, by the alliance of its clergy, had so far succeeded in degrading his nobles, that no ignominy he or his clerical advisers heaped upon them could rouse them to resentment.

The principles of the Reformers had also, by this time, created a great sensation in England. Henry VIII. having been reluctantly prevailed upon, in compliance with his father's wishes, to marry the widow of his eldest brother, Catherine of Arragon, soon afterwards professed an ardent attachment to the amiable but unfortunate Anne Boleyn. He applied to the Pope to have his wife divorced. As a compliance with this request was refused by the Pope, more, it is said, from a fear of offending the nephew of Catherine, Charles V. then the most powerful king in Europe, than from religious scruples, Henry instantly disclaimed all reverence for the church of Rome, abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope in England, and compelled the Parliament, and even the clergy, to acknowledge

him as the head of the church. Henry,—apprehensive that so decisive a step might excite sedition among his subjects, and that foreign princes might foment the dissension by invading his kingdom, and knowing that both the Pope and Emperor were endeavouring to engage James as an ally against him,—was eager to secure himself on the side of Scotland, by inducing his nephew to adopt the same conduct. For this purpose, he dispatched Barlow, bishop elect of St David's, with books, to impress the mind of James. As the king did not feel disposed to engage in religious controversies, he handed the books to his courtiers, who, being attached to the church, suppressed them. Henry, who was not easily repulsed, soon after sent Sir Ralph Sadler to Scotland to propose a personal interview with him at York for the purpose of conversing on subjects of infinite importance to both their kingdoms. To induce James to comply, a prospect was held out to him of obtaining Henry's daughter in marriage, and of succeeding to the crown of England; and a positive promise was made to create him Duke of York, and appoint him lord lieutenant of England.

Sir Ralph was an active minister, and acted his part with address. The youthful mind of



James, being flattered by the advances of so powerful an ally, listened at first to the proposal, and actually promised to meet his uncle at the place appointed. The family of Hamilton, being apparent heirs to the crown, were eager to prevent a marriage which might disappoint their hopes, and earnestly dissuaded him from the resolution; while the clergy, who saw nothing but ruin in a union which was to be cemented by the overthrow of popery, tried every expedient to prevent it. To give weight to their arguments, the clergy offered him a pension of fifty thousand crowns, and assured him that one hundred thousand more should be lodged annually in his exchequer from the persecution of heretics. They offered to contribute liberally towards carrying on a war with England. All the address of Mary of Lorraine, who was in the bloom of youth and beauty, was exerted to assist the representations of the priesthood. Nor did she fail to excite his fears by recalling to his recollection events in the history of his ancestors, exhibiting the perfidy of England, by dwelling upon the unhappy fate of James I. who, having been accidentally driven on their shores during a season of peace, was, in violation of every dictate of honour, long detained in captivity. James allowed himself

at last to be overcome. After some evasive proposals, which were received with rudeness, the king declined the interview at York, giving, as an excuse, the controlling necessity of high and important business; and the ambassador hastened to Henry to make his report, dictated by passion. In expectation of meeting him, Henry had already arrived at York.

This false step proved the ruin of James; and, in the end, broke his heart. From the moment that Sadler took his departure, the mind of the king was tortured with anxiety; and he became melancholy, gloomy, and superstitious. He saw the danger of being exposed to the enmity of Henry,—he knew that he could meet him in the field only with the aid of his nobles—and that the barons would not give him their cordial assistance. Nor were his fears groundless. The haughty and impatient monarch instantly resented the affront by declaring war upon Scotland—by commanding incursions to be made on the borders—and by ordering his fleets to make prizes of the Scottish ships in their harbours and at sea. At James's command, the nobles assembled their forces in defence of their country; but they were by no means hearty in the cause. The Duke of Norfolk advanced into Scotland with

an army of 20,000 men. James, at the head of 30,000 combatants, prepared to give them battle, when Norfolk led back his troops beyond the Tweed. James, imagining that he could attack them with advantage in their retreat, urged his nobles to seek glory and revenge, by deciding the fate of their country at a blow, and by carrying the war into the enemy's country. The nobles, with the greatest obstinacy and disdain, refused to advance a step. Filled with astonishment and indignation at their disobedience of orders, and suspicious of conspiracy, in the bitterness of anguish James upbraided them with cowardice and treachery, and, instantly disbanding them, hastened back to Edinburgh to feed his melancholy. Impatience, resentment, and indignation filled his bosom by turns. The violence of his passion altered his temper and impaired his reason: He became pensive, sullen, and retired. Through the day he was swallowed up in deep meditation; and through the night he was haunted with visionary terrors—the sure signs of a disordered fancy.

Cardinal Beaton, anxious about the condition into which he had brought his sovereign, called a solemn council, at which the clergy advised the king to assemble a new army with

a view to make an inroad on the western borders. To enable him to do so, they contributed largely from their own revenues, and produced a roll of 360 persons who had incurred the suspicion of heresy, urging him to enrich himself by the confiscation of their wealth. The clergy had formerly dared to recommend the same measure, when the generous youth, rejecting the proposal with horror, drove them from his presence. The Earls of Cassells and Glencairn, Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Sommerville, and Erskine, with a number of private gentlemen, were prevailed on by his majesty's ministers to collect their relations and vassals, and to take the field. Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir William Musgrave, and Dacre, officers of decision and experience, gathered, in haste, what troops they could in the northern parts of England. The two armies came in sight of each other at Solway Moss. The English commanders instantly conducted their troops to a favourable position. The Scottish nobles demanded to know which of them was to lead the army to battle. All eyes were fixed upon Lord Maxwell; who, upon the late refusal of the nobility to obey their sovereign, had offered, with 10,000 men, to invade England, and to answer for his success with his life. James, still averse to his

nobility, and jealous of their power, selected, for the distinguished and important station, Oliver Sinclair, a son of the family of Roslin, and a man of no rank, bravery, or any thing to recommend him, but the circumstance of being a favourite of the king and cardinal. When Sinclair, seated on cross-pikes, and sustained upon the shoulders of soldiers, was shown to the army as their general, dissatisfaction, anger, and indignation spread themselves through the ranks, and occasioned a universal mutiny, which even the generous Lord Maxwell, who certainly should have been appointed, employed himself with anxiety to foster. Sir Thomas Wharton, catching the critical moment, commanded his army to make a general shout, advanced to the attack, and gained a victory to which there is no parallel in history. Five hundred raw and undisciplined English threw the whole Scottish army of 10,000 men into confusion and panic. Without the slightest attempt to resist, and without the loss of a man, they betook themselves to an ignominious flight into the marshes with which they were surrounded. Few made any further endeavour to save themselves. High and low came forward to surrender themselves. In a few minutes the army of James was annihilat-

ed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility made prisoners.

James, listening to the flattering tale of hope and the blandishments of his favourites, waited with impatience to hear the fate of his army. A result so astonishing and disgraceful struck him with amazement, suspicion, and distress. Burning with shame at his own weakness—convulsed with anger at the general disaffection of his nobles—and tortured with fear for the consequences—the poor king felt the fury of the most unhappy passions. Incapable of submission, and unfit to avenge, his spirits sunk within him. Deep melancholy and despair supplanted the first furious transports of rage and indignation. No consolation could afford him any relief—no remedy could be pointed out to retrieve the wretchedness of his fortune. He fled from the capital, to seclusion in the palace of Falkland. The violent passions, the enemies of life, not only affected his mind, but soon wasted and consumed a youthful and vigorous constitution. Even the presence of his domestics disturbed him. His sufferings through the day were not abated in the night. His sleep was unquiet—his dreams frightful. Abstaining from food, he fixed himself in his bed, a devoted victim to an-

guish and despair. In this miserable state, news were brought him that the queen was safely delivered at Linlithgow. A gleam of joy instantly brightened his countenance; for his two sons, James and Arthur, both died the year before. It was but a gleam; for, being told that the child was a daughter, with agony he turned his face from the unwelcome messenger, and exclaimed—"This kingdom, which came by a woman, will go with one. Many miseries wait upon it. Henry will either win it by marriage, or make it his own by arms." Soon after uttering these words he expired, in the thirty-first year of his age. The death of James excited a strong feeling of pity and of sorrow through the country. When his mortal remains were brought to Edinburgh, his subjects, with tears and lamentations, beheld their youthful sovereign laid in the same grave where the body of his beloved Madalen had been formerly deposited. "He could die," says Drummond, "but could not digest a disaster." If this prince had outlived his misfortunes, the violence of his temper and the opposition of the nobility would have embroiled the country in civil war; or he would have been obliged, by accepting of Henry's plan of reformation, to have appeased



his nobles by disgracing the clergy, and dividing the spoils of the church.

James's prophetic lamentation, in respect to the many miseries awaiting his country, was soon realized. The infant Mary succeeded to her father's kingdom, and to her father's misfortunes. Her disasters began at her birth, and ended with her decapitation. Many of the nobility who had been taken at Solway Moss were still prisoners in London; while the few that were in Scotland were factious and turbulent. James, in his agony, had neglected to nominate proper persons to educate his daughter, or administer the affairs of state. The martial spirit of the Scotch felt no reverence for the government of a queen, especially an infant queen. The ambitious Cardinal Beaton, with the support of the whole papal faction,—the countenance of France—and the connivance of the queen-dowager—struggled with the timid Earl of Arran, whose claim was supported by proximity of blood, the consent of the nobles; and the voice of the public, for the high title of Regent. The nation was involved in a disastrous civil war, which threatened the very independence of Scotland; and the church was torn into factions, which were embittered by

the bigotry of the ancient clergy, or strengthened by the ardour felt in the cause of reformation.

By a testamentary deed which Cardinal Beaton had forged in the name of the late king, and which was publicly proclaimed by his order, he intruded himself into the offices of tutor to the queen and governor of the realm. In this deed the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Arran, were named as his counsellors in the administration. But he was soon degraded from the dignity he had assumed; and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, as the second person in the kingdom, and the nearest heir to the crown, advanced in his stead. This degradation of Cardinal Beaton would have been the death-blow to popery in Scotland but for the insignificancy of the character of the Earl of Arran. The cardinal, by nature ambitious, artful, and refined, had grown insolent by continued success. His abilities were equal to his high station in the church and great power in the state. Grateful for the eminence his profession had raised him to, he was a zealous defender of popish superstitions, and a determined enemy to the doctrines of the Reformation. His precipitancy, violence, rigour, and cruelty, called forth universal indignation. The earl,

with a womanish sensibility and softness, conducted himself without courage, dignity, or consistence. The slave of feverish timidity and irresolution, and the tool of the artful and designing, he was altogether unfit to rule the nation, then in so deplorable and perilous a situation.

The queen-dowager and the infant Mary resided at Linlithgow, where every provision was made for securing their comfort and upholding their dignity; and where men, distinguished by rank, merit, and loyalty, were selected to watch and protect them.

The high birth, mildness of disposition, and his open profession for the new opinions, caused the Regent to be respected and beloved by all. His name having been the first on the roll of heretics proscribed by the Roman church, he became a steady promoter of the Reformation. Thomas Guillamer and John Rough lived with him in his house, preaching daily against the supremacy, the worship of images, and the invocation of saints. The celebrated bill of the Lord Maxwell, permitting the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, (the possessing of which was formerly heresy,) was, in spite of Cardinal Beaton and his prelates, carried into a law, and openly proclaimed, by authority of

the Regent.\* Upon this, copies of the Bible were imported in great numbers from England ; while books, disclosing the pride, the tyranny, and absurdities of the Roman church and superstitions, were multiplied, and eagerly read by the body of the people.

Immediately after the death of James, Henry treated the Scottish nobility who had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss, with studied indulgence. He not only delivered them from prison, but even recommended them to the hospitality of his courtiers. His object was to unite the two kingdoms in the marriage of his son Edward, Prince of Wales, with the Queen of Scots. Having once made a favourable impression on these nobles, by a promise of liberty as the reward of their success, Henry bound them by an oath to use their efforts to put the government of Scotland into his hand—to induce the estates to surrender to him all the fortified towns—and immediately to send into England their infant sovereign. A meeting of the Estates was called upon the return of the nobles to Scotland. At this meeting they were ready to consent to the marriage, but they refused to

\* The act declares that it shall be lawful to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother tongue.

permit the removal of the Queen to England until she had come of age ; and they rejected, with scorn, the idea of surrendering the government of her kingdom, and the keeping of her castles, to the King of England. It was to no purpose that Sir Ralph Sadler exerted all the art of the skilful and crafty statesman in alarming the Regent by the dangers of war, in alluring his vanity by the hopes of the marriage of his son, the Lord Hamilton, with Henry's daughter, Lady Elizabeth. Equally unsuccessful were his intrigues with the Scottish lords who had sworn to assist his master to carry into England, by stratagem, the young Queen, and the Cardinal Beaton, whom he had already got thrown into prison, on the pretence of being concerned with the Duke of Guise in a scheme hostile to Scotland. The opposite faction remained firm and powerful, and the young Queen was guarded with still greater anxiety.

At last, however, the Scottish Parliament, influenced by the nobles who had returned from England, and no longer acted upon by the intrigues of the wily Cardinal, consented to the treaty of marriage and of union, but upon terms somewhat more honourable than those proposed by Henry. The commissioners of Scotland and of England concluded a treaty of amity and of

marriage, in which it was adjusted that the young Queen should remain within her own dominions until she had attained the tenth year of her age; and that Henry should have no management in the affairs of Scotland, or charge of its castles; and that, although the Queen should have issue by Prince Edward, Scotland should retain its name and its laws.

This treaty proved fatal to the popularity of the Earl of Arran. Cardinal Beaton, having, through the influence of the queen-dowager, procured his liberty, tried every means to hasten the ruin of the Regent. He complained that the Earl had betrayed the kingdom to its inveterate enemies, and sacrificed its honour to his own ambition, by degrading it into the ignominious station of a dependent province. He declared, that every thing for which the Scottish nation had struggled during so many years, had been calmly given up in one hour by the treachery of a single man. By thus fostering the natural animosities of the people, rousing their pride, and exciting their apprehensions, and by instructing the friars to preach against the English treaties, he raised the rage of the people to such a height that they offered the greatest indignities to Henry's ambassadors. Nay, even the very nobles, who had all along acted in

opposition to the Cardinal, now supported his endeavours to overturn the power of the Regent. They collected troops—possessed themselves of the person of the Queen-dowager and of her daughter—and thereby added to their party the splendour and authority of royalty. The Cardinal also strengthened his hands by bringing over from France the Earl of Lennox, an avowed enemy of the house of Hamilton; and also by the return from that country of John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, a natural brother of the Regent's, and, although a zealous defender of the established religion, one of his greatest confidants.

Notwithstanding the desertion of the nobility—the disaffection of the clergy—the rage of the people—the resentment of France—the power of the Queen-dowager and Cardinal—the threatening pretensions of Lennox, and the friendly remonstrances of Hamilton—the Regent, in a solemn manner, in the abbey church of Holyrood-house, ratified the treaties, by swearing to their observance, and appending to them the great seal of Scotland. Immediately after having ratified the treaty, he went to St Andrew's and denounced the Cardinal a rebel, and threatened to bring him into submission by military force. Notwithstanding all this show



of determination, eight days after the ratification, he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray at Callander; renounced the friendship of Henry, embraced the interest of the queen-dowager, and of the French court :—nay, more ; he reconciled himself to the church of Rome, which he had formerly abandoned. He renounced, in the Franciscan church at Stirling, the opinions of the reformed church, and received absolution from the hand of the Cardinal. At the instigation of his new confidants, he now condemned many of the reformers to be burnt at the stake. When Lennox saw the uncertainty of the Cardinal's professions of support, he, having previously by fraud secured an immense quantity of military stores, and thirty thousand crowns which had been sent over by the French to strengthen their interest, levied a formidable army, and offered battle to the Regent and Cardinal in the fields between Leith and Edinburgh. The Cardinal having again deceived the Earl of Lennox by the hope of his obtaining the Queen-dowager in marriage, he disbanded his forces. Having again perceived the insincerity of the Cardinal, and the deceitfulness of the Queen-dowager's smiles, he once more revolted ; and, joining with England, a

formidable army was landed at Leith under the command of the Earl of Hartford. He quickly made himself master of both Leith and Edinburgh, set them on fire, and cruelly plundered the adjacent country. The Cardinal instantly collected an army to check their devastation, which caused them to reembark part of their troops, with an immense booty, and to march the remainder of their forces, with expedition, to the frontiers of England. Upon this, Lennox retired into England to a melancholy exile, when Henry gave him in marriage his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas. The offspring of this marriage, in Lord Darnley and his successors, not only mounted the throne of Scotland, but long held the sceptre of both kingdoms; although, by the one, he was cast out as a criminal, and, by the other, received as a fugitive.

For some time a desultory warfare was carried on by both nations. Battles were fought with a variety of success, and inroads were made by both kingdoms; but, as they were not decisive, and had no considerable effect on the transactions in which Knox, very soon after this period, took an active hand, we think it unnecessary to relate them minutely. Suffice it to say, that a peace was, in the end, concluded between England, France, and Scotland. But

even this did not restore tranquillity to Scotland. After having, for so long a period, been oppressed with the miseries of war and distracted by factions innumerable, she became subjected to all the horrors of persecution. Through the arts of Cardinal Beaton, who now held the supreme power without the envy which the title of government excites, the Regent became ambitious to undo all the services he had rendered the Protestants. He discharged the two preachers, Guillam and Rough, whom he had formerly engaged to impugn the doctrines of the church, and he rescinded the act he had so lately passed, granting permission to read the Scriptures. He drove back into England those whose zeal had brought them to Scotland to advance the interest of the reformed. He passed an act of Parliament for the persecution of heretics, and sanctioned, by his high authority, the shocking punishments which the prelates wished to be inflicted upon all who opposed them.

Such was the singular and disgraceful resolution which had been wrought in the mind of Arran—such the political talent of Beaton—such the state of public sentiment in the country—and such the unsettled principles of the most illustrious of the Scottish nobility, with

respect to government, religion, and morality, at the time when John Knox began to act that part in the affairs of Scotland which has since secured him the applause and gratitude of his country. What remains of the history of this most important period of Scottish annals will be best unfolded in the course of our biographical sketch of the illustrious Reformer.

**LIFE**  
**OF**  
**JOHN KNOX.**

---

THE subject of the following Biographical Sketch was born in the year 1505 ; but in what month, or on what day of it, does not seem to be now properly ascertained. Nor is there any certainty even as to the exact place of his nativity, further than that he was born in the county of East Lothian. From the writings of Beza, his friend and contemporary, from the history written by Spotteswood, and from the account of him handed down by David Buchanan, it would appear that the village of Gifford, in East Lothian, had the honour of his birth, and that his father possessed the estate of Gifford. These

respectable authorities, are, however, contradicted by Roman Catholic historians and the traditionary details respecting him. Archibald Hamilton, a native of Scotland, who lived at that period, intimates that he was born in the county town of Haddington; or rather, as Laingæus states it, in the suburbs of it. Accordingly, the house is still pointed out to strangers, on the authority of tradition; and it is even said that this dwelling, with some land attached, continued to be occupied by his descendants till within these sixty or seventy years.

Notwithstanding what has been said by Mackenzie, on the authority of Dr Hamilton, Dr Baillie, and other popish writers, (whose ridiculous stories to the discredit of the reformers are quite improbable,) in regard to the obscure parentage of Knox, there is abundant proof that he was descended of a family both ancient and renowned. Of his ancestors, by the mother's side, little is known further than that their surname was Sinclair—a subscription which the Reformer was often compelled to assume, as a disguise, in time of trouble. His ancestors, by the father's side, were originally from the county of Renfrew, where they had been proprietors of the lands of Knock, Ranferley, and Craigends. This family of Ranferley gave birth not

only to Knox, but also to a bishop of Raphoe, and of the Isles. From Knox's own story, it is apparent that his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, served under the predecessors of the then Earl of Bothwell; and that some of them died under their standards. These facts are stated from a regard to *truth*; and not from any fear of Knox's character being dishonoured in the obscurity of parentage.

At an early period of life, Knox acquired a knowledge of the principles of the Latin tongue in the grammar school of Haddington. As soon as the proficiency he had made in the country qualified him for the study, he was, at the age of 19 or 20 years, sent to the College of St Salvador, in the university of St Andrew's, which was, at that period, unquestionably the most eminent seminary of learning in Scotland.

Here it was that the stern, intrepid, and indefatigable traits of his character, to which his country was afterwards so much indebted, were engendered. At the time when Knox became a student of St Andrew's, John Major was the professor of philosophy and theology. Although Major was neither a man of taste nor talent, and although he was, in many respects, superstitious, and blindly attached to some of the most absurd tenets of Popery, his memory will



ever be held dear by the friends of religious and civil liberty. Even at that early period he taught, from his chair, the fallibility of the Pope, and the power which a general council possess over him. He denied that the censures of the church had any force unless grounded upon just cause; and he reprobated the interference of the sovereign pontiff in all temporal concerns, such as making war or deposing kings. Nay, he even went the length of inveighing against the pride, avarice, and ambition of the church of Rome, and recommended that the monasteries should be reduced. His principles respecting civil government were equally enlightened. He asserted, that all power, even that of kings, was invested in the people; and that they had the right to admonish, guide, and restrain, depose, or put to death even the first magistrate in the realm, when he, by being tyrannical or otherwise, turned the power with which he was invested to the injury or oppression of his subjects.

It is easy to perceive that the pliant mind of Knox would naturally adopt the principles of his teacher; and that the seeds sown by Major would, when afterwards cultivated by a stronger understanding and maturer reflection, spring up—give a decided bias to his own views—and,

in fact, tend much to bring about the very reformation he effected. These early prepossessions were also somewhat strengthened by the circumstance of Knox having, while at St Andrew's, the celebrated George Buchanan as his companion and fellow-student. These two illustrious characters entered college at the same period, and both attended the lectures of Major. Accordingly, although they took very different courses in after life, (the one becoming a poet, and a man of astonishing literary attainments, while the other gave himself up to the study of the Scriptures and the labours of the ministry,) yet there is a similarity of sentiment and of purpose apparent in all their works. The religious principles and political sentiments which the reformer avowed in his preaching are to be found in the classical pages of the historian.

For a time Knox studied, with avidity and success, the subtile sophistry of the scholastic philosophy. Such was the proficiency he attained in the dialectic art, that, having been created master of arts, he taught philosophy with great celebrity as an assistant lecturer to the professor. Soon after, and before he had reached the 25th year of his age, he was invested with the orders of the priesthood. Nor had he

any means of procuring so early an advancement, except such as originated with himself—his own merit, and the recommendation of his fellow-teachers and pupils.

Five years after Knox's ordination to the priesthood, his ardent, acute, and inquisitive mind led him to disentangle himself from the mazes and sophistry of scholastic philosophers, divines, and canonists. The manner in which the Christian fathers investigated and elucidated truth soon induced him to disregard his earlier impressions, combat his prejudices, and forego the satisfaction he derived from the pride of superior advancement in the study of scholastic theology. From a perusal of the writings of Jerome, he was persuaded that the Scriptures ought to be the only source of all our knowledge in regard to divine truth; and that, to derive any benefit from them, they must be studied in the language in which they were originally written. It was then that his fervent thirst to have a competent knowledge of Hebrew first began; and that he set about acquiring the Greek language, which was at that period begun to be taught in Scotland, principally through the exertions of Erskine of Dun, who had brought several teachers of it from the continent. The impressions first made on his mind by the lectures of Major,

in regard to some of the heretical tenets and corrupt practices of the Romish church, were much strengthened and confirmed by a careful reading of the works of Augustine ; who, although he remained till his death, by name and profession, of the religion of Rome, in his writings and in his pulpit renounced many of its doctrines. In this way Knox was gradually led, by the finger of Providence, from the dry and unprofitable study of scholastic theology to the more inviting and saving knowledge of Christ Jesus. We say he was *gradually* led ; for this important revolution in his religious sentiments required, for its completion, no shorter a period than that of ten or twelve years. It was about the year 1530 that he was raised to clerical orders in the mother church ; and it was not till about the year 1542 that he felt himself completely emancipated from its superstitions.

But there were other causes which mainly contributed to effect this important change of Knox's sentiments, which will require a much fuller exposition : We mean the corruptions of the church, and the bold attempts which had already been made, in Scotland and in other countries, to reform its abuses.

When popery is reviewed, even apart from the abuses of it, and when its religious tenets are

examined by the principles of religion, its absurdity and extravagance seem a mockery of the judgment. What inventions in religion could be more preposterous or romantic than the merits of pilgrimage and penance; the absolution of sin, the invocation of saints, or the adoration of images. In a political point of view, Popery is an institution hostile to all the maxims of civil government. Can there be a more boundless violation of propriety, than that of the Pope claiming the prerogative of God, deposing kings and emperors, and intermeddling with violence in the administration of the temporal concerns of independent nations? Can any thing be more absurd than that of prelates, who are subservient to a foreign potentate, and who have interests opposite to most of the community of which they are members, deliberating in its senate, and controlling the authority of its king, nobles, and magistracy? Can any thing be more impolitic than that of depriving society of the fruit and advantages of the labour and industry of its most useful members, by shutting them up in monasteries, and condemning them to confinement and indolence?

If popery be such a mockery of the judgment, even in its primitive unadulterated state, what must it not have appeared to the penetrating

mind of Knox, when its original imperfections were rendered shocking by the ambition, cruelties, ignorance, and vice of its clergy. So long as Christianity was exposed to the opposition and persecution of its enemies, and before it was adopted by Constantine as the national religion of Rome, the system which Jesus and his disciples taught was maintained and acted up to with great simplicity and purity. So uniform a course of devotion, innocence, and virtue did the first converts to Christianity pursue; and to such a degree of piety, charity, patience, and resignation, did they exalt themselves, that even their enemies were constrained to extol them. Their life was serious and sequestered; they were averse to the gay luxury of the age; they were inured to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues; they despised the world, and were eager to exercise themselves in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. Even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from excess of virtue. Ambitious to exalt the perfections of the gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the primitive Christians carried this duty of self-mortification and purity to a height creditable to themselves, and highly favourable to the religion they promulgated. But no sooner was Christianity

adopted by the emperors of Rome, and fostered as the national religion, than matters were very much changed for the worse. In a short time, after the church acquired wealth and power throughout Europe, every absurdity which shocks the understanding, every vice and immorality which degrades the heart, was displayed in the Romish religion, and exercised by its priesthood. The nations of Europe, having been overrun with barbarians, had fallen into a lethargy. Learning and civilization were unknown, even among the clergy. The most abominable superstitions, degrading ceremonies, and grossest religious imposture, had supplanted the beautiful simplicity of the Christian system. The ignorance of the clergy became such that they could scarcely read, far less explain to the people, the canon of their faith; while their knowledge of the Bible was confined to the few scraps of it contained in their missals. If such were the low intellectual attainments of the clergy, what must those of the laity have been, when they could not procure a copy of the Scriptures in their mother-tongue, and could not read it without incurring the imputation of heresy? The higher and better informed orders of the priesthood had become so wealthy and so much involved in political intrigue, that they



had neither time nor inclination to preach to the people. There is only one instance mentioned of any one of the bishops ever having preached from the commencement of the regular Scottish episcopate until its subversion at the Reformation. Even the secular clergy, in time, betook themselves to similar courses, and devolved the important office of instructing the people, and teaching the way of salvation, on begging friars, who prostituted the sacred duty to the basest of purposes, their own aggrandisement. The superior orders, such as bishops and abbots, possessed all the authority and most of the wealth of the church, which was at least half of that of the nation. Inspired by avarice, pride, and ambition, they grasped at the highest honours of the state, and especially during the reign of James V. became prime-ministers, privy counsellors, members of parliament, and lords of session. These, instead of by their patronage encouraging the efforts of piety and promoting the propagation of religion, bestowed their inferior livings on their minions and bastards ; or, to increase their wealth, they sold them to the highest bidder ; while the higher benefices, bishoprics and abbacies, were fought for some time in the field, and taken at the point of the sword. In this way, the archiepiscopal

palace of St Andrew's was actually stormed; and the cathedral of Dunkeld laid siege to, and reduced like the castles of Edinburgh or Stirling.

From the decrees of their councils, acts of parliament, and records of legitimation, and even from the admissions of their own writers, it is evident that the profligacy of the Popish clergy in Scotland was scandalous and avowed;—they had no regard for the doctrines or precepts of Christianity, or rather no knowledge of their nature and tendency,—they were wealthy, and altogether idle; and they had nothing to fear from the censure of the world. In other words, there were no restraints on their passions. Although they pretended to be chaste, and refused to marry, they did not hesitate to keep their mistresses, to beget and provide for natural children, by exalting them to the higher benefices of the church, or giving them in marriage to the nobles of the land, who eagerly sought after them on account of the greatness of their dowries. In fact, there were no crimes, however atrocious; no meanness, however degrading; no hypocrisy, however contemptible, which was not committed, or rather practised by the Roman Catholic clergy. They gloried in the most brutalising intemper-

ance, and frequently executed schemes of intrigue and villany for which a gallows was no adequate punishment. Instead of being the advocates of peace, and the friends of humanity, they were the breeders of strife and the enemies of mankind. Instead of cultivating devout feelings and sentiments, they only thought of enlarging their authority, aggrandizing their family, or subverting their rivals. In a word, immense wealth, extreme indolence, gross ignorance, and the severe injunction of celibacy, had rendered the clergy a disgrace to human nature, and a reproach to their fellow-men; while the fables which they taught, on the mere authority of the church and decrees of councils, concerning purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of saints, were no less revolting to the reason of every man of common understanding.

Another powerful cause, which at this time must have operated strongly on the mind of Knox, in inducing him to renounce the tenets of the church of Rome, was the interest which the reformed doctrines had already excited in the country. We have already mentioned that, at a very early period, Wickliffe, in England, propagated opinions subversive of papal despotism, and that his men, who endeavoured to introduce his tenets into

Scotland, suffered martyrdom. We mentioned that, about the end of the fifteenth century, many in the west of Scotland had renounced the doctrines of the church of Rome. We also hinted, that, early in the sixteenth century, Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, suffered at the stake for having endeavoured to introduce a purer religion into Scotland. As the event of his death must have contributed much to the change of sentiment in the mind of Knox, and, in fact, to the hastening of the Reformation, a more minute detail of the circumstances than could with propriety be introduced into a summary history of Scotland falls to be given of it.

Patrick Hamilton was a man of honourable birth and of primitive sanctity. At an early period of life he was appointed to the abbacy of Ferne. Having heard of the doctrines of Luther, and imbibed a favourable idea of them, he determined to travel into Germany, that he might acquire his knowledge of them at the fountain head. The motives which influenced him to leave his native country, and his rank in the church, naturally recommended him to the notice and favour of Luther and Melancthon. Having, in their society at Wirtemberg, become master of all their opinions, and imbibed all the zeal they possessed in the cause of truth,

he returned to his native country, to impart to his friends the knowledge and consolation he had received. Upon his landing in Scotland, he daringly exposed the corruptions of Popery, and enforced the advantages of the tenets he had embraced. The minds of his hearers having been previously prepared to receive such representations, by the luxury, ambition, and vice of the clergy—his discourses were listened to with avidity by the people. His preaching was rendered still more interesting, by the literary embellishments and philosophical reasoning his education and genius enabled him to call in to his aid; and also by his youth and graceful appearance—qualities eminently suited to engage the affections and impress the understanding of his hearers. The clergy instantly took the alarm at his popularity and success; and, with a short-sighted policy, adopted the severity of persecution as the most effectual mode of suppressing the heresy. Yet as the abbot, being cautious, and aware of their designs, had not committed himself, in the execution of their schemes they had recourse to dissimulation rather than violence. Pretending the Archbishop wished to converse with him, they seduced him to St Andrew's. Alexander Campbell, a Dominican friar, was employed to insi-

nuate himself into his confidence, and to draw from him a confession of his real sentiments. Anxious to make another convert, the unsuspecting youth laid open his heart to the traitor; who instantly reported to the clergy his admissions, aggravated by his own malicious exaggerations. Hamilton was forthwith imprisoned; and finally brought before the Archbishop of St Andrew's, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and other dignitaries of the church. Here the abbot neither lost his courage nor renounced his opinions. He was accordingly convicted of heresy, and, notwithstanding what he urged in defence of his principles, he was condemned to be burnt at the stake on the same day on which he was tried. When led out to the area before the gate of St Salvador's College, which was appointed as the place of execution, he was cool and intrepid. When the executioners were applying to the stake, to which he was bound, the combustible materials, he raised his eyes to heaven—he commended his soul to God. He suffered much, but with firmness. In the first conflagration, he was not consumed, but merely scorched. In agony he remained till some powder was brought from the castle. These moments were sadly imbittered by the taunts and tormenting officiousness of the friars,

mocking his pains, or urging him to retract. Even here the deceitful Campbell savagely exerted himself. The recollection of his baseness wounded the tender feelings of Hamilton's heart. With gentleness and affection, he beseeched him to retire. Campbell openly scoffed his reproof; when Hamilton, in a more solemn tone, objected his treachery, and cited him to answer for his behaviour before the judgment-seat of Christ. A fresh supply of combustibles having been brought,—after an unexampled length of suffering, and patience of resignation, and amidst the tenderest compassion for his fate, he expired amid the flames.

To prevent so affecting a deed from exciting the detestation of the people, the clergy endeavoured to have the sentence approved of by all whose respectability could influence public opinion. Gentlemen of rank, and students at the university, were compelled to sign it. But it was to no purpose. Reason and humanity now stepped over to the side of the reformers. Curiosity to examine opinions, the promulgation of which had been so cruelly punished, led to a consideration of the doctrines he inculcated, and to a comparison of them with those of the church of Rome. The licentiousness of the prelates was contrasted with the austerity of the



Protestants. Converts to the new opinions multiplied in every quarter; and many who refused to hear him preach while living, adopted his views when dead. In a word, Hamilton's death made a deep impression upon the university, which was never afterwards obliterated, and which Knox must have felt. This impression was also preserved and strengthened by the melancholy fate of Campbell. The dreadful scene he had witnessed, the consciousness of treachery, the terror with which Hamilton's dying words had inspired him, preyed upon his mind, haunted his imagination, and impaired his reason. In a short time after Hamilton's martyrdom, Campbell expired at Glasgow in the most lamentable state of insanity and despair.

Immediately after the death of Hamilton, several of the regular clergy of the church of Rome began to inveigh, in their sermons, against the gross vices and profligacy of the priests; nay even the poets of the day did not hesitate to lend their aid in the promoting of the Reformation. They exposed the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the clergy—the power, insolence, and indolence of the bishops, and the absurdity of the doctrines held by them. From some of these plays and poems having

been composed by men of rank, (such as Sir David Lindsay, the favourite of James V. James Stewart, son of Lord Methven, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, and Kennedy, and Kyllan, who were both martyrs), they became extremely popular with man, woman, and child, in every rank of life. The plays of some of these writers, reprobating the corruptions of the church, were acted before the king and his council at Stirling and Linlithgow; and before the Queen Regent, most of her nobility, and many of the people at Edinburgh. They were also acted at Perth, Cupar in Fife, and various other places; while the smaller satirical poems were handed about from one to another, until they came into the hands of the lowest of the peasantry.

These circumstances, together with that of the many persons of rank and fortune who had already embraced the reformed doctrines, would unquestionably tend much to make Knox alter his sentiments with respect to religion. It is not likely that a man of Knox's abilities was to remain inactive when the whole kingdom was in a ferment. The reformed doctrines having already been embraced by the Earls of Glencairn and Errol, Lords Kilmaurs and Ruthven, Sir James Sandilands, Sir David Lindsay

(the poet,) Melville of Raith, Erskine of Dun, John Stewart, son of Lord Methven, Balnaires of Hallhill, William Johnston, advocate, Robert Alexander (who aided the Reformation much by his poetical talent,) and having also been adopted by many of Knox's personal friends,—it would have been remarkable if he had remained attached to the corrupt practices and absurd tenets of the popish superstition.

The reformed doctrines had also been embraced by many of Knox's private acquaintances. Among these the two individuals whom we have already mentioned, as having been private chaplains to the Earl of Arran, during the short period he favoured the Reformation, deserve to be particularly distinguished, as having contributed much to Knox's conversion. Thomas Guillaum, a provincial of Blackfriars, and John Rough, and also the celebrated martyr Wishart, a man of honourable birth and primitive sanctity, were all active in persuading Knox to renounce his faith, and adopt their opinions. Knox was so much attached to the person of the amiable and interesting Wishart, and became latterly so fond of his discourses, that he followed him almost wherever he went; and, after the design of having him assassinated became apparent, Knox even carried the sword

before him as his protector. The night upon which he was arrested and betrayed by the lying promises of the Earl of Bothwell, Knox insisted for liberty to accompany him from Haddington, where he had been preaching, to Ormiston. But as Wishart felt a presentiment of his approaching fate, he prevailed on Knox to “return to his bairnes, by commending him to the protection of the Almighty, and by telling him that one of them was sufficient for a sacrifice.”\*

After the martyrdom of Wishart, Knox put himself under the protection of Douglas of Long Niddry and Coekburn of Ormiston, gentlemen who were firmly attached to the principles of the Reformation and to the person of our reformer, from the kindness he had shown to Wishart, their friend and pastor. Here he acted in the capacities of chaplain and tutor. He instructed the young gentlemen of these two families in Greek and Latin, and the other branches of science known and taught at the period. At stated times he collected all the people in the neighbourhood in the church, (the ruins of which are to this day known by the name of Knox's Kirk,) where he preached, lectured, catechised

\* Vide Appendix.

read, and explained portions of the Scriptures.

It was while Knox remained at Long Niddry that the assassination of Cardinal Beaton was effected. The Cardinal's resentment against one party of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his ambition and intrigues, his cruelty to the reformers, and, more than any, the barbarous execution of Wishart, wore out the patience of even the most submissive, and rather excited their indignation than their terror. The prediction of Wishart, when on the burning pile, that the Cardinal would perish in a few days, was considered as the effusions of a Prophet. Nothing was wanting but a leader to concert the plan which all were ready to execute. Nor was such a one wanting long. In the intoxication of his grandeur, the Cardinal had treated with indignity Norman Leslie, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, who had, at one time, attached himself to Beaton, and rendered to him important services. Neither the temper of the man, nor the spirit of the party, could submit to be affronted. With a resolution reprehensible in the extreme, and with a courage and conduct no less astonishing, he collected a party whose determination was such that they did not hesitate to avow their design. The 29th

of May (1546,) was fixed on for the execution of their purpose. To avoid exciting suspicion, Norman Leslie, and five of his friends, arrived at St Andrew's on the 28th, and occupied their former lodgings. John Leslie, and about thirty others, joined the party late on the night before the assassination was effected. At three o'clock in the morning, the conspirators assembled in the Abbey church-yard ; and,—notwithstanding that the Cardinal's retinue was numerous, that the town was devoted to him, and that the whole country was filled with his dependents,—these, in number only thirty-five, proceeded to surprise the castle, which had been fortified at great expense, and, in the opinion of the age, rendered impregnable. The gates had been set open to the workmen who were employed in finishing the fortifications. Kirkaldy, and six who attended him, had, by this fortunate circumstance, no difficulty in entering. These instantly engaged the attention of the porter by a frivolous conversation, while Norman Leslie, and a few more of his friends, passed unheeded. On the entrance of John Leslie, whose enmity to the Cardinal was well known, the porter suspected a plot, and tried to draw up the bridge ; but Leslie easily prevented him from doing so until all the conspirators got within the walls. The

workmen, on seeing the struggle with the porter, and imagining that there was a much more formidable party, betook themselves to their own homes. Norman Leslie knew, intimately, the internal construction of the castle, and he instantly led the band to the door of the Cardinal's bed-room, where he planted a guard. They then awakened the numerous domestics one by one; and, by threats, yet without noise or violence, they succeeded in thrusting them without the gates. The number of domestics and workmen thus excluded amounted to no fewer than 150 individuals. The governor's son was alone permitted to remain, with the view of afterwards securing their own indemnification with the Regent, by the possession of the person of his son. Every thing being thus far prepared, the murderers knocked at the bed chamber of the Cardinal, who, when he awoke, angrily inquired who dared to interrupt his repose. The answer soon explained to him how matters stood. He instantly sprung from his bed, and endeavoured to secure the door by bolts and chests. The conspirators immediately ordered fire to be brought, and were about to apply it. A momentary but awful pause intervened. This silence was broken by Beaton, who implored from his murderers an assurance that, upon their admission, they would not in-



jure his person. Upon their promise, he opened the door, and again beseeched them to have mercy upon him. On the entrance of the murderers, sitting down in a chair, Beaton cried—"I am a priest—I am a priest—Ye will not slay me?" Regardless of pity, mercy, or honour, two of them rushed with their swords upon the helpless primate. But James Melville, rebuking their passion, said that the work must be done with gravity. Having, in general terms, reminded the Cardinal of the enormity of his sins, and of the burning of Wishart, and having sworn that no hope of riches, dread of power, or hatred to his person, or any thing but zeal for the cause of Jesus Christ and his holy gospel, had moved him to accomplish his murder, he, without waiting for an answer to his harangue, thrust the primate three times through the body with his dagger.

In the meantime, the alarm had spread through the town, and crowds had already assembled to rescue the Cardinal, or to avenge his death. But the conspirators, having availed themselves of Wishart's prediction, carried the corpse to the very window from which he had a few days before beheld the sufferings of the martyr. The people were instantly affected with this exposure of the body,—some with sorrow

for the death of Beaton, and others with pity at the fate of Wishart. In a short time, the surprise, sorrow, pity, and indignation, which at first were excited, subsided into a mixed and general affection of melancholy, tenderness, and superstitious awe.

There have not been wanting writers, who, regardless of truth, have, from their enmity to the Reformation, endeavoured to connect Knox with this unhappy affair. The accusation is altogether so absurd that it would be a waste of time to refute it. Nor is the insinuation that he became an accessory to the crime, by afterwards taking shelter among the conspirators in the castle of St Andrew's, more worthy of refutation. It is to be lamented, however, that a colouring to such accusations should be found even in the writings of Knox, and that he should have treated with levity the conspiracy and its success. How depraved soever the character of Beaton certainly was, and however necessary his death may have been to the advancement of the Reformation, his assassination should not be vindicated, far less applauded and laughed at. We must not do evil that good may come of it. Rather than justify the passages in Knox's history on this subject, let us in charity entertain the hope that he never penned them, or that he

wrote them under the influence of strong feelings, excited by the first news of the Cardinal's fate,—and that, having died while his history was in an unfinished state, he had not time coolly to digest its materials, and to expunge its exceptionable passages. The records of the General Assembly state, that “The kirk requested ye kirk of Edinburgh to provide some learnit men to support Richard Bannatyne to put John Knox's historie, yat is now in serawes and papers, in guid form.” It is extremely probable that these assistants would often be obliged to supply passages, to connect, elucidate, and complete the narration, and that some of them penned the remarks on Beaton's death.

On the death of the Cardinal, the archbishopric of St Andrew's was bestowed by the Regent on his natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, who was equally hostile to the reformers. From the time that Knox had avowed himself the confidential friend of Wishart, he had drawn upon himself the enmity of the church. As several attempts had been made to apprehend him at Long Niddry, he had been under the necessity of skulking about from place to place. Tired of such a life, and apprehensive of danger, he determined to leave Scotland, and to go over to Germany. “Of

England," he says, " he had no pleasure; by reason—that, although the Pope's name was suppressed, yet his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour." He was, however, prevailed upon; by the intreaties of his friends, the children of whom he had "nourished in godliness for certain years," to relinquish his plan of going to the continent, and to take refuge in the castle of St Andrew's, where he could be effectually protected from the attacks of his enemies, and where the children of his patrons, the lairds of Long Niddry and Ormiston, might enjoy the benefit of his doctrine.

It was at Easter, 1547, that Knox, accompanied by Francis Douglas of Long Niddry, George, his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest son to the Laird of Ormiston, arrived at the castle of St Andrew's. The siege had already been raised, and an armistice concluded between the murderers of Beaton and the government. How absurd, then, is it for historians to insinuate any thing to the prejudice of Knox's character, from the circumstance of his having, so long after the murder, been compelled to seek shelter in the only stronghold in Scotland which was in the hands of his party,—the more especially when about 150 others, in similar circumstances, had already done so.

Knox did not remain long inactive in the castle. He instantly began to exercise his pupils after the accustomed manner. "Besides the grammar and other books of human learning, he read unto them a catechism, an account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish church of St Andrew's." Every day, at a fixed hour, he also read in the chapel within the castle the gospel of St John, beginning at the place where he had left off at his departure from Long Niddry. John Rough, preacher, Mr Henry Balnaves, Sir David Lindsay, and others of the place, perceiving the manner of his doctrines, became deeply impressed with the importance of prevailing upon him to undertake the discharge of the ministerial duties. Rough, who was naturally timid, earnestly requested the aid of Knox's ability and intrepidity to support him in his unceasing contest with the Popish clergy. When the proposal was first made to Knox, his answer was, "that he would not run where God had not called;" meaning that he would not intrude himself as a preacher into the church without a lawful vocation.

As Rough had been long troubled in his preaching, by John Annan, "a rotten Papist," and as Knox had frequently been of service to him with his pen, it was determined not to

desist from their purpose of having him initiated into the office of the ministry, as colleague to Rough. Rough preached a sermon on the election of ministers, on a day which had been previously fixed privately by Lindsay and others. In this sermon, he affirmed that a congregation, although consisting of only two or three persons, had the power, in time of need, to nominate, as their pastor, any one of tried zeal and faith; and likewise that it was extremely dangerous in the person so called to refuse to accept. Having established these general principles, the preacher, in a most solemn and impressive manner, addressed Knox in the following words,—“ 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 those who presently call you, by my mouth I charge 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 you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid

God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his grace upon you." After which, turning himself to the rest of the hearers, he said, "Was not this your charge to me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered—"it is, and we approve it." Whereas, says Knox, 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 he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart.

Immediately after Knox's designation to the ministry, he began to combat Dean John Annan, and soon drove him from all his defences, except his dernier resort, the infallible authority of the church, which, he said, damned all Lutherans and heretics without disputation.—To this Knox answered, "that before we can hold ourselves, or ye can prove us convinced, the true church must be ascertained by the description of it in the word of God,—the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ must be discerned from the mother of confusion, lest we embrace a harlot, and submit ourselves to Satan, thinking him to be Jesus Christ. I no more doubt," continued he, "but that the church of



Rome is the synagogue of Satan, and that the head of it, the Pope, is the man of sin spoken of by the Apostle, than I doubt that Jesus suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day further degenerated from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the church of the Jews, from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Christ." Upon this, his hearers unanimously cried out, "We cannot all read your writing, but we can all hear you preach. 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."

In compliance with this request, on the following Sunday, in the parish church, he preached from the text in Daniel vii. 24, 25.—Having, in the introduction, showed how God loved his church, by warning them of danger and the state of the Israelites, during the Babylonish captivity,—and having showed that the beasts were emblematical of the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires, he asserted that the last beast was the Romish church, which had risen from the overthrow of that

empire. He contrasted the true church, which heard the voice of its only pastor, Jesus Christ, and which should therefore be held infallible, with the corrupt tenets of the Papists, with their inventions of pilgrimage, pardon, and "other such baggage," the doctrine of devils. He showed that the Pope was the beast "having a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemous;" that in the New Testament he was called the man of sin, the antichrist, and the whore of Babylon—and that he was contrary to Jesus in doctrine, law, and life. In conclusion, he called upon any one present to affirm that he had alleged Scripture doctrine or history otherwise than it was written; and, in the event of any one doing so, he pledged himself to convince his antagonist, in a private conference, not only that the original passages were correctly quoted by him, but that they bore the meaning which he had assigned to them.

Knox's first sermon created much speculation among all classes, and gave rise to "divers reports." Some said he not only hews the branches of papistry, but strikes at the root. Others said, that if the doctors defend not 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."

The opinion which all entertained, with regard to his person being in imminent danger, was soon confirmed by the officious quickness with which the sermon, and the effect produced by it, was carried to the elect bishop of St Andrew's, who wrote to Winram, vicar-general during the vacancy of the see, expressing his astonishment that such heretical doctrines should be openly taught without opposition. A conversation was accordingly held in St Leonard's Yard, to which both Knox and Rough were summoned. Nine articles were "gathered forth of their doctrine," and read. To these accusations Knox replied with a mixture of sincerity, sarcasm, learning, and logical deduction, which not only silenced the sub-prior, but abashed and disgraced a Grey-friar named Arbugkill, on whom Winram, when defeated, had devolved the argument.

The friars, having learnt, from the issue of this disputation, that, in respect to argument, the reformers were more than their match, invented another shift to counteract the effects of their preaching. They ordained that every learned man in the abbey, and in the university, should preach in the parish church, his Sunday, by turns : By this sly device, of excluding Knox and Rough from the pulpit on those days when

the greatest multitudes attended, and by the diligence and moderation with which they endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the people, they would have given a death-blow to the progress of the Reformation, had not Knox "smelled out the craft," and counteracted it by his week-day preaching. The labours of Knox on these trying occasions were so blessed, that, not only those in the castle, but also great numbers in the town, openly professed their attachment to the protestant faith, by participation of the Lord's Table, in the same purity which has since been ministered in the church of Scotland.

The priests and bishops having been thus overreached, defeated, insulted, and ashamed, supplicated the assistance of the Regent, the Queen, and the whole council, stating the prevalence of Luther's sentiments, and the boldness of their supporters,—and praying, that they might be assisted in correcting such dangerous abuses. In answer they were assured, that the laws of the realm should be put into full execution against heretics. To enable them to do so, they required the churchmen to present a list of offenders' names.

But it soon became apparent to all parties, that there was no necessity for a step comparatively so ineffectual,—since the Regent had

made arrangements with France, whereby the whole group in the castle of St Andrew's were to be made prisoners and carried out of the country. Accordingly a French fleet, consisting of one and twenty ships, with a considerable land force—all commanded by Lion-Strozy—appeared in sight of the castle of St. Andrew's on the 29th of June, 1547. Before resorting to this decisive step, the Governor, Bishop, Queen, and Monsieur d'Osely, had presented an absolution to those in the garrison, as sent from Rome. This absolution, as it contained the clause "we remit the crime that cannot be remitted," and required them to abandon the fort, was rejected unanimously. The day after the arrival of the galleys, a summons of surrender was sent to the castle, and an answer refusing to comply with it was returned. Upon this the castle was, with wonderful dispatch, invested both by sea and land; so much so, that many of the garrison soldiers who were abroad could not come in, and many men from the country who had no hand in the conspiracy, and happened to be in the castle by accident, could not get out. After having made an assault from sea, which did nothing more than throwing down the slates of houses, on shore trenches were cast, and brass ord-

nance were planted upon the towers of the two churches. Larger pieces of ordnance played upon part of the wall which stood between the two towers, and which the besiegers soon brought down with so much haste that the besieged began to be afraid. A council of war was called, at which (as the expected assistance had not arrived from England,—as many of the besieged had been killed by the shot of the enemy,—and as still more of them had fallen victims to the plague, then raging in the fort,) it was finally agreed to surrender the castle on the last day of July. The heads of capitulation were, that none of the besieged were to lose their lives; that they were to be transported as prisoners to France,—and that if their treatment there did not please them, they were to be conveyed, upon the expenses of the king of France, into any other country more agreeable to them, *except Scotland*. The castle was pillaged, and all the spoil, consisting of the cardinal's money and household stuffs, the wealth of the besieged, and of many others who had stored their goods there as a place of refuge, was lodged in the French ships. All the inmates except Rough,—who had gone to England before the commencement of the siege,—were conveyed on board the galleys,

which in a few days after set sail for France. After escaping great dangers at sea, they arrived at Fecamp in November, and, passing up the Seine, they lay before Rouen. Here the prisoners were used with the greatest cruelty. The articles of capitulation were disregarded. Many of the gentlemen, at the request of the Pope and Scottish Papists, were sent to the neighbouring jails, while Knox and others were kept bound with chains on board the galleys, and compelled to hard labour. They were also daily insulted with a variety of solicitations and threatenings, to induce them to renounce their faith. Mass was often said, and *Salve Regina* sung on board,—on which occasions the reformers were brought on deck, and subjected to the most ignominious tortures, because they obstinately refrained to give the ordinary signs of reverence, by remaining with their hat, cap, or hood on their head during the service. It ought to be mentioned, to the credit of the reformers, that, notwithstanding all the hardships they endured, and insults which were heaped upon them, *not a single individual of the whole party compromised his religious principles.* On the contrary, by their firmness, they even procured for themselves a mitigation of their punishment, and a freedom



from insult. One of them was so bold on an occasion, when asked to kiss a painted image of the virgin, as to throw it over-board, and, although chained, to tell his insulters that the lady might save herself by learning to swim.

The Pope wrote letters of congratulation and of thanks to the King of France and the Governor of Scotland, commending the activity and success with which the death of Cardinal Beaton had been avenged, and advising them to treat the prisoners with the utmost severity, that all others might be deterred, in time coming, from committing similar outrages. With the view of vigorously following up these instructions, John Hamilton of Milburn was dispatched from Scotland to confer with the King of France, and the Cardinal Lorrain, in respect to their treatment.

This victory over the promoters of the Reformation in Scotland was the occasion of much joy to the papists throughout Europe. In Scotland, during the whole summer, there was nothing but mirth among the priests, for every thing went with them according to their pleasure ; their song of triumph was—

“ Priests content you now, priests content you now,  
For Norman and his company have filled the galleys fou.”

As the clergy were afraid that the fort at St Andrew's might at some after period fall into the hands of the reformers, or that the English might acquire the possession of it, and as the church required that places which had been stained by the blood of a Cardinal should be utterly destroyed, the castle of St Andrew's was razed to the ground, the block-house was demolished, and the walls which surrounded the fort were cast down.

Continual solicitude, renewed insult, the fear of further punishment, the total deprivation of hope, and sorrow for the helpless state of the church, for a time preyed on the spirits of Knox, and became more than a match for the natural strength of his mind. His health became impaired, and he fell into a fever which, for a time, had all the appearance of proving mortal. In his distress he called upon his God for comfort and support,—and, beyond the expectation of all men, he was delivered from fear and fever, and restored to hope and confidence in his Maker. The galleys having returned to Scotland, and remained for a considerable time off the east coast, the prisoners became still more anxious for liberty, and were naturally asking each other in respect to their hopes of deliverance. On these occasions, Knox uniformly answered

“That God would deliver them from bondage to his glory, even in this life.” When lying between Dundee and St Andrew’s, Knox being so extremely sick that his life was despaired of, he was desired to look to the land and say whether he knew it? “Yes,” said he, “I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God in public opened my mouth to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever that I may appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his holy name in the same place.”

Nor was the time that our reformer was thus confined altogether lost. When health permitted, he wrote a summary of the doctrines taught by him in the castle of St Andrew’s, and a minute account of his disputations at St Leonard’s; both of which he sent to his friends on shore, accompanied with an exhortation to set persecution at defiance, by persevering in the faith. Knox also assisted Balnaves of Halhill in writing his Treatise on Justification, and the Works and Conversation of a Justified Man. The treatise having been sent for Knox’s perusal, he divided it into chapters, and drew up a synopsis of its contents. Besides making a few corrections and additions in the body of the work, he wrote and prefixed to it, for the bene-

fit of the friends of the Reformation in his native country, a Recommendatory Epistle ; in which, considering his situation, he speaks with a boldness truly astonishing. We must not omit to mention the advice which Knox on one occasion gave his fellow-prisoners, when asked by them respecting the lawfulness of their escaping from prison. To the prisoners in Mount St Michael he wrote, " 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." He also added, that God would in time deliver them in a way that would redound to his glory. This passage is well worthy of attention, as it unquestionably shows that Knox was not the bloodthirsty, cruel, and bigoted man he has been represented by some historians unfavourable to the Reformation.\*

\* Those who asked Knox's opinion on this occasion, viz. Kirkaldy of Grange, Carmichael, and Robert and William Leslie, who were prisoners in Mount St Michael, with the aid of a boy, bound all in the castle, and locked them up, took the keys from the captain, and departed, without doing harm to the person of any one, and even without touching any thing belonging to the king, captain, or to the house. After their escape, they suffered

At length, in February 1549, after a confinement of nineteen months, Knox was set at liberty. The motive which induced them to liberate him has never been properly ascertained. Whether the galley, in which he was confined, was taken at sea by the English, or, if he was set at large on account of its having become apparent to the French king that he was not accessory to the murder of Cardinal Beaton,—whether his friends procured his liberty by ransom, or if the French court, now that he had secured the person of the queen, disregarded the quarrels of the Scotch clergy,—will, in all probability, never be ascertained. Be that as it may, the fact is certain that Knox and Clark fell in with those who had escaped from the prison of Mount St Michael, in London, some time in the course of the winter in which they were delivered.

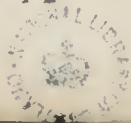
It was during Knox's confinement in the French galleys, that the French court succeeded in securing the person of the infant queen, and in conveying her to France. During the siege of the castle of St Andrew's, Henry sent supplies to the conspirators, with a view to the furtherance of the union and marriage he was so anxious to accomplish. But his death blasted

great privations in their wanderings, till they were finally landed on the west coast of Scotland.

all the hopes of the Protestants on this point. The Earl of Hartford, now Duke of Somerset, who was appointed protector of England during the minority of Edward VI, invaded Scotland with 18,000 men, aided by a fleet of 60 ships. The Scots army was posted to the greatest advantage near Musselburgh; and, had they not rashly quitted their station, and attacked the Duke of Somerset near Pinkie, the destruction of the English must have been inevitable. Purely from bad management, the Scottish army was routed, and above 10,000 of them slain. In consequence of this blow, one of the most fatal the Scottish nation ever received, the Protector had it in his power to become master of a kingdom out of which, not many hours before, he was almost obliged to retire with infamy. But, as this victory was not followed up, its only effect was to widen the breach between the Scots and English, and to precipitate the former into new engagements with France. The Queen-dowager had by this time in Scotland acquired considerable influence, which she exerted in favour of the French court. The nobles, spiritless and swayed by passion, forgot their zeal for the independency of Scotland, and offered their queen in marriage to the Dauphin, eldest son of Henry II. Henry instantly accepted the offer, and

sent 6,000 veteran soldiers to aid in repelling the English invasion. These served two campaigns in Scotland to very little purpose, in respect to the expulsion of the English. At last, through the intrigues of the Queen-dowager, the zeal of the clergy, and resentment against England, aided by the bribes and promises of the French general, it was decided, in a parliament assembled in a camp before Haddington, instantly to send Mary to France. The French fleet accordingly, making a feint, as if leaving the coast, tacked about to the north in the open sea, and, sailing round the isles, reached Dumbarton, received the queen, who was only six years old, and conveyed her to France.

In England, matters were somewhat altered, in favour of the reformers by the death of Henry. The Archbishop Cranmer, being no longer counteracted by the caprice of his sovereign, and being cordially supported by the Duke of Somerset, had it in his power to do much in advancing the cause of the Reformation. In this country, then, Knox not only found protection, but even favour and employment as a preacher. About the time of his arrival, learned Protestants had been invited from Germany to become professors in the English universities, while orthodox preachers were itiner-





ating through different quarters of the country, extinguishing the dying embers of popery. In Knox, Cranmer soon found a most excellent auxiliary, and instantly appointed him to preach at Berwick, an appointment which, from its proximity to Scotland, and from the facility which it afforded him of corresponding with his relations and former associates, must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. Here he remained an active and zealous preacher of the gospel of Christ for two years. In this situation he had to contend with the bigotry and superstition of Tonsal, bishop of Durham, who, at this time, was a warm supporter of the church of Rome. Although, from the protection which Knox derived from the council, Tonsal durst not openly persecute the reformer, yet means were resorted to of annoying him. A charge was brought against him before the bishop, for affirming the idolatrous nature of the mass; and he was obliged to defend himself in an assembly of the council of the north, the bishop of Durham, and the learned men of the bounds. His defence (of which Dr M'Crie has given an excellent summary, and a few extracts from a manuscript in his own possession,) had only the effect, like the disputation which he formerly held at St Andrew's with Winram, of extend-

ing his reputation, and convincing the papists of the utter impossibility of counteracting the effects of his preaching. In the words of the compiler of Knox's life, prefixed to his history, the bishop and his doctors were "quite silenced." As a reward of Knox's zeal, activity, and success in promoting the cause of Christ in the north of England, he was, in December 1551, appointed, by the privy council, chaplain in ordinary to King Edward, with a salary of £40 *per annum*. This honour was conferred on him and other five of the most zealous and readiest preachers who had been active as itinerants. Nor were any of the others more deserving of the distinction than Knox; while at Berwick, in the duties of his calling, he was instant in season and out of season. He regularly performed the ordinary duties of the Sabbath: In addition to it, he preached almost daily, and he lost no opportunity of conveying instruction, admonition, or consolation to all who asked it. He also was of great service in giving boldness and knowledge to the court of parliament, in reviewing the Book of Common Prayer,—and it was chiefly through his influence that the notion of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament was excluded. In Knox's own words, he took away the round clipped god

wherein standeth all the holiness of the papists, and commanded common bread to be used at the Lord's table. He also revised, along with Grindal, Bill, Horn and Pern, the articles of the church of England, which, when ratified by the parliament, were forty-two in number. To the credit of the English court, such extraordinary exertions called forth regards no less distinguished. Besides being appointed one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, Knox received, on several occasions, letters of thanks from the council for his earnest and successful endeavours in the good cause. As a mark of gratitude, respect, and approbation for John Knox, they conferred, upon his brother William Knox, the privilege of trading to any port in the kingdom for a certain period, in a vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burden.

During Knox's residence in Berwick, he contracted an intimacy with a Miss Bowes, who was related to Sir Robert Bowes, a man of considerable influence at court. This friendship soon grew into a mutual affection, which first led to a formal engagement of marriage, and finally to a marriage, which, however, was not publicly consummated for some time.

While at Berwick, Knox, having asserted in a sermon that papists were traitors to their king,

and country, was summoned to answer for it before the privy council. By this time matters were somewhat altered at court. The Duke of Somerset had been superseded from his high office of Protector of the kingdom, and a party secretly favourable to the church of Rome had got more into power. The Duke of Northumberland had been appointed warden-general of the northern marches.—Knox had incurred his enmity by lamenting the overthrow of Somerset, who had already recommended to the government the removal of our reformer from the district. Knox, on being ordered at his peril to appear before the council by a certain day, lost no time in repairing to London. Here, again, in spite of the malice of his enemies, who had been at much pains to circumvent him, he gained another victory. Having, by his manly conduct in the north, and fearless eloquence in his defence, and by a sermon preached before the court, gained the favour of his majesty, he was first appointed to preach in London and the southern counties, and was afterwards, through the interest of Cranmer, and the personal favour of the young king, offered the vacant living of All Hallows. This living, of honour and emolument, Knox REFUSED—and why? because he could not, con-

sistently with the dictates of his own conscience, accept of it while the English church remained in the state in which it then was. His refusal, accompanied by the insinuations of Northumberland, once more gave offence, and he was again called before the council; and again most honourably acquitted. Nor was this all: Upon condition of becoming a conformist to the church of England, he was offered a BISHOPRIC, probably the new founded one of Newcastle—THIS HE ALSO REFUSED, upon the same conscientious principles by which he was always actuated.

Knox was soon destined to endure a sad reverse of fortune, in the death of the amiable Edward, (on the 6th of July 1553,) than whom a more virtuous or a more godly prince never lived. On the 19th of the same month, Mary ascended the throne of England, and soon after married Philip II. of Spain. Forthwith Knox was compelled to quit London, and take refuge in the north of England. To the persecuting spirit of Romish superstition, and the fierceness of the age, the queen added the private resentment of her own and her mother's sufferings;—with these she loaded the reformed religion.—In the cruelty of her persecutions she equalled the deeds of those tyrants who have been the

greatest reproach to human nature. The bigotry of the clergy could scarcely keep pace with the impetuosity of her zeal. Many of the most eminent of the reformers suffered for the doctrines which they taught,—others fled from the storm. For a time, Knox, although afflicted with bodily disorders, and agonised with other calamities, both of a public and private nature, wandered about preaching to the people. But, as the storm thickened, he was obliged to skulk, to the imminent danger of his life. All the acts of parliament, made in favour of the reformation, were repealed, and, by a certain day, the protestant worshippers were to be outlawed, and treated as heretics. Knox, having, during his wanderings, sent some letters to his friends at Berwick, and these having been intercepted, formed the resolution of going directly north to his wife, and had proceeded so far on his way in the utmost secrecy, when his relations met him, and, with tears and intreaties, persuaded him to return to some place of safety on the coast, where he might procure a vessel in which he might escape to the continent. In this way he eluded the pursuit of his enemies, by being safely landed at Dieppe, in Normandy.

At the period of Knox's departure, a dark and dismal cloud overhung the whole island.—



We have already mentioned the fearful persecutions and cruelties which Mary inflicted upon the Protestants in England. In Scotland, Mary of Lorraine had deposed the Earl of Arran from the regency, and assumed the reins of government. Bound to the devotion of her two brothers, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, "She did only abide the opportunity to cut the throats of those whom she suspected to possess any knowledge of God." In both countries, the promoters of the Reformation were exposed to insult and persecution. But these circumstances, which at first sight appeared so disheartening to Knox and his friends, became ultimately of the greatest service to the cause.— On this, as on every other occasion, persecution proved to be the seed of the church. By being compelled to go to the continent, Knox became personally acquainted with Calvin, and other staunch reformers at Geneva. His intercourse with these eminent divines had the effect of enlarging his views and confirming him in his former opinions. In fact, to the persecutions and cruelties of the two Marys, the Scottish church owes its noble constitution, and much of that purity and independence which has ever since established for its clergy the esteem and approbation of mankind.



When Knox arrived on the continent, he felt himself in the most hopeless and depressed state. He had neither the means of procuring subsistence, nor a friend to advise, comfort, or console him. Yet the Lord was his rock, and his fortress, and his deliverer. His God was his strength in whom he trusted—the horn of his salvation—and his high tower. When wandering a forlorn stranger in a foreign country, the Lord kept him as the apple of His eye, and hid him under the shadow of His wings from the wicked that oppressed him, and his deadly enemies who encompassed him about. When the wicked bent their bows, and made ready their arrows on the string, the Almighty became his shield and his buckler. To relieve himself from the tedium of exile, he kept up a regular correspondence with his friends in Scotland and in England. He also sent to England short tracts, advising them to remain firm in the faith without wavering. And he made a tour through part of France and Switzerland, where he was kindly received by the divines of the Helvetic Church. This circumstance contributed much to relieve him from that mental depression against which his mind, strong as it was, and fortified by confidence in God as it must have been, could hardly bear up. In the

end, as has already been mentioned, his exile became one of the most fortunate circumstances which well could have happened for the cause of the Reformation in Scotland. In the course of his peregrinations he fell in with Calvin at Geneva. Here Knox determined to reside during the remainder of his exile on the continent. He was led to form this resolution from the great esteem and deference which he entertained for Calvin—from the situation being eligible for the successful prosecution of his studies—and from the religious order which had been established in the church having met with his entire approbation.

About this time he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, the want of which had formerly grieved him much. He also, when at Geneva, composed an admonition to England, the state of which, at this period, was deplorable in the extreme. The cruelties which Mary inflicted upon the Protestants were so savage, that many of them, from intimidation, abandoned the enlightened tenets Knox and others had inculcated. Vast numbers of the more learned and determined of the Reformers, made their escape to the continent, where the reformed churches did every thing they could to alleviate their distress, and to recompense the kindness which foreigners had formerly met with in England.

The English refugees, after having been for some time scattered through various parts of the reformed continent, at last clustered at Frankfort; here they procured from the magistrates liberty to perform worship, in their own language, in the church already occupied by the French Protestants of that city. Three pastors were chosen with equal authority. Of these Knox was one. At first, on receiving intimation of his appointment to this office, Knox felt disposed to decline the invitation. But having been advised to accept of it by Calvin, he repaired to Frankfort, where he found the congregation in a very feverish state. Division and discord had already got up among them. Time only widened the breach. In the end, on the arrival of Dr Cox from England, the most disrespectful and unbecoming squabbles and contentions were raised. One party wished to answer aloud after the minister in the time of Divine service, and also to retain some other of the Popish dregs which Calvin aptly denominat- ed tolerable fooleries; while the other party, with Knox at their head, insisted upon hav- ing the form of the English liturgy somewhat modified and adapted to their peculiar circum- stances. In the whole of this controversy, Knox manifested a wonderful prudence and modera- tion, even under circumstances the most irrita-

ting. And he would have finally prevailed, had not his enemies had recourse to the most base and unchristian tricks to ruin their adversary. When they saw that Knox's sentiments were likely to prevail, they trumped up an accusation against him of high treason against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and the Queen of England. This accusation they founded on his *admonition to England*, a work which had already been some time before the public. To avoid all danger of being delivered up by the senate of Frankfort to the Emperor's Council, then sitting at Augsburgh, or to the English Queen, Knox very prudently retired to his old friend at Geneva.

About this time matters began to assume a more favourable appearance in Scotland: The Popish clergy, imagining that every spark of the Reformation was extinguished in that country, since the demolition of the Castle of St Andrew's and the banishment of the most active of the Reformers, had relaxed into their usual apathy and security. The Protestants who were permitted to remain in their native country, prudently avoided any avowal of their sentiments; and, by doing so, had been allowed to live in peace. Trusting to the peaceful state of the country, and anxious to see his wife, Knox, at the solici-

tation of his friends, and particularly of his mother-in-law, landed on the east coast of Scotland in the end of harvest, 1555. Having paid a short visit to Berwick, he repaired secretly to Edinburgh. During Knox's exile, William Harlow, a simple plain man, without erudition, and John Willock, a man of no ordinary learning, talent, affability, and address, had frequently, in the most secret manner, convened the brethren, and by their exhortations strengthened their faith, and supported their drooping spirits. On the first arrival of Knox in Edinburgh, he took up his lodgings in the house of "that notable man of God," James Syme. Here he secretly exhorted, instructed, and encouraged the friends of the Reformation, who flocked to him the moment his arrival was ascertained. Besides a vast number of others, the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, Mr Robert Lockart, Mr William Maitland of Lethington, younger, Elizabeth Adamson, then spouse to James Barrow, burghess of Edinburgh, benefited by his discourses.

The first thing which attracted Knox's particular attention on his arrival in his native country, was the temporizing manner in which his Protestant friends attended mass, and performed other Popish ceremonies. When he first pointed out this impropriety, his hearers were

very much agitated with scruples of conscience on the one hand, and the fear of laying themselves open to new persecutions on the other. A day was accordingly appointed on which it was agreed to deliberate on the course to be pursued. Maitland supported the practice with all his good learning, sharp wit, and reasoning; while Knox boldly deprecated the impiety of the service, and exposed the dangers of idolatry. The manly reasoning and candour of Knox reconciled all diversity of opinion, and obliged even Maitland to yield the point as untenable. Ever after this discussion, mass began to be abhorred, even by such as had before used it for the fashion, and avoiding of slander, as they termed it.

At the solicitation of the Laird of Dun, Knox accompanied him to his family residence in Angus. Here he remained preaching daily for a month to the principal people of the district, and afterwards he returned to Edinburgh. After this, he took up his residence mostly in Calder, where he was attended by Lord Erskine, the Earl of Argyle, then Lord of Lorn, and Lord James, then Prior of St Andrew's, afterwards Earl of Murray;—these all approved of his doctrine. During the winter he taught mostly in Edinburgh. After Christmas he made a tour to

Ayrshire, where he preached and administered the sacrament. Before Easter, he went to Finlayston, the seat of Lord Glencairn, where he preached and administered the sacrament to his lordship, his lady, his two sons, and a number of his other friends. From Finlayston he went again to Calder, and from that place he repaired a second time to the seat of the Laird of Dun. The news of his assiduity and success having been brought to the bishops, Knox was summoned to appear in the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May. With such secrecy had his missions been conducted, that it was long before the clergy ascertained that he was in the kingdom. Having ascertained his intention to obey the summons, they deserted the diet against him. In consequence of which, instead of pleading for his own life before a civil court, he preached openly to the people, and boldly advocated the cause of Christ, in a lodging belonging at the time to the bishop of Dunkeld. Here he continued teaching for ten days both forenoon and afternoon. The Earl of Glencairn having allured the Earl of Marshall, and his counsellor Henry Drummond, to an evening discourse, his Lordship was so much struck with what he heard that he lost no time in prevailing on Knox to pen 'The Let-



ter to the Queen Dowager,' and to get it delivered into her own hand by the Earl of Glencairn. On receiving the letter, which was guardedly and forcibly written, the Queen delivered it to the proud Prelate Beaton of Glasgow, and said in mockage, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil."

When Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, he received an epistle from the English church that was assembled at Geneva, and which had separated from that at Frankfort, commanding him, in God's name, to repair to them as their pastor. Upon this he sent over to the continent his wife and her mother, while he remained for a few days preaching at Castle Campbell. Notwithstanding the solicitations of the Earl of Argyle, the Laird of Glenurquhay, and others, for his remaining in Scotland, he passed over to France, and from thence to Geneva. No sooner had Knox left the kingdom than the bishops summoned him to appear before them—condemned him as a heretic—and burnt him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh.

The time he spent on this occasion at Geneva, were the only moments of peace and quietness which he had ever enjoyed since he embraced the cause of the Reformation. Here he enjoyed the society of his wife and her mother, the

friendship of Calvin, the support of his colleague, Christopher Goodman, and the gratitude and confidence of his whole flock. At Geneva his wife bore two sons to him. After having been here for about two years, a deputation arrived from the Scottish Protestant nobility, informing him of the prosperous state of the Reformation, and inviting him to return to them. He accordingly determined to leave the continent, and come to Scotland: But, after he had taken the most heart-rending leave of his flock, and was on the eve of embarking, his invitation was countermanded, and he again found himself destitute. After having spent some time in France, and having written a pointed letter to his friends in Scotland, upbraiding them for misleading him, he again returned to Geneva, where he spent another winter. It was about this time (1558) that he and some of the learned men of his congregation translated the Geneva Bible into English—and that he published his letter to the Queen Regent, and also his appeal and exhortation. He also published, about this time, a curious treatise, entitled, “The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.” The object of the work was to show, that the promotion of females to the throne is repugnant to nature,

subversive of equity and justice, and contrary to the revealed will of God. Knox was certainly induced to publish this work from the persecutions which Mary of England was at that time inflicting on the promoters of the Reformation; and, also, from the circumstance of his letter having been contemptuously received by the Queen Dowager of Scotland. It was his first intention to have given his trumpet *three blasts*; but Elizabeth having, in the interim, succeeded to the throne, it was esteemed prudent not to irritate her, since she was favourable to the Reformed cause.

The letter which Knox wrote to the Protestant Lords in Scotland, when his order to embark for that country was countermanded, had the desired effect; and a solemn bond of mutual assurance, which obtained the appellation of the *First Covenant*, was subscribed at a consultative meeting, held at Edinburgh, in December 1557. A letter was also written again, inviting Knox to come over to their assistance, and imploring Calvin to use his influence in persuading him to comply with their request.

During Knox's absence at Geneva, the zeal and courage of the Protestants had been upheld by Harlow, Willocks, Methven, Douglas, and others, and also by Knox's letter. Desertions

were made from popery in every town. The ardour of the populace broke out into acts of outrage and violence—priests were ridiculed and contemned—images, crucifixes, and reliques were torn from the churches, and trampled under foot. In the feebleness of the government, and in their own growing power, the Protestants were encouraged to attempt a legal establishment of the Reformation—their conduct became less irregular and desultory—policy and address were joined to zeal and argument—and, notwithstanding the attempt which was made to stop it by charging the Protestants as heretics, and by committing to the flames Walter Milne, an old man of the most kindly dispositions, the cause was daily advancing. At Edinburgh elders had been chosen; and deacons for the management of the poor funds were appointed. And at Dundee a reformed church, complete in all its departments, had been established.

In these circumstances, Knox was soon prevailed upon to make arrangements for returning to his native country. The cruel and persecuting Mary having died, and Elizabeth having succeeded to the throne of England, most of his friends and hearers at Geneva formed the resolution of returning to their homes. As the establishment at Geneva was in this way likely

to be broken up, Knox had less inducement to remain on the continent. He accordingly, in the month of January, 1559, bade a final adieu to Geneva, having previously received the freedom of that city. Having been anxious to return to Scotland by the way of London, in order that he might give the English court some important information respecting the intrigues of France, he wrote a letter requesting permission to do so: This request was not granted him, on account of the impression which his First Blast against the Regiment of Women, aided by the insinuations of his old enemy at Frankfort, had excited to his prejudice. He therefore, on the 22d of April, embarked at Dieppe, landed at Leith, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 2d of May.

Immediately before Knox's arrival, matters again assumed rather an alarming and unforeseen appearance. The sole object of the Queen Dowager in favouring the Reformers, was to procure their consent to the marriage of her daughter with the Dauphine of France. This once obtained, she threw off the mask—and counsels the most bold and savage suggested themselves. Despising her promises—disregarding her feelings of honour—forgetting her prudence, her humanity, her sex—at the instigation of the king of France

and the princes of Lorrain, she projected the total destruction of the leaders of the Reformation. Citations were issued against all the reformed preachers to appear at Stirling, to answer the charges which had been preferred against them. When the Earl of Glencairn, and other leaders of the Reformation, admonished her to relax her severities, she boldly told them, that "she would banish the preachers from Seotland, though their doctrines were as sound as those of Paul's;" and, when reminded of her promises, she said, that "these were only binding on princes so long as they were subservient to convenience and pleasure." "Since," said his lordship, "these are your sentiments, the Congregation can no longer acknowledge your authority, and must renounce your allegiance." Upon this, agitated with pride, anger, and astonishment, she relented, and began to soothe them. Immediately after this interview, she was informed that the town of Perth had introduced the exercise of the reformed religion. This again called forth her indignation. She renewed her prosecution by summoning all the preachers to appear at Stirling, to be tried on the 10th of May.

Although Knox had formerly been condemned as a heretic, and knew himself to be ob-

noxious to the Queen Regent, he determined, by life and by death, to march even unto the brunt of the battle to defend his brethren, or perish in the attempt. With this view he repaired to Dundee, where the Protestants, from all parts of the country, had already assembled. Upon their approach towards Perth, Erskine of Dun was sent before to acquaint the Queen Regent of the peaceable intentions of the Congregation. Alarmed at their unanimity, power, and fervour, she had recourse to dissimulation; she intreated Erskine to stop their march, and promised to abandon her proceedings against the preachers. With this assurance the multitude dispersed; and, when the day of citation arrived, conforming to their agreement, the preachers did not present themselves at Stirling: they were, notwithstanding, denounced as outlaws. A trick so disgraceful excited distrust, suspicion, and indignation among all ranks of the people, and especially with Erskine, who felt affronted at having been used as a tool of deceit. When the news arrived at Perth, Knox, from the pulpit, thundered all his eloquence against the perfidiousness of the Queen Regent, and the abomination of idols and images. A priest, wishing to put the dispositions of the people to the test, and to show his contempt,



for Knox's eloquence, prepared, immediately after this sermon, to say mass. Opening a tabernacle, which stood upon the high altar, he made a show of the images of the saints. A boy who had lingered in the church having said something sharp, the priest struck him a violent blow; the boy, to be revenged, threw a stone, and broke one of the images. The people took part with the boy, and, in a moment, altar, and images, and ornaments were demolished. "Which noised abroad," says Knox, "the *rascal multitude* assembled," and destroyed the monasteries of the grey and black friars, and levelled with the ground the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks. The multitude of their gold and silver vessels, the costly magnificence of their beds and furniture, their eight puncheons of salt beef, (consider, says Knox, the time of the year, May,) their wine, beer, and ale, were seized by the multitude, and esteemed by them unfitting the condition of men professing mortification and poverty. Knox expressly affirms, that, "No honest man was enriched thereby to the value of a groat." This was followed by a similar riot at Cupar in Fife, where the church altars and pictures were also defaced.

The indignant queen vowed the deepest re-

venge. She invited the nobility to her person, armed her vassals, and collected her French troops, with the view of surprising the insurgents in Perth. But the Protestants were equally alert: from Fife, Angus, and Mearns, the gentlemen collected their followers; while the Earl of Glencairn advanced from Ayrshire with 250 dependants. Both armies encamped near Perth. The Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews, on the one part, and Knox and Willocks on the other, effected an agreement, in which it was, among other things, concluded, that no molestation should be given to the late insurgents, and that no persecution of the Reformed should be undertaken. As the Protestants had by this time become aware of the perfidiousness of the Queen Regent, they deemed it expedient to engage in a new association, which was termed the *Second Covenant*.

After this treaty, it was determined by the Lords of the Covenant to introduce a Reformation wherever they had the power to accomplish it. As the most of the inhabitants of St Andrew's were friendly to the reformed cause, Knox, travelling along the coast by Anstruther and Crail, arrived at that city in June. Here he found an armed force ready to prevent him from preaching, and who assured him, that their

orders from the bishop was to fire upon him if he made the attempt. In spite of this threat, and the advice of all his friends, he determined not to be intimidated. He said, that, "his life was in the custody of him whose glory he sought, and that he was not solicitous as to the fear of danger." The firmness and intrepidity of Knox prevailed. Next day he mounted the pulpit, and preached to a vast congregation; and, such was the power of his persuasion, that no one dared to interrupt him. He continued preaching for three days on the corruptions of popery. On the 14th of June, the provost, bailies, and citizens, in a body, abandoned Popery, and instantly set about demolishing the monasteries, and pulling down the pictures, altars, and images, in the church. The contagion instantly flew to other parts of the country. In various towns in Fife, in Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling, every monument of idolatry, and even the dwellings of the monks, were demolished; the fine abbey of Cambuskenneth shared the usual havoc. Having thus purified the churches from the pollution of Popery, preachers were appointed, in summer 1559, to expound to the people the purer doctrines of Christianity. St Andrew's, Dundee, Perth, Brechin, Montrose,

Stirling, and Ayr, were first supplied with ministers.

In the end of June, Knox left St Andrew's and repaired to Edinburgh, where the Congregation had been for a short time. No sooner was his arrival announced than the inhabitants chose him for their pastor. On the 25th of July, the Queen Regent marching towards Edinburgh, the Congregation were compelled to abandon it, on condition that the people should be permitted to adopt either the Popish or Protestant religion, according to the dictates of their consciences. It was therefore deemed a matter of prudence and policy to substitute Willock in the stead of Knox. Willock was not so obnoxious to the Queen Regent; and Knox could be much more advantageously employed in preaching up and down the country. In the course of a few weeks most of the people, of all sorts, by his exertions, embraced the truth. From Dumfries to St Andrew's, from Kelso to Stirling, and from Ayr to Montrose, all were alive to the doctrines of the reformed.

It would appear that the rancour of the English government towards Knox was, by this time, in some measure, subsiding. Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, not only granted to Mrs Knox and her mother a

safe conduct to pass into England, but even accompanied it with a letter to his Queen, urging a reconciliation with Knox, on the grounds of his friendship being of essential service to their interest. Mrs Knox was, on that account, kindly received, and respectfully treated in England. She was formally conveyed to the borders by orders of the court. Knox also obtained from the English court a safe conduct for Mrs Bowes, his mother-in-law, to come into Scotland. Here Mrs Bowes spent the remainder of her life.

After the cold reception his letters had formerly met with, this attention on the part of the English court to his personal interest must have been very gratifying to his feelings. Accordingly, when the Lords and gentlemen of the Congregation found themselves in the greatest perplexity and distress,—when they found that the money subscribed by them was altogether inadequate to their demands,—and when they found that their plan of surrendering their plate to be struck into money was rendered abortive, by the queen dowager having withdrawn the instruments of coinage, Knox earnestly recommended application being made to England for assistance. So anxious was he to restore their unanimity and courage, that, at Stirling, he addressed them from the pulpit. He represented their

misfortunes as the consequences of their sins,—and, intreating them to remember the goodness of their cause, assured them, in the end, of joy, honour, and victory. His powerful eloquence raised them from despair to hope. A council was held at which it was determined to solicit the aid of Queen Elizabeth. Kircaldy of Grange first wrote, and afterwards applied in person to Henry Percy, who transmitted the representation to Secretary Cecil, where it was favourably received. Knox also sent a representation to the Secretary, and a letter to Queen Elizabeth, trying to remove the prejudice which existed in her mind against him, on account of the “First Blast of the Trumpet against the Regiment of Women.” There is reason to suspect that this letter to the Queen never reached her. Nor, considering the uncouth strain in which it was written, had Knox any reason to regret its being suppressed? His letter to Cecil met with immediate attention; and, in answer, he was desired to have a conference at Alnwick with Sir Henry Percy. So soon as the state of affairs in Scotland permitted, Knox embarked at Pittenweem, and arrived at Holy Island. The 2d of August had been appointed as the day for the interview; and Cecil had also come down to Stamford to have

matters managed with secrecy and dispatch. But as Knox was considerably later in his arrival than the day appointed, Cecil had returned, and Percy was recalled from the public situation which he held on the English marches. In his extremity, Knox applied to the governor of Berwick, who transmitted his dispatches to the Secretary. The answer which was returned was so guarded and unsatisfactory, that the Lords of the Congregation were about to abandon themselves to despair, when Knox again wrote to London in a more urgent manner. In reply, the Lords of the Congregation were desired to send to Berwick a person in whom they had confidence, to whom a sum of money would be given for carrying on the war. Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft were appointed as accredited agents at Berwick for the English.

Money was very acceptable to the Lords of the Congregation, but it was not enough. Accordingly, Knox and Balnaves represented the imperious necessity of having an immediate supply of military, to enable them to make their intended attack upon Leith. While thus acting in the double capacity of priest and statesman, Knox was more than once obliged to merge that blunt integrity, which guided him on all other occasions, in the sly dissimulation of the poli-



tician. He knew that the English court were at their hearts favourable to the interest of the Congregation; but that their object was to send secret supplies, rather than get into an open rupture with France by sending military aid; and he accordingly recommended to Sir James, that, in the event of troops being sent, the English court should give out that they had gone of their own accord; and should even, if necessary, declare them rebels for having done so. This double-faced proposition met, *on paper*, with the answer it deserved, while in *practice* it received a material adoption, although in a more plausible shape.

Exertions so active on the part of Knox could not fail to call forth a commensurate resentment on that of the Queen Regent, and the party in Scotland favourable to the French interest. No endeavours, however disgraceful, were spared to secure his person, or to bring about his death. Rewards were openly offered to any body who should seize or kill him. Yet such was the favour the people had for him, and such was the superintending care of Providence over him, that, although he was even in the brunt of the battle, and appeared openly and without protection in various parts of the country, travelling,

preaching, and giving advice, not a hair of his head was injured.

As it appeared to the Lords of the Congregation that all the Regent's words, deeds, and designs, tended only to tyranny,—and that she, notwithstanding the remonstrances they had made, persisted in her disaffection to God's true worship—to the good of the community, and the freedom of her subjects—they determined to adopt more decisive measures, and by one blow to deprive the Queen Regent of all authority. For this purpose, a numerous assembly of nobles, barons, and representatives of boroughs, met in October, at Edinburgh, to bring the matter to a solemn discussion. In this council Lord Ruthven presided; and Willock and Knox were invited to attend and give their opinion in respect to the lawfulness and expediency of the measure. The question to be determined was, whether she, who had so contemptuously refused the humble requests of the born counsellors of the realm, should be permitted so tyrannically to domineer over them? Some in the assembly deemed the measure dangerous, unconstitutional, and altogether unprecedented: While others insisted that she had been raised to her high office for the good of

the nation, and that the moment she pursued policy evidently destructive to it, she should be deposed. After much altercation, the Lords came to the determination of proceeding against the Queen. But, aware of the boldness of the measure, and that it was putting their popularity to the test, they wished to have their conduct sanctioned by the approbation of the ministers, who were revered by the people, and whose opinion would convince others. Willock spoke first; and, after a speech delivered with great force and perspicuity, he concluded, that since the Queen Regent had violated her duty to the subject—since she was an idolator and supporter of superstition—and since she had despised the counsel of the nobility,—that the born counsellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might deprive her of authority. Knox concurred with Willock in regard to the necessity of deposing the Queen, but expressed himself much more guardedly with a view to put the question on a safer foundation; and affirmed, that she might be deposed, provided they were not actuated in doing so by any bad motive,—that the effect of it was in no way to withdraw their heart from allegiance to their sovereign. And, finally, that upon open repen-

tance—conversion to the commonwealth—and submission to the nobility, she should regain the honours she had lost.

These two opinions settled the point. The act of suspension was unanimously passed—proclaimed next day at the cross—and the day after intimated by a herald to the Queen Regent herself. No sooner did they suspend the Regent, than they required the French troops to evacuate Leith, and leave the country. The troops in Leith having treated this summons with contempt, the Lords of the Congregation began to besiege it. From the want of artillery they made no impression on the walls of the town. The besieged sallied from the fort, and harassed the besiegers. Some of their own adherents proved false, and gave intimation of all their designs to the Regent. These sowed dissension among the ranks: The remittance of money from England had been intercepted—the soldiers wanted pay—and the treasury was empty. In a word, the affairs of the Congregation became desperate. Their numbers daily decreased, and those who remained became every day more disheartened and disunited. In the midst of so awful a complication of disasters, Knox, and a few of the Lords, acted with calmness, firmness, and decision; and la-

boured to retrieve their decaying fortunes. Knox preached up the necessity of union, and exhibited all the evils resulting from the least relaxation of their efforts; but their 'dolour' was such, that they refused to be consoled, and ignominiously retreated to Stirling. The day after their arrival, Knox endeavoured to rekindle the zeal and courage of his party by an animated harangue from the pulpit. He exposed their timidity, and urged them to place their trust in God, in so energetic a manner that the despondency of the audience was changed into confidence and courage.

Immediately after the discourse, the council met. Knox attended, and in prayer implored the blessing of heaven upon their deliberations. It was unanimously resolved to state their condition to Elizabeth, and to supplicate her aid. The English court now saw the necessity of abandoning their secret policy, and of coming boldly forward in support of the Lords of the Congregation. They accordingly sent down military and naval stores. A fleet appeared off Fife, and obliged the French troops to evacuate that district. The English army drove the French troops from their strong hold at Leith. The Queen Regent, having been worn out by anxiety and disease, died in Edinburgh Castle.

The French were forced to evacuate Scotland. An amnesty was granted to all who had resisted the Queen. A free Parliament was called to settle the affairs of the nation, and to redress the grievances of the Protestants. In a word, in summer 1560, this contest, the most interesting in which Scotland ever was engaged, was brought to an issue by the establishment of the Reformation, and by laying the foundation on which the Protestant Church in Scotland was afterwards placed. From this period, although the organization of the Reformed Church was incomplete, the Reformed faith gained the ascendancy. It was embraced by the people in a body, and eagerly promoted by a majority of nobles. A season of tranquillity followed the departure of the French and English armies. The supporters of the Reformed faith embraced the opportunity, and openly inculcated their new tenets. The most eminent ministers were distributed through the principal towns, while a few were appointed to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs in provinces assigned to them, and to confirm the people in their reverence for the Protestant faith. Knox was called to discharge the pastoral functions at Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman at St Andrew's; Heriot at Aberdeen; Row at Perth; Meassen at Jed-

burgh; Spottiswood was named to superintend for the division of Lothian; Willock for that of Glasgow; Winram for Fife; Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns.

The first object, subsequent to the meeting of Parliament in August, was to form the first Book of Discipline. Knox and other five ministers were appointed, by the Lords of the Privy Council, to compile such a work as should be deemed most scriptural and advantageous to the advancement of the everlasting welfare of mankind. Winram, Spottiswood, Douglas, Row, and Knox, constituted the committee, who "drew in a volume the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk." The compilers divided amongst themselves the different portions of the work. Having done so, they, in a body, with great care, much reading, prayer, and meditation, examined and corrected the whole. The Book of Discipline was presented to the Lords of the Articles, and adopted by them without the least hesitation. Without questions being asked, or time being taken to deliberate—try it with the test of reason, and compare it with Scripture—an act was at once passed solemnly pronouncing it the standard of Protestant belief in Scotland. The Prelates of the Romish Church, when asked, in the name of God, to object publicly to the doc-



trines it proposed, preserved the most profound silence. In this Book of Discipline, it was expressly provided, that colleges should be established in every notable town, for instructing the youth in logic, rhetoric, and the learned languages,—and that every parish should be provided with schools, in which religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue should be taught. This enlightened design of providing for the instruction of the nation, was, in a great measure, defeated by the rapacity of the nobles, who appropriated to themselves the funds which Knox meant to devote to this laudable purpose. The conduct of Knox and his party, in this instance, presents the most amiable and interesting picture of benevolence,—entitles them to the veneration of posterity,—and affords one of the many proofs that he and his reforming friends were not gloomy, savage, or rapacious.

It was towards the end of this ever memorable year, that the Reformed Church held their first General Assembly, which was attended by Knox and the other five ministers who had framed the Book of Discipline; and by upwards of thirty other members. They had no president or moderator.

It was also about this time that our Reformer was deprived of the comfort and consolation of

his wife, who departed this life just after Knox had arrived at his haven of rest and tranquillity. He was left with the management of his two young children, and also with that of his mother-in-law, the state of whose mind, from the hardships, persecutions, and anxieties she had endured, was such as to render her rather a burden and a vexation than any comfort to Knox.

A convention was held, at which the Prior of St Andrew's was appointed to repair to the Queen to invite her to return to Scotland, and to condole with her upon the loss of her husband. But the opposite party were no less active in dispatching Leslie to offer their service and allegiance to their sovereign. In the mean time the young Queen was loath to leave a country where she had been so happy. At length, on the 19th of August, after an absence of nineteen years, she arrived at Leith. She was received by her subjects with every demonstration of welcome and regard : the beauty and gracefulness of her person drew universal admiration ; the elegance and politeness of her manners commanded general respect. Although the rage of religious controversy was unabated,—and although both Protestants and Papists were zealous, fierce, and irreconcilable, they were

all eager to manifest the most dutiful attachment to the Queen. Matters might have gone on for some time in this calm way, had not the tranquillity been disturbed by an unforeseen and sudden gust of faction.

On the Sunday which succeeded the Queen's arrival, the most pompous preparations were made for the celebration of high mass in honour of St Bartholomew. The first rumours of this occasioned a secret murmur among the Protestants,—the hearts of the godly became bold,—threatenings followed. All exclaimed, Shall the idol be suffered again to be established in this realm? The servants belonging to the chapel were insulted; and, but for the timely interference of the Prior of St Andrew's, an open riot would have followed, and even the priest might have suffered the death which was threatened. On this occasion Knox did all that he could to allay the tumult of the people, and to keep them within bounds. No man could be more alarmed than he was at the introduction of the mass; but he was anxious to convince his sovereign by argument, and to reclaim her by indulgence. Knox, and the other Protestant leaders, deserve the praise both of wisdom and moderation on this occasion. Although the preachers declared, that a single mass was

more formidable to the nation than the invasion of ten thousand men, the Queen obtained, for herself and her domestics, the undisturbed exercise of her religion. In return, her Majesty issued a proclamation, declaring that it should be a capital crime to alter or subvert the religion which she found universally practised in the realm. She even committed the administration of affairs entirely to the Protestants. The Prior of St Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, were her favourite ministers.

Although she thus acted with the greatest moderation and deference to the feelings of her subjects, yet Knox never seems to have been a favourite with her. Various reasons may be assigned for this circumstance. Knox had, upon the occasion of her being first invited to return to Scotland, insisted that her desisting from the mass should be held as the *sine qua non*. While others agreed to grant her leave to exercise the Catholic faith privately in her own chapel, he opposed it, and boldly affirmed, that "her liberty would be their thralldom." Nor was the "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Regiment of Women" forgotten. Accordingly, soon after her arrival the Queen sent for Knox, and held a long conversation or rather dispute with him, which, so far from mending the

matter, made it much worse. The immediate cause of her thus sending for him was, his having, on the Sunday after the murmur about the saying of mass, inveighed against idolatry, and other rites of Popery. His conduct, on this occasion, gave so much offence to the guiders of the court, that they could not restrain themselves from speaking in his presence in the church, and upbraiding him for introducing a subject so delicate, and quite foreign to the subject he was then discussing. These instantly told her Majesty of Knox's indiscretion, and probably added a little exaggeration. In consequence of this, says Knox, the Queen "spoke with John Knox, and reasoned long with him, none being present except the Lord James, and two gentlemen who stood in the one end of the room."

The Queen began the conversation by accusing Knox of having raised up a part of her subjects against her mother and herself—that he had caused sedition and bloodshed in England—that he had written a book against her just authority, which she would cause the most learned in Europe to refute—and that he had done all this, as she was told, by necromancy.

To this heavy charge Knox boldly answered,—"Madam, it may please your majesty patient-

ly 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 ppeople 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 deccit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman antichrist : But, Madam, if the true knowledge of God, and his right worshipping, be the chief causes 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 fathers 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 borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in 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 a 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 defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I, nor that book shall either hurt you or your authority; for in very deed, Madam, that book was written most especially against that wicked 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 this day hath not troubled your Majesty, neither in person nor in authority; for of the 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 were 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 there commonly used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrels that used to arise among soldiers,) that 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 witness (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 her Majesty, " 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 Knox, " 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 had been a long time 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 subject 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," replied the Queen, "none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet, Madam," said Knox, "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," he replied, "Madam, and do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, 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 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? Or, think ye, Madam, that God will be offended with them that have staid their father from committing wickedness. It is even so," continued 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 intreat her, and to demand, what had offended her Majesty? 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 Knox, "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 travail 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 a 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 flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.”

“Yea,” said the Queen, “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,” replied Knox, “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 declin-

ed, and, 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, which 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 Knox, "to take one of the chief points, which this day are in contro-



versy betwixt the papists and us, for example: The papists allege, and boldly have affirmed, that the mass is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and 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 farther 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 play 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 our 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 Knox, "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 he, "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 papists will never come in your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know 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," replied 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 controversy ended ; because the queen was called unto dinner. At departing, Knox said unto her Majesty, "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."

A variety of opinions were formed in respect to the result of this conference. The Papists, knowing the great powers of persuasion which our Reformer possessed, were alarmed lest he had prevailed on her Majesty to abandon her religion, and to adopt the Protestant faith. On the other hand, the godly rejoiced, and eagerly entertained the hope and expectation that her Majesty would henceforth do Knox the honour of attending his sermons. The anxiety of the one and the hopes of the other were equally unfounded. For "she continued her massing, and despised and quickly mocked all exhortations." This conference was, however, of the greatest service to Knox, in as far as it gave him an opportunity of prying into the character and views of the Queen. After the interview, our Reformer was asked by his friends, What opinion he had formed of her Majesty?

His answer was in these emphatic words, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart, 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." He afterwards wrote to Cecil, the English minister, saying, "The Queen neither is nor shall be of our opinion, and in every deed her whole proceedings declare, that the cardinal's lessons are so deeply impressed on her heart, that the substance and quality would perish together. I would," says he, "be glad to be deceived, but I fear I shall not. In communication with her, I espied such craft as I have not found in such age since the court has been dead to me and I to it." This conference also afforded Mary an important lesson, which sunk deep into her heart. It displayed to her the nature of that spirit she had to contend with, and showed her the difficulties she had to experience in resisting it. It showed her the tendency of Knox's principles, and the dangers to her religion, which would result from his attempting to reduce them to practice.

It was the opinion of even Knox's best friends, and of those who were most favourable to the cause of the Reformation, that the language he used on this and many other occasions was un-

courtly, and even unbecoming a man of prudence and moderation, especially when addressing a lady. The sly insinuating secretary, Cecil, seems to have admonished our Reformer on this point. Although Knox was not always, in his cooler moments, disposed to justify his expressions uttered by him in debate, yet we find him, in reply to Cecil, observing, that such complaints of his severity were generally made by those who delighted to swim between two waters, and that the levity of such was likely to be more destructive to the state than the vehemence of any preacher within the realm. Knox beheld this decay of zeal with the deepest alarm. He saw even the most strenuous advocates of the Congregation deserting their principles, when "bewitched by the enchantment of the sprinkling of the holy waters of the court." And in the most trying circumstances his attachment to the best interests of his country never wavered. He knew that upon his firmness it depended whether freedom would finally triumph, or would sink under the intrigue, the artifice, and the power of the court; and in spite of the voice of ambition, which called upon him to aspire to the highest civil and ecclesiastical honours—in spite of the example of others who had formerly been friendly to his cause, and to

his person, he stood boldly forward in defence of his principles, and justified his conduct to the Queen, with a plainness and energy of expression, to which we now owe innumerable blessings, and for which we cannot, even at this day, be too grateful.

About this period matters began to run high, not only between the Papists and Protestants, but also between the Queen and her subjects, and even among the Lords of the Congregation. Into a minute detail of these it is unnecessary to enter, except in so far as our Reformer took a part. The Queen made an attempt to put down the meetings of the General Assembly, and prevailed upon her Protestant courtiers to absent themselves from the first meeting of it, which was called after her majesty's arrival. Maitland, and others of them, when rebuked for it by Knox, began to question the propriety of holding such conventions contrary to the Queen's pleasure, and to accuse the clergy of holding secret meetings? "If," answered Knox, "liberty of the church were to depend upon her pleasure, we should be deprived not only of assemblies but of the preaching of the gospel. Take from us the liberty of the assembly, and you take from us the gospel." Here, as in every other instance, the utmost deference was paid

to his opinion ; and the assemblies were continued to be held, and the most important matters discussed at them.

Knox had long ago devised a plan for the government of the church, and the regular payment of its revenues to the preachers. Yet the teachers who preached to the people were ungratefully left, in many instances, to depend upon the precarious and scanty benevolence of men who scarcely afforded them the means of subsistence. A state so degrading and so destructive to their usefulness was not to be endured. Repeated complaints were made to the Privy Council, who saw the necessity of forming a plan for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy. In the end, it was determined that the revenues of the church should be portioned into three parts ; that two of these should be retained by the ejected Popish priests, and that the third should be given to the crown, who was to take upon them the burden of paying the Protestant clergy. When a division was finally made of the third part, between the Protestant ministers and the crown, the former by no means obtained their share, nor was the one-half of this paltry sum regularly paid. To many little more than five pounds a-year were modified,—to none of them was more than 300



merks allowed. The Protestants had Wishart of Pittarow, who was controller of the modification, to thank for this pinehing arrangement. Hence the proverb, "The gude Laird of Pittarow was an earnest professor of Christ, but the *mekill devill receave the comptroller.*" Knox's remark on this shameful transaction was equally pointed with every thing he said. "I see," says he, "two parts freely given to the devil, and the third divided between God and the devil. Who would have thought that when Joseph ruled in Egypt his brethren would have travelled for victuals, and returned with empty sacks to their families." This remark deserved the more consideration from the circumstance that it was altogether disinterested on the part of Knox ; for the generosity of the town council in providing him with a free house, in paying his debts, and in assigning him an annual stipend of two hundred pounds, had made him quite independent of the legal allowance.

In March this year, Knox was secretly applied to by the Earl of Bothwell for advice and assistance in reconciling him to the Earl of Arran, with whom he had a deadly feud. Our Reformer advised Bothwell first to reeoneile himself to God, and that he would bend the heart of Arran. At the request of Bothwell,

Knox promised to wait upon Arran, and to endeavour to bring about a meeting of the parties, which, with some difficulty, he effected. When Bothwell entered the chamber, and was about to make an apology, Arran embraced him, and said, that, "Since the heart was upright, few ceremonies would content him." After a little more conversation, Knox said to them, "Now I leave you in peace, and desire you to forget offences, and henceforth study amity." That this reconciliation should not have been lasting, was not the fault of Knox, who, notwithstanding all the accusations which have been brought against him in regard to savage ferocity, here exhibits himself in the blessed character of the *Peace-Maker*.

Knox,—having taken offence at the persecutions which about this time had begun in France, and at the Queen, when informed of them, having given a ball at the palace on the following Sunday,—taxed the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. In consequence of this he was summoned by his friend and old pupil, Mr Alexander Cockburn, instantly to appear before her Majesty. The Queen was in her bed-chamber, in company

with Lord James, the Earl of Morton, Secretary Lethington, and some of those who gave the information. He was accused of having wandered from his text for the purpose of bringing her Majesty into contempt and hatred with her subjects. In answer, Knox gently hinted to her Majesty, how much better it would have been for her to have heard his sermons in person, than to have taken reports of them at second-hand: "Madam," said he, "if the reporters had been honest, they would have reported my words and the circumstances of the same, and 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 spoke." He then rehearsed the objectionable passages of the sermon, as near as memory would permit; and looking to those who were his informers, he said, "If, Madam, any will say that I spake more, let him publicly accuse me, for I think that I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them."

The Queen turned round to 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 mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear.” “Madam,” said Knox, “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 these enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, that before them have done as they do now. But, as to your own person, Madam, I would be glad to do all that I could to your 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 show him his offence, for that labour was infinite: 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 command 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, turning her back upon the Reformer, "be at your books."

Upon this, Knox took his departure "with a reasonable merry countenance." Some of the papists, having been offended at the freedom he used with the Queen, said, "He is not afraid."

To these words the Reformer answered, "Why should the pleasant face of a lady afray me ? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure."

With every wish to support the conduct and character of our illustrious Reformer, we cannot but lament that he did not conduct himself in a less offensive manner in his interviews with Mary ; much more that he did not avail himself

of the fair offer made by the Queen to have her faults rebuked in a private conference, rather than in public and inflammatory declamation. Without meaning to assert that the object of Knox was to gratify his vanity, to raise himself in the estimation of the multitude, or to make the pulpit a vehicle for private prejudice, secret malice, or unwarrantable antipathy, we must remark, that the line of conduct which he pursued was directly calculated rather to irritate the passions, than to affect the conscience of a girl scarcely out of her teens. We venture to affirm, that if he had waited upon her in private, and continued to appeal to her understanding, her heart, and her conscience, a result somewhat different might have followed. Had our blessed Redeemer been placed in a similar situation, it is believed that he would have acted differently. The principal fault which Knox found with Mary, on this occasion, was, her having danced and sung till midnight, after having heard of the persecutions in France. But it should be remembered, that her youth, education, and habits, all tended to make her delight in music, dancing, and other elegant accomplishments; and that the ball would probably have been held that night, whether the news had arrived or not.



In the course of autumn 1562, the Earl of Huntly, in the north, and the Archbishop of St Andrew's, in the south, endeavoured to excite an insurrection in favour of Popery. On this important occasion Knox proved of vast service to his cause. In compliance with the orders of the General Assembly he went to the western part of Scotland: Here he not only preached to the great body of the people, but was most active in uniting the higher ranks in defence of the Protestant religion, and in preserving the peace of the country. He bravely disputed on the subject of the mass, with the abbot of Crossraguell, one of the ablest champions of Popery,—he prevailed upon the Master of Maxwell, to prevent the Earl of Bothwell from joining Huntly,—he corresponded with the Duke of Chastelherault, and prevented him from following the advice of his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, who wished him to promote the schemes of Huntly, with whom he was connected by marriage. He got a band of association, with a view to support the reformed church and its ministers, subscribed at Ayr, by a number of the most respectable barons and gentlemen of the surrounding country. In a word, by his own individual exertions he preserved the southern parts of the kingdom in



peace and tranquillity. The council were no less vigorous and successful in suppressing the rising in the north.

It is necessary to enter a little more into detail in respect to the celebrated disputation between Knox, the champion of the Protestant faith, and Quintin Kennedy, uncle of the Earl of Cassilis, who at this time boldly threw down the gauntlet, by declaring implicit faith in the infallible decisions of the clergy. In his *Compendious Tractate*, published in 1558, he asserted that in every controversy the church was the sole judge, and that the gospels were only witnesses. In the year 1559, Willock, who was engaged preaching in Ayrshire, took it upon him to controvert his opinions. It was in consequence agreed, that a disputation should be held on the sacrifice of the mass. Although the time and place were fixed, and the whole country looked with much interest to the result of the controversy, the design was, in the end, relinquished on the part of Kennedy, who, as a get-off, insisted that Willock should submit himself to the commentaries of the Scripture adopted by their church. George Hay, who was at this time minister of Eddleston, having been preaching in the neighbourhood, also sent the abbot a challenge, some time in the autumn

1562, which Kennedy had likewise the prudence to neglect.

In the mean time he set vigorously to work in preparing himself for defending the principal tenets of his church, and particularly the doctrines of the mass, purgatory, prayer to saints, and the use of images. Having, by reading and deep study, made himself master of all the arguments on these points, he ventured from his pulpit to give a challenge to any of the Protestants who dared to controvert his opinions. This was chiefly directed against Knox, who had come to that part of the country with a view to the preservation of the public peace, and not for the purpose of holding a disputation with him. When our Reformer had finished his sermon at Kirk Oswald, he received an intimation from Kennedy, offering to meet with him on the following Sunday at Maybole. As Knox had previously engaged himself to be at Dumfries on that day, he was obliged to decline both the time and place, but not the controversy. After a considerable altercation in regard to the place of meeting, and whether the disputation should be comparatively public or private, it was finally agreed that the parties should meet in the house of the provost of

Maybole, and not in St John's Church, in Ayr, as Knox had wished.

On the 28th September, early in the morning, the parties assembled, with as many witnesses of the dispute as the house could hold, and with proper clerks to take down a written account of the *res gesta*. After prayer, by Knox, at which the abbot was at first offended, but which he afterwards praised, Kennedy protested, that the circumstance of his entering into dispute was not to be construed into a consent on his part that the matter of discussion was debatable. The sacrifice of the mass was the first point laid down by the abbot, in a paper he had formerly written on the subject. In answer, Knox proposed to show, that the form, the name, the action, the opinion entertained of it, the actor and his authority, were all unfounded in Scripture or reason. The discussion of these points brought on a debate which lasted for three days, and which was managed with the greatest ability and good temper by both parties. The principal points of dispute were, whether the mass was to be esteemed a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and whether Melchizedek was the figure of Christ in offering bread and wine unto God, or unto Abraham and his company? In the course

of the third day, the patience of the witnesses (most of them the surrounding gentry and nobility,) was completely exhausted. And, as all the provisions in the town had been ate up, the disputants were compelled to adjourn the debate, which was never afterwards resumed.

Nor was this the only dispute which Knox maintained with the champions of the Romish Church. There was another with Ninian Win-gate, schoolmaster of Linlithgow, into a detail of which we refrain from entering.

In a General Assembly, held at Christmas, 1562, Knox and other elders of the church were appointed to repair to Jedburgh on the 3d of January following, to inquire into a slander which had arisen against Paul Methven, on account of a criminal intercourse held between him and his servant. After a long examination of evidence, Paul, who was minister of the place, was found guilty of having been father of an illegitimate child. Having been excommunicated, he first fled into England, then returned to Scotland, and submitted himself to a part of the discipline of the church; but again betook himself to flight. Nor, considering the ignominious discipline he had to undergo, was it to be wondered at, that he should have felt himself overwhelmed with shame, and that he should have

run off in the midst of his penance. In this, and the like cases, it must be admitted that the rigour of their ecclesiastical discipline was extreme. Few men, far less clergymen, could submit to stand at the church door during the ringing of the bell for worship, clad in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted—and to be afterwards placed in a conspicuous part of the church during service. Nor was this all: After having gone through a similar degradation for three preaching days, the penitent was required to profess his sorrow before the people, and to request their forgiveness. In the case of Paul Methven, the same course was to be gone through at Edinburgh, Dundee, and Jedburgh.

It was in the month of May, of this year, that the Queen sent for our Reformer to come to her at Lochleven. Her Majesty had taken offence at the decision with which the Protestants in the west had determined to put into execution the laws enacted against the open exercise of Popery. But as she was afraid of raising a commotion in the country, before adopting any measures in favour of her sect, she slyly determined to wheedle Knox into an approbation of her schemes. With this view, she dealt with him earnestly two hours before supper, that he would be the instrument to per-

suade her Protestant subjects in the west not to interfere with those exercising the rights of Popery. His reply was, that "He could answer for the peaceable deportment of her subjects, only so long as her majesty would vigorously exercise her authority in enforcing the laws of the land. But," said he, "if her majesty thought to elude the laws, 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 Mary, "allow that they shall take my sword in their hand." "*The sword of Justice is God's,*" answered Knox, "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 has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not. Neither yet sin they that bridle kings from striking innocent men in their rage." From examples recorded in holy writ, he showed that others than chief magistrates may, and have often punished vice. He said, "that her subjects were bound to obey her on the one hand, but that, on the other, she also was bound to keep the laws unto them. Ye crave of them service, and they crave of you protection and defence against evil

doers." He observed to her, that, "if she denied unto them her duty, she could not expect to receive full obedience of them." At this speech the Queen was somewhat offended, and passed on to the supper party.

It was Knox's intention, after having reported the nature of the conference to the Earl of Murray, to have returned next day to Edinburgh, without further communication with the Queen. But in consequence of a message he received next morning before sunrise, commanding him not to depart till he had spoken with her Queen's Majesty, he repaired to her in the fields west of Kinross, where she was at her hawking. At this interview, she never alluded to what had passed the preceding night, but "spoke of diverse other purposes," such as offering of a ring to her by the Lord Ruthven, whom she said she could not love. After a little more conversation on this subject, the Queen said, "I understand that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries for the election of a superintendant to be established in those countries?" "Yes," said Knox; "those quarters have great need; and some of the gentlemen so require." "But I heard," said she, "that the Bishop of Caithness would be superintendant?" "He is one," said Knox, "that is put in election." "If ye knew him," said the Queen,



“as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk.” “If,” said Knox, “he fear not God, he deceives many more than me.” “Well,” said she, “do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man.” When they had long talked, and when Knox had oftener than once proposed to take his leave, the Queen 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 of Argyll, how that she was not so circumspect 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 godlily as I think ye yourself would require.” “Madam,” said he, “I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put an end to it, (and that was before your majesty’s arrival,) that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content; and she 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 one assured messenger: I now have heard nothing of her part, and therefore I think there is nothing but concord.” “Well,” said the queen, “it is

worse than ye believe ; but do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at unity ; and if she behave not herself so as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me : but in anywise," said she, "let not my lord know that I have requested you in this matter ; for I would be very sorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now," said she, "as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required : I shall cause 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.

In obedience to the commands of her Majesty, Knox lost no time in writing a letter to the Earl of Argyle ; the words were sharp, and told him that his conduct towards his wife, unless he could convict her of crime, was such as would prove the ruin of his immortal soul.\* In conse-

\* The following letter, which our Reformer wrote upon this delicate occasion to the Earl of Argyle, at the command of her Majesty, may afford the reader some idea of the manner in which he expressed his ideas in epistolary correspondence :—

quence of the Queen's hint, he also acted with the greatest circumspection in respect to the appointment of the Bishop of Galloway.

“MY LORD,—

“‘The Lord cometh, and shall not tarry.’ 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 that 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 that ye do no worse, and she 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 convince her of any fault, 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,

In compliance with her promise to Knox, the Queen ordered some of the principal Papists to be arraigned before the civil power for trans-

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 abstract 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 convinc her of any fault committed since your last reconciliation, which was in my presencc, 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 in 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 he 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 your 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. Thus much only I warn your lordship, that it will not be profitable for the common quietness of this realm, that the Papists boast, and justice be mocked that day. And thus

gressing the laws. These, having thrown themselves on the mercy of the court, were set at liberty, and never more troubled. The Parliament commenced its deliberations the day after this mock trial. The Queen repaired to it with a degree of pomp and magnificence altogether unknown in that age or country. She opened the Parliament by a speech from the throne, delivered with all the graces of the most fascinating elocution, and heard with the most profound attention and enthusiastic admiration. The Parliament had previously determined to give a legal security to the reformed religion, by declaring all the acts of former Parliaments valid ; but such was the address of her Majesty, that the Protestant leaders passed from their demand. Another great object which Parliament had in view, was the passing of an act of oblivion for all offences committed against the sovereign from the beginning of the troubles in 1558 ; and such was the anxiety of the lords in Parliament to procure the sanction of the Queen, that, upon their bended knees, they re-

I cease further to trouble your lordship, whom God assist.  
In haste, from Glasgow, the 7th day of May, 1563.

“ Your lordship’s to command in godliness,

“ *Sic subscribitur,*

“ JOHN KNOX.”

quested it of her. Other acts were passed with a view to pacify the more zealous Reformers; but they were worded so ambiguously as to be of no service to their cause.

Knox felt naturally indignant at the whole proceedings of Parliament. He waited upon the leading members, and urged them to procure a ratification of the acts establishing the Reformation. These advised Knox to put off the demand till a more favourable opportunity—the marriage of the Queen, when all their demands would be complied with. In answer, Knox remarked, that poets and painters have represented *Occasion* with a bald hind-head; for the first, when it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered again. The altercation, on this occasion, ran so high between Knox and Murray, that, notwithstanding their former friendship, all kindly intercourse between them ceased for a year and a half. This enmity was very gratifying to the Queen, who did not fail to “cast oil into the flame.”

While Parliament was sitting, our Reformer mounted the pulpit, and in his sermon reprobated the rich dresses of the Queen; and declared, that her display of magnificence would bring down upon them the judgment of God. With much intemperance and disrespect he ad-

dressed himself to the nobility, and upbraided them for their pusillanimity in Parliament. He referred to the reports of the Queen's marriage, and predicted ruin and dismay to the nobility in the event of their permitting her to marry a Papist. In conclusion, he said:—"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, whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all papists are infidels) shall be head of our sovereign, ye do, so far as in you lieth, banish Jesus Christ from this realm; yea, you bring God's vengeance upon the country, and plague upon yourselves, and perchance you will do small comfort to your sovereign."

This freedom of speech, on the part of Knox, was deemed intolerable both by Papists and Protestants. Even his most intimate friends were so much displeased at his conduct, that they shunned his company. Flatterers posted to the court to inform the Queen that Knox had spoken against her marriage. In consequence of which, our Reformer was instantly summoned to appear in presence of her Majesty. Lord Ochiltree, and some other of his friends accom-



panied him as far as the outer-door of the palace. But John Erskine of Dun, at that time superintendent of Angus and Mearns, was only permitted to pass with him into the royal presence.

Knox was admitted to the presence of her Majesty immediately after dinner, and was received by her in a manner very different indeed from the way in which he formerly was. On his entry, 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 sought your favour by all possible means: I offered unto you presence and audience, whensoever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I shall be once revenged." "And with these words," says Knox's history, "scarcely could Marnock, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and the howling, and womanly weeping, staid her speech." Knox prudently waited until the violence of her passion subsided, when he answered, "True it is, Madam, your majesty and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your majesty to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of dark-

ness and error, wherein ye have been nourished, for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me, and there, Madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth."

"But what have you to do," said she, "with my marriage?"

"If it please you Majesty," said he, "patiently to hear me, I shall show 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 await upon the courts of princes, or upon the chambers 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 the nobility are so addicted to your affections, that neither God's word, nor yet their common-wealth 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 within the 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 that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and uscful member within the same : yca, Madam, to me it appertaineth no less to forewarn 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 speak in public, whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and 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.”

These words hurt her Majesty's feelings, and deeply wounded her pride : Unable to reply to them, she fell into a violent fit of indignation, and crying. John Erskine of Dun, who is said to have been of a meek and gentle spirit, addressed himself to the Queen ; and did what he could to mitigate her anger, and moderate her grief. Knowing the vanity of woman's heart,

he praised her for her beauty, and told her of her excellence : and concluded by assuring her, that there was not a prince in Europe who would not esteem himself honoured by her favour. The interference of Erskine only added fuel to the flame. The Reformer had opposed her in matters most dear to her,—the exercise of her religion and the choice of her husband. The spirit of the Stuarts was boiling within her, and she refused to be comforted or controlled. Knox knew, from former interviews, the temper of Mary, and he was probably affected at seeing majesty, youth, and beauty, so distressed—he therefore wisely refrained, for a time, from saying more. He stood for a long time without altering his countenance or uttering a word. When her inordinate passion began to subside, he said, “Madam, in God’s prescnce 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 own 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.” At these words the Queen was still more offended, and commanded Knox

to pass forth of the cabinet, and await her pleasure in the chamber adjoining.

The Laird of Dun tarried, and Lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet. These remained with her near the space of an hour. While Knox remained in the adjoining room, none of the courtiers had the manliness to pay him any attention, except Lord Ochiltree, who talked with him and kept him company. When the Reformer saw the ladies sitting around in their rich dresses, he addressed himself to them, and jocularly 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 fie upon that knave Death, that 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 ever so fair and so tender; and the filthy soul I fear shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones." In this manner, without at all manifesting any symptoms of fear or anxiety, did the intrepid Knox pass his time, until the Laird of Dun returned to him to say, that he was at liberty to depart to his own house, and to remain there until further orders.

So eager was her Majesty to be revenged on the preacher for his indiscretion in this instance,

that when she found herself foiled in this attempt, she insisted on the Lords of the Articles giving it as their opinion that Knox's manner of speaking deserved punishment. In the end she was reluctantly prevailed upon to desist ; but although her resentment was quieted in appearance, she never forgave Knox in her heart.

As the Queen continued obstinately to celebrate her mass in every part of the country to which she resorted, Knox introduced the following passages into the prayer which he ordinarily said after the thanksgiving at his table :—“ Deliver us, O God, from the bondage of idolatry.” “ Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers.” “ Continue us in peace and concord among ourselves, if thy good pleasure be, O Lord, *for a season.*” Many of his friends asked him why he prayed for quietness, to continue for a season, and not absolutely ? To these he answered, 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.”

We deem it altogether unnecessary to make any more than a very general reference to the scandal which broke out against Knox at this time. It is not to be wondered at, that when his enemies were triumphing over him, and

when his friends durst not, for fear of displeasing the court, give him their countenance and support, an opportunity should have been taken to slander his moral character. The whole originated in the zeal of an infuriated female Papist, who, in the heat of her attacks on the Protestant faith, asserted, that, within a few days past, the said John Knox was "apprehendit and tane furth of anc killogye with ane commoun hure, and that he had been ane commoun harlot all his dayis." In justice to all parties, it was deemed necessary that the clerk of the General Assembly should petition the town council to have the matter investigated. Euphemia Dundas, having accordingly been called before the council, and asked in regard to her charge, "she denyit the samyn." In consequence, it was not thought necessary to go further in the affair. The friends of the Popish religion did not fail, however, to lay hold of the circumstance to bring our Reformer into disrepute with the people.

While the Queen lay at Stirling, those of her household who remained at the palace celebrated mass; the zealous Protestants of Edinburgh were shocked at their undisguised solemnization of idolatrous rites. Upon a Sunday, a crowd assembled, burst into the chapel, and interrupt-



ed the service of the priest, who fled with trepidation. The Queen felt naturally indignant, and ordered Cranston and Armstrong, two of the ringleaders, to be apprehended and indicted for sedition and treason. Knox resolved, at the desire of his brethren, and in compliance with a commission which had been granted from the church to call assemblies of the faithful when necessary, to write circular letters to the members of the congregation in their behalf. In these letters, he demanded the support and assistance of the brethren by their presence on the day of trial. As the apparent object of this communication was to intimidate the court, the faithful servants of the crown took offence at it: Murray, Lethington, and the Master of Maxwell, all remonstrated with Knox on the impropriety of his conduct, and intreated of him to throw himself on the Queen's mercy. But it was to no purpose: He remained inflexible. In the meantime, the Bishop of Ross conveyed a copy of the letter to the Queen. She laid it before her council. These declared Knox's letter treasonable, and he was accordingly summoned to appear before a convention of councillors and other noblemen, which was to meet at Edinburgh.

This affair naturally excited much speculation throughout the country, and many of Knox's

friends came to him in secret to warn him of his danger. On the day of trial the inhabitants of Edinburgh crowded to the palace in such numbers that the court was full, and also the stairs, even to the chamber door where the court was held. Six o'clock at night was the hour appointed. The Queen had retired to the cabinet, and the lords were sauntering in the hall when Knox appeared. The lords instantly took their seats, one against another, according to their dignity. The Queen came forth, and, with pomp, mounted the throne. She had a faithful supporter at each side, who alternately whispered in her ear. When her Majesty saw Knox standing at the other end of the table bareheaded, she laughed, and said, "This is a good beginning; but know you whereat I laugh? Yon man caused me to cry, and shed never a tear himself: I will see if I can cause him to grieve."

The proceedings were opened by the secretary, who accused Knox of endeavouring to raise a tumult, and presented his letter in confirmation of the charge. "Let him acknowledge," said the Queen, "his own hand-writing, and then shall we judge of the contents of the letter." On inspection, Knox acknowledged the hand-writing, and the diction. "You have done more," said Lethington, "than I would have

done." "Charity," said Knox, "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 Knox; and so with a loud voice he began to read. After the letter was read, it was presented again to Mr John Spence, her Majesty's advocate; for the Queen commanded him to accuse, as he did, but very gently.

After the reading of the letter was finished, the Queen, beholding the whole table, said, "Heard you ever, my lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter?" As no man gave answer, Lethington addressed himself to Knox, and said, "Mr 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?" Knox answered, "My lord secretary, before I repent, I must be taught of my offence." "Offence!" said Lethington, "if there were no more but the convocation of the Queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied." "Remember yourself, my lord," said the Reformer, "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 convocation as sometimes we have had." To this 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 vizard 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 and others think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the Queen, "let him answer for himself." "I began, Madam," said Knox, "to reason with the secretary, whom I take to be a better dialectitioner 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 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 hath 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 done 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 of many. “But wherein,” said Knox “can I be accused?” “Read this part of your letter,” said the Queen, which began, ‘This fearful summons is 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.’ Lord,” said the Queen, ‘what say you to that?’ While many doubted what Knox should answer, he said unto her Majesty, “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 all them, 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 staying

of the doctrine, stood in the power of the Papists ; for just experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts."

Knox proceeded : " Cast up when you please the acts of your parliament ; I have offended not against them : I accuse not your Majesty 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." " You forget yourself," said one, " you are not in the pulpit." " I am in the palace," said Knox, " 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 may be altered to the contrary by wicked counsellors. To speak more plainly, Papists have your Majesty's ear at all times ; I assure your Majesty, they are dangerous counsellors, and that your mother found."

Upon this, her Majesty said, " Well, you speak fair enough here before my lords, but the last time I spoke with you secretly, you caused me to weep many tears, and said to me stubbornly, ye cared not for my weeping." " Madam," said Knox, " because now the second time your Majesty hath burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest for my silence I be



holden guilty; if your Majesty be ripely remembered, the Laird of Dun yet living, to 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 with 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, so 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 traffic of marriage was betwixt your Majesty and the Spanish Allya. Whereunto I said, that if your nobility and state did agree, unless that both you and your husband should be straitly bound, that neither of you might hurt the commonwealth, nor yet the poor church of God within the same, in that case I should 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 in 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 this the secretary held a private conference with the Queen; the result of which was, that Knox was told that he might return to his own house for the night. "I thank God and the Queen's Majesty," said Knox, "and I pray God to purge your heart from Papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers."

On the departure of our Reformer, the court was called upon to determine whether Knox had offended the Queen's Majesty? When the question was put to them individually, they, with the exception of Letlington, and some other flatterers of the Queen, voted, that they could find no offence. The secretary was much

enraged at the result; and, with a view to intimidate the members of the court, he brought back the Queen, and placed her on the throne: and ordered them to vote over again in her presence. The nobility were offended at this; and exclaimed, "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?" Of course Knox was absolved, and even received praise for his demeanour and defence before his judges.

In presence of the court, her Majesty began to upbraid the Bishop of Ross for having first recommended the trial of Knox, and then voted for his acquittal. When he gave his vote, she cried out, "Trouble not the bairn! for he is newly awaked out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow them that past before him?" To this, the bishop coldly replied, "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." The Queen felt so mortified at the result of this trial, by which she expected to have got Knox into her power, that, for the night, there was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court. To

soothe her Majesty's pride, private attempts were again made to induce Knox to confess a fault; and a promise was given, that he should receive no further punishment than that of going within the gates of the castle, and again returning to his own house. To this the intrepid Reformer sternly replied, "God forbid that my confession should condemn the noble men who have absolved me. To desire me to confess an offence, is to desire me to cease from preaching; for how can I exhort others to peace and Christian quietness, if I confess myself a mover of sedition."

When every thing else had failed, they began to circulate reports that he wrote the seditious letter without the consent of the rest of the brethren. In the mean time, the General Assembly met, and had some keen debates, in which Knox never interfered. "Many," says he, "wondered at his silence; for, in all the quick reasonings, he opened not his mouth." When the public business was over, he addressed the assembly, and told them, that he had been held forth as assuming a degree of power inconsistent with the principles he avowed. In conclusion, he appealed to the members whether he had not received authority to assemble the professors when any of their brethren were exposed to danger. After his address, Knox re-

tired ; and the whole church found, that charge had been given unto him to advertise the brethren, in all quarters, as oft as danger appeared : and they declared, his having written the objectionable letter, not only to have been his act but the doing of the whole assembly. “ Thereat,” says Knox, “ the Queen’s claw-backs were more enraged than ever.”

It was in March 1564, that our Reformer married Margaret Stewart, the daughter of his friend and companion, Lord Ochiltree. This alliance seems to have excited the particular spleen of the Popish writers, who said, that, “ Altho an auld decripit preist, he, by sorcerie and witchcraft, did so allure the puir gentil-woman, that she could not live without him.” In this gallant attempt, they affirm, that Knox had a most engaging assistant—the devil—who “ caused the auld decripit creature appear ane of the maist noble and lustie men that could be found in the worold.” These calumnies against Knox only prove how much his exertions were in favour of the reformed doctrines, and how much the adherents to Popery were galled by them.

Soon after Knox’s acquittal, the Queen saw the necessity of acquiring more influence over her nobles than she had hitherto possessed, in

order that she might, through them, restrain the excesses of the Protestant preachers. For weeks there was nothing but feasts, banquets, and balls,—while the poor ministers were mocked and reputed as monsters; and even their stipends were withheld: yet they did not compromise their principles or relax in their zeal. They pronounced the moderation of the courtiers apostacy, and they reckoned their servility to the Queen criminal,—they gave vent to their feelings of indignation in their pulpits,—they discharged their consciences in public and in private, and received for their labours hatred and indignation. The churches rung more loudly than ever with declamations against idolatry—with dismal presages concerning the Queen's marriage—and with bitter reproaches against those who, from interested motives, had deserted that cause which they once reckoned it their honour to support. “Thus,” says Knox, in his history, “had the servants of God a double battle—fighting, upon 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 would sometimes 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 security, that it could not miscarry. The flatterers of the court raged daily against the preachers, and heaped upon them the bitterest taunts and most disdainful mockeries. At length they made a jest of the term idolatry, and affirmed that the mass was not such.

In this way, matters ran so high that, when the assembly met in June, 1564, neither the courtiers nor their dependents presented themselves in session with their brethren. No sooner did this become apparent, than the whole assembly agreed to commission certain brethren to intimate to the nobility the neglect of which they were guilty, and to require their attendance and counsel, or else to declare their determination to remain in open hostility to the church. Next day, the Lords came into the assembly, but, keeping themselves apart, they entered into the Inner Council House. After a short consultation, they invited some of the learned ministers to confer with them. This the assembly at first declined to comply with, and again insisted that the Lords should acknowledge themselves members of the church by joining with their brethren in aiding its counsel. At last, however, it was agreed, that the Laird of Dun, the superintendents of Lothian, Fife, and



Glasgow—Craig, Christison, Lindsay, Knox, and Willock, should hold a conference with the nobles. The principal object of this conference, was to get Knox admonished for the violence of his preaching. He was accordingly called upon in an especial manner by Secretary Lethington, who began the conference by stating the three following heads:—"First, How much we are indebted to God for religious liberty and toleration. Second, How necessary it was for the ministers to impress on her Majesty the idea that they unfignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her. Third, And how dangerous a thing it was for the ministers to disagree from her in form of prayer, or in doctrine, concerning obedience to her authority. "In these heads," said Lethington, "we desire you all to be circumspect. But especially we 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, lest others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty; albeit not with the same discretion."

In defence, Knox affirmed that the inhabitants of a nation were wont to be punished for the sins and idolatry of their sovereigns; and

that, to ward off the blow which the Almighty would strike in his hot indignation against the whole people, he deemed it his duty to warn them not to compromise their principles, or follow the wicked devices of the court. He proved, that he was justifiable in doing so from the instances recorded in holy writ, and particularly from the punishment which Jerusalem and Judah endured on account of the sins of Manasseh."

"Well then," said Lethington, "that is the chief head wherein we never agreed. But 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, and also of the form of prayer which ye commonly use?"

"My Lord," said Knox, "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, showing 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 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 in so doing, you stir up the hearts of the people against her Majesty, and them that serve her." This saying of Lethington was highly applauded, and the Master of Maxwell openly declared, that, "were he in the Queen's Majesty's place, he would not suffer such things as he hears." "If," replied Knox, "the words of the preacher are always to be arrested 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." To prove that his words in praying were not vehement or out of order, he repeated part of his usual prayer in public, which we subjoin, as affording a striking proof how unjustly our Reformer has been accused of using intemperate language in the pulpit. "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 the 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 the holy word, nor yet received but as it prescribes; which is, to renounce our own wisdom and pre-conceived opinion, and worship thee as it commands; that in so doing she may avoid the eternal damnation which is ordained for all obstinate and impenitent to thee; and that this realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably followeth idolatry, maintained against thy manifest word and the light thereof." "This," said he, "is the form of 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 never liked me; and the first is, ye pray for the Queen's Majesty with a condition, saying, 'Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure be;' wherein it may appear, that ye doubt of her conversion: where have ye the example of such prayer?" "Wheresoever the examples are," said Knox, "I am assured of the rule, which is this: if we shall ask any thing according to his will, he shall grant us, and our Master Jesus Christ commands us to pray unto our Father, 'Thy will be done.'" "But," said Lethington, "where ever find ye any of the pro-

phets so to have prayed?" "It sufficeth me," said Knox, "my Lord, that the Master and Teacher, both of prophets and apostles, hath taught me so to pray." "But in doing so," said Lethington, "ye put a doubt in the people's heads of her conversion." "Not I," said Knox; "but her obstinate rebellion causeth more than me to doubt of her conversion." "Wherein," said Lethington, "rebels she against God?" "In all the actions of her life," said Knox, "but in those two heads especially: the former is, that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ. Secondly, That she maintaineth that idol the mass." "She thinks not that rebellion," said Lethington. "So thought they," said Knox, "that sometimes offered their children unto Moloch; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: and this day the Turks think they have a better religion than the Papists have, and yet I think ye will excuse neither of both for committing rebellion against God; neither yet can ye do the Queen, unless ye will make God to be partial."

After some farther altercation, in respect to the manner in which Knox prayed, our Reformer pushed his opponent so hard that he was obliged to give in on that part of the dispute,

and to call out, "Well, let us come to the second part of the controversy: where find ye that the Scripture calls any the bound slaves of Satan, or that the prophets of God spake of kings and princes so irreverently?" "The scripture," said 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 the 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 Timotheus, 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, who 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 sentence," said Knox, "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, neither yet declared to the people."

"Where will you find," said Lethington, "that any of the prophets did so use kings, queens, rulers, or magistrates?"

"In more places than one," said Knox: "Ahab was a king, and Jezebel a queen; and yet what the prophet Elias 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 Elias said, 'Dogs shall lick the blood



of Ahab,' answered Knox, 'and eat the flesh of Jezebel,' the Scripture assures me; but that it was whispered in the 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 notions of the Spirit of God," said Lethington, "and appertain nothing to our age."

"Then hath the Scripture," said Knox, "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 can 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 : Elizeus 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 Jehoshaphat, 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 say, ‘ behave yourselves lowly, execute justice and judgment, &c. or else your carcasses shall be casten to the heat of the day, and unto the frost of night.’ Unto Conias, Shallim, and Zedekias, he speaketh in special, and shows to them in his public sermons their miserable ends : and therefore ye ought not to think strange, my lord, said he, albeit the servants of God tax the vices of kings and queens even as well as of the other offenders ; and that because their sins are more noisome to the commonwealth than are the sins of inferior persons.”

Once more the secretary was compelled to give in, and call to his assistance some one better able to manage the controversy. “ I am weary,” said he ; “ I would some other would

reason on the chief head which is yet untouched." Upon this, Mr George Hay, at the desire of the chancellor, argued with Knox on the head of obedience due to magistrates. Knox began this part of the controversy by paying a well-merited compliment to the learning and modesty of his new opponent; and by expressing a wish, that the object of the debate would be to elicit truth, and not to show quickness of wit. "I protest here, before God," continued our Reformer, "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, it shall never offend me." In answer to this bold appeal to the conscience, Hay declared, that he had nothing to object to the doctrines taught by Knox, and that, on the contrary, he had often affirmed them, and should not therefore contradict himself.

Lethington having now had time to breathe, and finding that no other body would enter the lists with his antagonist, again stepped forward, and declared that he was better provided in this last head than in the other two. "How," says he, "will ye prove that persons placed in au-

thority may be resisted, and the ordinance of God not transgressed, seeing that the apostle says, ‘ He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.’ ”

“ My Lord,” said Knox, “ the apostle affirms that the powers are ordained of God for the preservation of the public peace, and for the punishment of malefactors ; and therefore 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. That the prince may be resisted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated, is evident from what is said in Scripture of Saul. When the anointed king had sworn by the living God that Jonathan should die, his subjects swore to the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, so that a hair of his head fell not. Yet the spirit of God accused not the people of any crime.” Knox also established his point from the circumstance of Saul having commanded Abimelech and the priests of the Lord to be slain, for having committed treason. “ The guards,” said he, “ would not obey the commands of Saul ; but Doeg the flatterer executed the king’s cruelty. The Scripture condemns the act of Doeg as a cruel murder, and affirms, that God would punish not only the commander, but also the merciless exe-

cutor. Therefore, they who gainsaid the commandment of the king, resisted not the ordinance of God." In answer to what the apostle affirms, that such as resist the power resist the ordinances of God, Knox observed, that power in that place was not to be understood of the unjust commandment of God, but of the just power wherewith God hath armed his magistrates to punish sin and maintain virtue. "Were a man," said he, "to take from the hands of the faithful Judge a murderer who deserved death, he would resist God's ordinance, and procure to himself damnation : But it is not so when men oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of Princes ; for these resist not God but the devil."

"I understand," said Lethington, "what you mean. I agree with one part of your proposition, but I doubt the other. Were the Queen to command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her ; but if she were to command others to do it, I don't see that I am bound to defend him."

"With protestation," said Knox, "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 ye have the power and do not exercise it, ye are guilty of my blood."

“ Prove that, and win the debate,” said Lethington. Knox accordingly referred, at great length, to the circumstance of the prophet Jeremiah having been apprehended by the priests, and by the multitude of the people, and condemned to die for having prophesied against the city; and he put much stress on the answer returned by Jeremiah to their accusations, that the words which he had spoken were the words of the Lord.

After having been once more driven from his ground, Lethington gave a new turn to the argument, by affirming that the question to be discussed was, Whether her Majesty’s mass might be suppressed? and whether her idolatry could be laid to the charge of her subjects? In answer to this, Knox gave it as his opinion, that idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but that the idolater should die the death. “ But by whom,” said Lethington. “ By the people of God,” said Knox. And to prove that the prophets had taught that the people had the power to punish the idolatry of their kings, he reminded his opponent of the fact of Elisha having sent out one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him a commandment to destroy the house of his master Ahab for his idolatry. Which commandment

was executed, and so much with God's approbation, that God promised unto him the stability of his kingdom unto the fourth generation. "This," said Lethington, after having vainly attempted to turn it altogether aside, "is but one example." "One sufficeth," said Knox, "yet, God be praised, we lack not others." Here he alluded to the circumstances of Amaziah, and of Uzziah, and of Joash; and from their history he proved, that subjects not only may but ought to resist their princes when they act contrary to God's holy ordinance. "Kings," said he, "have no more privilege than the people to offend God's majesty; and, if they do, they are no more exempted from the punishment of the law than other subjects. If a 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 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."

"I affirmed," said Knox, "what I have proved:—1st, That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and therefore offended not God. 2d. That subjects have refused to strike innocents when a king



commanded, and in so doing denied no just obedience. 3d. That such as struck at the commandment of the king were, before God, reputed murderers. 4th. That God hath not only of a subject made a king, but also hath armed subjects against their natural kings, and commanded them to take vengeance upon them according to his law. 5th, and lastly, That God's people have executed God's law against their kings, having no further regard to them in that behalf, than if they had been the most simple subjects within the realm."

Lethington now arose, and said, "My Lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide and give orders unto preachers that they may be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the Queen's mass from her?" While some were beginning to vote, they were interrupted by Knox, who said, that, according to the promise made by his Lordship to the whole assembly, nothing was to be voted in secret. The matters were first to be debated in public, and then the votes of the whole Assembly were to end the controversy. After some altercation, and after a proposal that the vote should be taken where they were, and afterwards shown to the Assembly, a protest was taken by Knox, in which he dissented from

all voting, till that the whole Assembly should understand both the question and the reasons.

After the rector of St Andrew's, the superintendent of Fife, and some other of the nobility, had expressed their doubts as to the legality and expediency of violently depriving her Majesty of the mass—and after others had affirmed that the mass, being abominable, should be abolished, Craig, Knox's colleague, gave an account of a dispute, on the same point, at which he was present in the university of Bologna, in Italy, where the following propositions were determined, viz.—“ That all rulers, supreme and superior, may be restrained by them by whom they are chosen, as often as they break the 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 to be kept and reformed equally, according to law and condition of the oath that is made of either party.”—“ Then,” says Knox's history, “ there arose another dispute between a claw-back of the corrupt court, and Craig ;” and finally, between Mr James Macgill, then clerk to the register, and Knox, as to a former debate on the same subject : In the end, it was proposed, that Knox should write Calvin for his opinion ; this, how-

ever, Knox declined to do, as he had already heard the opinion of the most learned men in Europe on the point.—“Were I to do so,” said he, “I would only show my own ignorance, forgetfulness, or inconstancy.” He, therefore, recommended that they should complain of him to these people, that he had constantly affirmed such doctrines; and that the matter might in that way be brought under their cognizance. Many approved of Knox’s offer, but no one undertook to frame the complaint. Upon this the long reasoning was concluded, and the assembly broke up.

We have been thus minute in detailing the leading points of this debate, for two reasons; we are not aware, that any particular account of it has been given to the public by any of the modern writers on the subject; and we are of opinion, with Dr Robertson, that this debate admirably displays the talents and character both of Lethington and Knox: The acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtilty,—the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear,—are alike portrayed.

When the Queen’s marriage with Darnly approached, the lords demanded, that the acts securing the Protestant religion should be rati-

fied before they gave their consent to her wishes. By way of conciliating her nobles, and procuring their concurrence to the marriage, her Majesty sent for Willock, Winram, and Spotswood; these she cherished with fair words, assuring them, that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God—the satisfaction of men’s consciences—and the good of the commonwealth. She told them, that, although she was determined to remain true to the faith of her fathers, she was ready to hear disputation on the Scriptures, and even public preaching from the Protestants, provided the preacher had not given her cause of offence. It would seem, however, as if this had only been a device to gain her own favourite object. For, no sooner was her marriage with Darnly accomplished, than she altered her tone, and gave up all idea of “attending the preachings of the Protestants.”

The policy of the King was somewhat different: he could be either Protestant or Papist as he found to be most convenient for the time. Accordingly, to gratify the Queen, and her faction, he attended mass in the private chapel; and, to destroy the clamours raised against him for having done so, he attended divine worship, in the church of St Giles. Upon Sunday, the

19th of August, Knox, either by accident or on purpose, took the following words for his text:—“O Lord our God, other lords than thou have ruled over us.” In his sermon he expatiated on the government of wicked princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants to scourge them. In the course of illustrating the subject, he declared, that God raises to the throne, for the offences and ingratitude of the people, *boys and women*. He quoted the passage, “I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them,”—children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. He also mentioned, that God punished Ahab and his posterity because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel. In this way Knox protracted the service for an hour longer than usual, and gave the utmost offence to the King. His Majesty hastily descended from the throne—returned in the utmost indignation to the palace—threw his book in the fire—refused to dine—and gave vent to his fury by passing the Sunday afternoon in hawking. The Papists, and other personal enemies of Knox, embraced the opportunity of inflaming the mind of her Majesty. The subject of our memoir was accordingly forthwith apprehended in bed, and carried before the privy council, which had already convened in the Secretary’s chamber.

A great number of the most respectable men of the town accompanied Knox to the palace. He was peremptorily told, that he had given much offence to the King's Majesty, by what he had spoken in his sermon; and he was *de plano* prohibited from preaching in his own church while their Majesties remained at Holyrood. In vindication of his conduct, Knox alleged that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and, he added, that if the church should command him to refrain from preaching, he would obey in as far as conscience would permit.

No one can justify Knox's want of prudence and intemperate zeal on this occasion. Yet some apology for his indiscretion is to be found in the peculiar situation in which he was placed, and the difficult part which he had to act. He was quite well aware of the Queen's devotedness to the Catholic religion, and of the designs which her relations in France had to restore the form of its worship in Scotland. He properly considered the Lords of the Congregation as the only persons who could counteract their influence, and protect the infant establishment; and believing, as he did, that the cause of the Reformation was in danger, he could not refrain from ascribing to the anger of heaven, the exaltation of those rulers by whom its destruction was to be effected: besides, the age was rude, and the



mode in which people addressed each other harsh and unpolished.

As might have been expected, Knox's inhibition from preaching excited the greatest sensation, not only in Edinburgh, but throughout the kingdom. Those who were appointed to supply his pulpit refused to comply. A deputation from the town council repaired to the palace in his behalf, and declared, that in no manner of way would they grant that his mouth be closed. Commissioners were sent from St Andrew's to petition the General Assembly for Knox's translation to their church, where he had first begun the vocations of the holy ministry. For these reasons the court saw the necessity of not pushing matters to an extremity; and, to cover their retreat, the King and Queen left Edinburgh before next Sunday, so that our intrepid Reformer was tacitly permitted to exercise his ministry in Edinburgh, in his usual manner, and without interruption.

Besides making a tour, at the desire of the General Assembly, to some of the southern counties, he, about this time, wrote a letter, encouraging his brethren to continue in the faithful discharge of their clerical functions, and exhorting them not to be disheartened from doing their duty, because no adequate provision had been secured for their maintenance. He also



compiled a "Treatise on Fasting," and the form of excommunication and public repentance. At the Assembly it had been appointed, that a public fast should be observed throughout the reformed churches, to avert the plagues and scourges of God, which appeared to have come upon the people for their sins and ingratitude. And, as it was the first which had been kept since the Reformation, it was deemed expedient to give the people directions respecting the manner in which it should be held. When her Majesty heard of the fasting and praying throughout Scotland, she said, that "she was more afraid of that than of ten thousand men of arms."

Nor were weighty reasons awaiting for fasting and prayer at this critical period. The most zealous among the Protestants had been banished forth the kingdom,—Knox had been prohibited from preaching in Edinburgh,—a decree had lately been passed by the Council of Trent, for the extirpation of Protestants,—the Popish Princes had continued to put it in force,—the Scottish King, and many of the nobles, daringly embraced Popery, and openly officiated in its mummeries. They held a secret correspondence with the Pope; and it was suspected that they were bribed by him to promote

his views in Scotland,—wooden altars had been manufactured in the chapel of the Palace of Holyrood, for the purpose of being erected in St Giles' church,—the friars had usurped the pulpit, and were publicly preaching at Holyrood,—an emissary had arrived from the court of France, to invest the King with the order of the knighthood of St Michael, and to prevail with the Queen to accede to the league which, at the suggestion of the Cardinal of Lorrain, had been formed for the extirpation of the Protestant religion. Naturally partial to her own religion, disgusted with the stern intrepidity of the reformers, and desirous of gratifying her uncle, her Majesty had subscribed the bond, summoned the Parliament to assemble on the 12th of March, and arraigned the exiled nobles to appear before it.

When matters were at this critical juncture, the friends of Murray contrived to get the simple Darnly involved in a secret engagement with them, to assassinate Rizzio, the Queen's favourite, and by that means infallibly prevent the meeting of Parliament. Accordingly, when her Majesty was sitting at supper with Rizzio, and other attendants, the King, Ruthven, and their accomplices, entered the apartment, tore the unhappy man from the presence of the Queen, and cruelly murdered him at the door of the chamber.

This bold but unwarrantable blow saved the Protestant cause in Scotland. In the bustle which it gave rise to, the meeting of Parliament was prorogued—the friends of Popery were disconcerted and fled—and Murray, with the other exiled lords, returned from England, escorted by Lord Home and about a thousand horsemen; and, notwithstanding that they had opposed the marriage of her Majesty, they were pardoned, and again received into favour. Although the king had been the principal promoter of Rizzio's murder, and although he had signed a contract to have it effected, he did not hesitate to deny all knowledge or concern in the unhappy transaction. He again deserted the Protestant noblemen, and attached himself to the Popish faction. By this means he rendered himself universally contemptible. The Queen felt indignant at his folly and ingratitude, while the people were shocked at the disregard to honour and veracity which his denial manifested.

On the 18th of May, the King and Queen returned to Edinburgh from Dunbar, with an army of eight thousand men. Previous to their entrance, the warmest friends of the Protestant religion had found it expedient to leave Edinburgh. As Knox could not be inactive, he passed west to Ayrshire, where he exerted himself to the utmost in preaching and exhorting

the people. From the circumstance of Knox having fled on this occasion, it has been alleged that he was accessory to the murder of Rizzio; and, in proof of this, it has been affirmed, that he approved of it in so far as it was the work of God. His having approved of assassination on any pretext was certainly unjustifiable in our Reformer; but it is going by much too far to affirm, that he was concerned directly or indirectly in the horrid act. Neither do we require to look to such a suspicion for the cause of Knox's prudent departure from Edinburgh on this occasion: He had been long obnoxious to her Majesty, and had formerly been prohibited from preaching in the capital, during the Queen's residence at Holyrood,—and, on that account, it would have been imprudent in the extreme for him to have thrown himself in the way of her Majesty at a time when her mind was agitated and irritated by the barbarous murder of her secretary. His conduct on this occasion was more than justified by the steps which the Queen adopted in respect to him immediately after her arrival at Edinburgh. She not only used every means in her power to prevent his return, and sternly refused every solicitation made in his behalf by the town council, and the rest of his friends, but she even used her influence with the nobility in the west, to get them

to banish him from their houses, and to deny him all countenance and protection.

In consequence of her Majesty's resentment, Knox was induced to undertake a jaunt into England, to visit his two sons, who had been some time before that period sent to one of the seminaries of learning in that country.

In the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh, on the 25th of December, 1566, Knox was deputed to write a supplication to the lords of the council, concerning the commission of jurisdiction granted to the bishop of St Andrew's, by which he was again empowered to condemn all those suspected of heresy. He also wrote a letter to the professors of their religion, to warn them of the danger of the commission granted to the bastard bishop, desiring all who professed the Lord Jesus Christ, as well nobility as gentlemen, burgesses and commons, to deliberate upon the aspect of affairs, and no longer to suffer idolatry and other abominations to be maintained or defended within the realm. He called upon them, in the fear of God, and with unity of mind, to demand justice, and to oppose tyranny. He also inclosed, for their perusal and correction, the scroll of a supplication which was to be presented to her Majesty; and he, in addition, hinted at the propriety and necessity of commissioners convening

from different parts of the country, to determine on what steps should be adopted to avert the impending danger. "If such a meeting should be agreed upon, the time and place being appointed by you, and due advertisement being given to us, by God's grace there shall be no fault 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 the Roman antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny. But when we can do no further to suppress the odious beast, we mind to seal with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished the man of sin, and his venomous doctrine, from our hearts and consciences."

Knox was also employed by the General Assembly to write a letter to the rulers of the church of God in England, intreating them to deal gently with the preachers, their brethren, concerning the surplice and other matters of a similar nature. Some of the pastors had been deprived of all ecclesiastical functions, because they, in their conscience, scrupled to use the garments of idolaters, as they termed the surplice, corner cap, and tippet. This had excited

much dissention in the Church of England, and had been the cause of great grief to their Protestant brethren in Scotland. In Knox's letter on the subject, he tenderly desires the Episcopalians, "in charity to remember the sentence of Peter, to 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." He further desires them to meditate upon the sentence of Paul,—“Give no offence, neither to Jews nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God.” “Trouble not,” says he, “the godly, for such vanities; let the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, find of them, who use and urge them, such favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his members to show to one another; which we look to receive of your courtesy, not only because ye will not offend God in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles; but also because ye will not refuse the earnest request of us, your brethren and fellow-ministers. Once more, we desire you to be favourable one to another.”

When Knox set out for England, the Assembly furnished him with the most ample certificates of character. In these he is described as “a true and faithful minister, in doctrine pure and sincere; in life and conversation, in our



sight, inculpable." He is also described as having "fruitfully used that talent granted to him by the Eternal, to the advancement of the glory of his godly name—to the propagation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and edifying of them who heard his preaching; that of duty, we must heartily praise his godly name, for that so great a benefit granted unto him for our utility and profit." With this certificate, and the letter we have already mentioned, Knox could not fail to be well received by the Protestant brethren in England.

An important revolution in the affairs of Scotland was effected soon after Knox's departure out of the kingdom. The Queen's hatred to Darnly, and partiality for Bothwell, became every day more apparent. An attempt was made to reconcile the King and Queen; but, as the parties were not sincere, the reconciliation could not be lasting. When Darnly found himself alike hated and despised, he sunk under the contempt and insignificance without an effort. In the mean time, Bothwell swayed both the heart and the councils of her Majesty. No business was transacted or favour bestowed but through him. Darnly retired from court, and threatened to leave the kingdom. An attempt had been made, it is said, to procure his death by poison; but it failed. The Queen,

pretending to be reconciled to him, paid him a visit at Glasgow; and, by artifice, prevailed on him to come to Edinburgh. He was lodged in a solitary dwelling, then at the extremity of the city. Here her Majesty remained with him for two nights; on the third, when the Queen was absent at a marriage in the palace, the house in which he lay was blown into the air with gunpowder. That Bothwell was accessory to this execrable deed, and that the Queen knew of it, cannot be denied.\* A sham trial, at the de-

\* From the depositions of Pourie, and of Dalglish, Bothwell's porter and chamberlain, and from those of Hay of Falla, and Hepburn of Bolton, it is evident that Bothwell was the principal deviser and perpetrator of the horrid crime. His first design was to assassinate the king either in the fields or in whatever place an opportunity could be found; but this plan was finally abandoned, and that of blowing up with gunpowder adopted. On the Saturday evening, the gunpowder was brought by Hepburn to Bothwell's lodgings, in the Abbey. On the following evening, after a long consultation, Bothwell passed in the dusk to sup with the queen and the Bishop of Argyle, at the house of Mr John Balfour. After supper, he repaired to Ormiston's lodgings, and from thence to the Cowgate. Pourie and Wilson brought the gunpowder on horseback, in a trunk and mail, to the Blackfriar's gate, where it was poured into bags, and carried to the garden wall behind the Kirk of Field, (the ground on which the University of Edinburgh is now built.) The two Ormistons, Hay, and Hepburn, joined the party, and dismissed Wilson

mand of Lennox, was instituted against Bothwell; which was slurred over in the most shameful manner. Every thing done in the trial was at the direction of the accused; who, on the day appointed, appeared with so formidable a retinue, that it would have been dangerous to condemn him, and impossible to bring him to punishment. Of course Bothwell was found not guilty of the crime. Soon after the trial, if such it may be called, Bothwell, by promises, flattery, terror, and force, prevailed on many of the nobles to subscribe a paper, declaring his innocence, and consenting to his marriage with the Queen. Having managed matters thus far, under pretence of an expedition against the borderers, he collected his followers, to the

and Pourie. They entered the queen's apartment, where they poured the powder in a heap upon the floor, directly under the king's bed. Hay and Hepburn were left with false keys in the apartment. At twelve, these lighted the match, left the room, and went into the garden, where they found Bothwell in great impatience awaiting the explosion. As soon as ever the murder was effected, Bothwell ran down the Cowgate, through the Blackfriars' gate, ascended a close, crossed the High Street to a broken part of the town wall, in Leith Wynd, which he was afraid to leap; he therefore ran to the Neherbow, roused the porter, got through the gate, returned to the abbey, and retired to his bed; where he remained till roused by the alarm which the king's death soon excited.

number of a thousand horsemen ; but turning suddenly towards Linlithgow, he intercepted the Queen on her march from Stirling, dispersed her slender train without resistance, seized her person, and carried her a willing prisoner to the castle at Dunbar.

Immediately after this disgraceful affair, Bothwell applied both to the Protestant and Popish court to procure a divorce from his wife, which he had no difficulty in obtaining, notwithstanding the want of any real cause for it on the part of his lady. He and the Queen also commanded Craig, Knox's colleague, to publish the banns ; which he did, but, at the same time, declaring, before heaven and earth, his detestation of the scandalous marriage : and calling upon the passive nobility to make an effort to save their Queen from disgrace and ruin. He was afterwards accused, in presence of the council, of having exceeded the bounds of his commission. In answer, he accused Bothwell of having been guilty of adultery and murder, and of having unjustly divorced his wife, and ravished the Queen. He also assured his judges, that his commission embraced the whole word of God, the law of nations, and the common sense of mankind ; and that, as Bothwell's marriage was in opposition to all of these, he was quite authorised to reprobate its cele-

bration. "For myself," said he, "I have discharged my conscience, and yet again would take heaven and earth to witness, that I abhor and detest the marriage as scandalous and hateful in the sight of man; but since the great, as I perceive, either by their flattery or silence, give countenance to the measure, I beseech the faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, that a resolution taken contrary to law, reason, and conscience, may, by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort of the church, and benefit of the kingdom." The council was so overawed by his boldness and integrity, that they dismissed him without censure.

After this marriage, the nobles, indignant at the manner in which Bothwell exercised his authority, and roused by his repeated attempts to seize the person of the young prince, entered into a league to revenge the king's death and defend his surviving son. Mary and Bothwell armed in defence. The contending forces met in the famous field of Pinkie. When the confederates advanced, the Queen's army refused to fight. Mary tried to animate, and Bothwell to inspirit them; she wept, she threatened, she scolded, but in vain. After a bravado of offering to decide the quarrel in single combat, Bothwell took his last farewell of the Queen, although he had been married to her only one month, and rode

off the field with a few followers.\* In the mean time, the confederates surrounded the hill on which Mary stood, and took her prisoner. While marching to the camp of the confederates, her ears were saluted with opprobrious epithets, and her eyes were shocked with standards on which was painted the dead body of the late king, and the infant prince kneeling before it, crying, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord." The young, the beautiful Mary, uttered the most bitter lamentations; she melted into weeping, and could scarcely keep from sinking to the ground. Worn out with fatigue—covered with dust—and bedewed with tears, she was carried to Edinburgh—exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects assembled on the street—kept a prisoner in the house of the provost—and afterwards conveyed, under a strong guard, to the castle of Loehleven, where she was imprisoned, and deprived of her crown. Her infant son was raised to the throne, and Murray, her bastard brother, appointed as regent during his minority.

\* He went instantly to Dunbar, where, fitting out a few ships, he set sail for the Orkneys; here he subsisted for some time by piracy. Kirkaldy of Grange afterwards pursued him thither, and took his ship; but Bothwell had previously escaped in a boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died mad, after ten years' confinement.

Not were her inveterate enemies even satisfied with all this infamy and degradation—some of them insisted that she should be sent out of the kingdom—some that she should suffer perpetual imprisonment: While Knox, the other ministers, and the majority of the people, argued that she ought to suffer death as a murderer and adulterer. The plan of keeping her Majesty at Lochleven castle was finally adopted; but, in order to intimidate her, and to overawe her partisans, a power was reserved of proceeding to more violent extremes. No sooner had Mary, bathed in tears, subscribed the deeds of resignation, than steps were taken to crown the young prince. On the 29th of July, 1567, the ceremony was performed at Stirling, with much solemnity, in presence of all the nobles of the party, a considerable number of lesser barons, and a great assembly of the people. Knox preached the sermon on the occasion in the parish church of Stirling. The Bishop of Orkney, with the superintendents of Lothian and Angus, performed the ceremony of unction in the usual manner. To this Knox objected, as a Jewish rite abused under the papacy—took a protest, and craved extracts of the proceedings.

As soon as the Earl of Murray was invested with power, he assembled the Parliament, with



a view to redress the grievances of the church, and to have himself confirmed in the Regency. On the opening of the Parliament, Knox preached a sermon exhorting the nobles to attend to the affairs of the church, in preference to that of the state. Accordingly, they proceeded to the confirmation of all the Acts of Parliament which had been passed in 1560, abolishing popery and establishing the Protestant religion. Laws were enacted respecting the admission of ministers, and the presentations of lay patronages. It was enacted, that no king, princes, or magistrates, should be permitted to hold any authority, until they had previously sworn to defend the true religion and the Protestant faith; and also, that all teachers of youth should be subject to the examination of the superintendents of the church. It was enacted, that the whole thirds of benefices be paid to the collectors of the church, who were to pay the clergy the full possession of their patrimony, and deposit the overplus in his Majesty's exchequer. An act was also passed, ratifying the jurisdiction of the church; and commissioners were appointed (of whom Knox was one) for drawing up a particular statement of the nature of those causes which properly came within the sphere of their authority. This report was to be approved of by the General As-

sembly, which met about the same time, and to be given in to the next meeting of Parliament.

From this period the Reformation may be said to have been fully established in Scotland. The Romish hierarchy was now dissolved—the King was a Protestant—and the Protestant religion formed a part of the constitution, which he, and all in authority, swore to preserve. During the regency of Murray, every thing went smoothly on between church and state; and in the five General Assemblies which were held during the remainder of his life, there was no scolding of the constituted authorities, or complaints to the court. In a word, “a godly magistrate was now invested with the supreme power; religion was established, and was flourishing throughout the realm, and a sufficient provision was appointed for ministers.”

Soon after Mary's imprisonment, various attempts were made to gather and unite her adherents, and to rouse their indignation against the regent. The friends of the house of Hamilton felt naturally indignant at Murray's promotion to the regency, to the prejudice of their chief, who they imagined had the right as first prince of the blood. Many were sorry for the fate of their Queen. Some of the nobles were offended at the haughtiness of the Regent; while the promoters of Popery were, to a man,

his sworn enemy. These tried several schemes to restore Mary to liberty, which were all baffled by unforeseen accidents, and the vigilance of the opposite faction. In the end, by means of her affable and insinuating manner, she succeeded in gaining over to her interest the brother of her keeper, George Douglas, a youth of eighteen. On the Sunday evening, when his brother was at supper, and the rest of the family had gone to prayers, the keys were stolen—the gates were opened to the Queen and one of her maids—they were looked behind them, and the keys were thrown into the lake. Mary ran to the boat which awaited her—was rowed to the shore by Douglas, Lord Seaton, and Sir James Hamilton. Here she mounted a horse—rode to Niddrie in West Lothian—halted three hours—set out for Hamilton, where she arrived next morning, without having been pursued or interrupted.

The moment Mary made her escape, her friends ran to arms, and in a few days her court was filled with a splendid train of nobles, accompanied by six thousand followers. Nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction, formed themselves into an association in defence of her person and authority. On the other hand, the adherents of the Regent were wavering and irresolute.

Many of them intrigued with the Queen's party, and some of them openly revolted. Here it was that the genius of Murray became conspicuous. Instead of retreating to Stirling, as he had been advised to do, he fixed his headquarters at Glasgow. He amused the Queen by offering terms of accommodation until he found himself in a condition to take the field. He posted himself in a small village called Langside, in the line of the Queen's march from Hamilton to Dumbarton. The houses, gardens, and inclosures, protected him from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, in which they were superior.

Although only a part of Mary's force had assembled,—and although the northern clans were daily expected at her camp,—although she had every thing to hope from pursuing slow and cautious measures,—and although she had reason to expect the assistance of France, and the protection of England, she, at the instigation of the Archbishop of St Andrew's, “set her life upon a cast, and stood the hazard of the die.” Never doubting of success, she advanced to attack Murray in his advantageous situation. Her army consisted chiefly of the Hamiltons, who were so eager to engage, that they left the rest of the forces far behind and came up to the combat fatigued and breathless.

For a short time the fight was fierce and desperate; but as the Hamiltons were not supported by the rest of the army, and as they were opposed by the whole of Murray's forces, they at first gave way, and soon after were completely routed.

During the engagement, Mary stood on a hill at no great distance, and beheld all that passed in the field, with such emotions of mind as are not easily described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit, which all her past misfortunes had not been able entirely to subdue, sunk altogether. In the utmost consternation, she began her flight; and so lively was her impression of fear, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the Abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle.

Here she adopted a step, the most rash and unfortunate which could have been devised. Such were the sentiments which the horrors of imprisonment excited in her mind, that she determined on throwing herself on the protection of Elizabeth. It was in vain that Lord Herries, and her attendants intreated her, on their knees, not to confide in the honour of Elizabeth. Such was her impatience to rush on destruction, that she leapt into a fishing-boat, and, with a few atten-

dants, sailed for Wirkington in Cumberland—  
“*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*” Here, although, in all the circumstances of the case, she had a right to expect kindness and redress of her grievances, she was met with nothing but duplicity and cruelty—she was thrown into prison, where she was kept for a period of nineteen years, and was only relieved to be led to the scaffold, where she was murdered by a princess whose protection she had implored and in whose promise she had confided.

After the battle of Langside, Murray lost no time in bringing his prisoners to trial for rebellion against the King’s government. Six persons of distinction were condemned to death, and actually led out for execution. But Knox powerfully interceded in their behalf, and was finally successful in obtaining their pardon. Is it here then, we would ask, that the bloodthirsty, austere, and revengeful spirit of our Reformer is exhibited? or do we not rather see him exerting himself in calming the angry passions of the victorious, and in comforting and protecting the vanquished? Had Knox really been the savage, cruel, and vindictive man which his enemies have endeavoured to represent him, such feelings would surely have been manifested on the present occasion, when his opponents were so much in his power. Whether

these were actuated with the same commendable dispositions, and whether they requited in a becoming manner the lenity of the Regent and Reformer, remains to be seen in the conduct of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, one of the very individuals who experienced the Regent's clemency at the request of Knox.

Although Hamilton had been pardoned by Murray, yet part of his estate had been bestowed on one of the Regent's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife in a cold night naked into the open fields, where she was found next morning furiously mad. Hamilton ever after sought to be avenged on the Regent for this awful cruelty. He followed him wherever he went, watching the opportunity to effect his purpose. At last, he learned that the Regent was to pass through Linlithgow on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Here he determined to strike the blow. He took his stand in a wooden gallery which had a window towards the street,—he spread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noise of his feet from being heard,—he hung up a black cloth behind him, that his shadow might not be observed from without. After all this preparation, he calmly waited the Regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a house not far distant. In the mean time, some-



body had given the Regent a sort of indistinct information of the danger which awaited him, and, to avert it, he attempted to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a circuit round the town. But as the crowd about the gate was impenetrable, and as Murray knew not what fear was, he proceeded directly along the street. The throng of the people obliging him to move slowly, gave the assassin time to take so true an aim, that he shot him with a single bullet through the lower part of the belly, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his other side. His followers instantly endeavoured to break into the house whence the ball had come, but they found the door strongly barricaded; and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horse which stood ready for him at a back passage, and was got far beyond their reach. The Regent died in the course of the evening.

The utmost anarchy and consternation followed the death of Murray. A convention of the nobles was held to choose a Regent, at which the Queen's party refused to attend, or to agree to any terms short of the restoration of Mary. Encouraged by the prospect of aid from France, and by the acquisition of persons illustrious for their birth, and eminent for their

abilities, the chiefs of the Queen's faction assembled at Linlithgow, and marched thence to Edinburgh, where they were well received by Kirkaldy of Grange, who was both governor of the castle and provost of the town. Here they published a proclamation declaring their intention to support the Queen's authority. On the other hand, the nobles who adhered to the King also assembled at Edinburgh, and issued a counter-proclamation, declaring such as appeared for the Queen enemies to their country. They also elected the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnly, and of course grandfather to the young King, regent of the realm. In this way, Edinburgh became the scene of contention.—Kirkaldy, Huntly, Home, Herries, and others, occupied the city, and expelled all the adherents of the King's party from it. They seized the arms belonging to the citizens—they planted a battery on the steeple of St Giles—repaired the walls, and fortified the gates of the town. Morton and the Regent fortified Leith, and contended with the Queen's party in daily skirmishes, and with various success. The miseries of war desolated the kingdom. Citizens, friends, and brothers extinguished their natural good will, and ranked in open hostility to each other. Religious zeal mingled with civil discord, and rendered the state of the country still more lamentable.

From the intimate familiarity, friendship, and co-operation which subsisted between Knox and Murray, and from Murray's attachment to religion, and the vast service he had done to the church, our Reformer was thrown into the deepest anguish and despair at the intelligence of the Regent's death. Nor was this feeling less acute on the part of Knox, on account of the remarkable circumstance of his having been the means of procuring from Murray's clemency a pardon to the man who had become his assassin. The day after the death of the Regent, being Sunday, Knox preached. In the course of the discourse, he introduced the following passage :—" Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the wicked, to whom he is prince, could not abide it ; and so, to punish our sins and our ingratitude, thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers : He is at rest, O Lord. We are left in extreme misery." Before concluding the sermon, he adverted to a note which he had found in his pulpit on entering it, and which contained the following words :—" Take up now the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end to which his ambition hath brought him." " In regard to it," he said, " I perceive there be some that rejoice in this

wicked act, making it the subject of their mirth ; amongst whom there is one that hath cast a writing in this place, exulting over what is all good men's sorrow ; this wicked man, whoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where none shall be to lament him." This line had been written and thrown into the pulpit by Thomas Maitland, brother to the secretary, who was in the church during divine service. Knox's words made a deep impression on the mind of Maitland. When returning home, he asked his sister, whether she did not think that the preacher was raving to speak in such a manner respecting a man of whom he could know nothing ? At this question, the sister, who knew her brother to be the writer of the paper, burst into tears ; and answered, that none of Knox's denunciations had ever proved idle. And accordingly the fact showed her fears to be well founded ; for, not long after this affair, Maitland died in Italy, among strangers, where there was not a friend to close his eye, or to lament his fate. At the burial of Murray, Knox also preached a sermon on the text :—" Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." In this discourse, the preacher went more into a detail of the personal and public virtues of the Regent, and bewailed his loss, in terms so pathetic as to dissolve his

whole audience, to the number of three thousand persons, in tears.

Soon after this lamentable event, and the consternation and anarchy which it gave rise to, our Reformer seems to have fallen into a kind of dotage, brought on probable by lowness of spirit and approaching old age. His usefulness was for a time interrupted, and his life even despaired of by a severe stroke of apoplexy, which he had in the October following. This indisposition impaired the distinctness of his articulation, and produced a general debility from which he never recovered.

Instead of being allowed to spend the evening of an active and disturbed life, in that calm seclusion which Knox had reason to anticipate during the regency of Murray, and instead of being released from the bustle of public life and the enmity of private resentment, as his years increased, his trials thickened around him; they even became more distressing in proportion as he became the less able to bear them. In the scramble for power, some of the former friends of the Protestant religion declared for the opposite party, and laboured to overturn the government they themselves had erected. More than that of any other of these, the defection of Kirkaldy of Grange, governor of Edinburgh castle, agitated our Reformer. He had

formerly been of essential service to the cause of the Reformation; and, on that account, had obtained Knox's highest esteem, which his apostasy now compelled him to withhold. This dryness was soon kindled into an open uproar. Grange's servant having been guilty of murder, and having been imprisoned for it, he did not, in the plenitude of his power, hesitate to relieve him by force from jail. So daring a violation of all laws and justice could not be overlooked by Knox. Accordingly, he adverted to the circumstance from the pulpit on the following Sunday. "If," said he, "the committer of this act of outrage had been a man without God, a blood-thirsty person, or one who had never known the works of God, it had no more affected me than other riots which my eyes have seen; Satan, by his instruments, raises wicked men against Jesus Christ now preached. But to see stars fall from heaven, and a man of knowledge commit such evident treason, what godly heart but must lament and fear. God be merciful, for the example is terrible, and we have all need earnestly to pray,—Lead us not into temptation, and speedily deliver us from the company of the wicked; for, within these few years, we looked for other fruits from this man than have now budded." There were not wanting plenty to run to the castle with a highly co-

loured statement of what the preacher had uttered. The consequence was, that a complaint was lodged by Grange, with the kirk session, against Knox, and a demand was made that the calumny which he had uttered should be done away by a public apology. In vindication, Knox repeated what he had formerly stated, and boldly refused to compromise his conscience. With a view to intimidate the preacher, Grange and his party came to the church in a body, although they had not graced it with their presence for a twelvemonth before. Knox, as might have been expected, embraced the opportunity of repeating his admonitions as to the impropriety of rioting, and thereby defeating the ends of justice. This only served to widen the breach, and to inflame Grange the more ; so that he not only used the most awful imprecations and threatenings against his old friend, but set about the accomplishing of his ruin in a most determined and insidious manner. At the first meeting of the General Assembly anonymous accusations were thrown into the room, and fixed on the walls of the public places, reprobating Knox's conduct as seditious and insincere. The assembly very improperly took so far notice of these as to call upon Knox's accusers to step forward and prefer their charge ; which they again anonymously pro-



mised to do by next assembly, "provided the accused had not previously left the country to avoid the consequences."

As Knox felt peculiarly sensitive on every thing which affected the credit of his ministry, he, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, produced the libels in the pulpit, and again animadverted on their maliciousness and falsity of the charge. While our resolute Reformer was so debilitated in body that it was with difficulty he could walk, the ardour of his mind was unabated. And, notwithstanding his infirmities, he conducted his defence, in this instance, with a firmness, talent, and magnanimity which would have done honour to his best days. When he had repelled all the clandestine attacks which had been heaped upon him, in the way we have mentioned, his opponents had recourse to the old story of his Blast of the Trumpet against the Regiment of Women, and endeavoured to show the inconsistency of his conduct in praying for and courting the favour of Elizabeth, and in procuring her assistance against his native country. Knox answered the last charge in the following words:—"One thing in the end I may not pretermitt, that is, to give him the lie in his throat that either dare or will say that ever I sought support against my native country. What I have been to my

country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth. And thus I crave, requiring every man that has to oppose any thing against me, that he will do it so plainly as I myself and all my doings are manifest to the world. For to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that, in my decrepit age, I shall be compelled to fight against *shadows, and howlets that dare not abide the light.*"

In consequence of this altercation with Grange, and of the Hamiltons having obtained possession of Edinburgh, Knox was, until he left the town, in eminent danger of assassination. Such were the well-grounded apprehensions of his friends on the subject, that they deemed it necessary to set a watch over his house during the night, and even wished to form a guard for his protection on his way to and from the church. This they would have done had not Grange offered to send a party of his own men to do the duty. It is uncertain what might have been the consequences had not his friends made a point of carrying him, sore against his will, to St Andrew's, as a city of refuge. For a time Knox held out against all their intreaties, and urged, in answer to them, that the sole object of his enemies was to frighten him away, that the field might be left

to themselves, and that confirmation might be made to their former insinuation of cowardice. In the end, he was induced to yield from the dastardly conduct of his enemies, who fired a musket-ball into the window of the room where he usually sat; and which, but for the providential circumstance of his having been seated at another side of the room from that which he usually occupied, must in all probability have proved fatal to him. At this period, Knox's very name was obnoxious to the party in power at Edinburgh, and people were attacked and maltreated merely because they were of the same name. One of the cannons which had been mounted on the steeple of St Giles, for the purpose of intimidating the inhabitants, was, in contempt for our Reformer, called after him, and fired with so much rapidity, that it burst, and killed or wounded several of their own party. At this time the church of Edinburgh was deserted, and "there was neither preaching nor prayer, neither was there any sound of the bell heard in all the town, except the ringing of the cannon."

Nor was the situation of Knox much more comfortable at St Andrew's than it had been at Edinburgh. The power of the Queen's party had already made a considerable impression on the conduct and sentiments of the ministers and

professors, so that Knox now found it as necessary to lecture his new audience on the same tender subject, as he formerly had done in St Giles. After some acrimonious retorts between our Reformer and Robert Hamilton, one of the professors in the college, the language which Knox had used in the pulpit, in reference to the murders of Darnly and Murray, was brought under the cognition of the masters of the university. Here Knox appeared in his own defence, and confuted his accuser on the merits of the accusation. Although he had it in his power to have declined the jurisdiction of the court, he argued his cause, and merely took a protest that his doing so should not be held as a precedent prejudicial to the liberty of the pulpit and the authority of the church courts.

Already were innovations beginning to be made in the government of the church. The courtiers tried to secure to themselves its revenues. On the death of the Archbishop of St Andrew's, Morton obtained from the crown a grant of the temporalities of that see. But as a layman could not, with decency, hold a benefice to which the cure of souls was annexed, he procured Douglas, rector of the University of St Andrew's, to be chosen archbishop; and, allotting him a small pension out of the revenues of the see, retained the remainder

in his own hand. The nobles, seeing the advantages of the practice, not only approved of the measure, but also followed his example. The clergy took great offence and alarm at the measure, because they had not the power to prevent it, and because they magnanimously wished the revenues which the nobles appropriated to themselves, to be employed in supplying those parishes which were still unprovided with settled pastors. Such was the pusillanimity of the clergy, and such the dexterity of the nobles, that it was at last agreed, by all parties, in a convention of ministers and courtiers held at Leith, that the name and office of archbishop should be continued during the king's minority, and that these dignities should be conferred on the best qualified among the Protestant ministers; but that, with regard to their spiritual jurisdiction, they should be subject to the General Assembly of the church. Nor was this all; unqualified persons were sometimes presented and continued in the enjoyment of livings, independent of the church. More livings than one were conferred on the same individual; and even the civil authorities began to arrogate to themselves ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As was to be expected, Knox lifted up his voice in defence of the church, and in opposition to the

corruptions about to be introduced into it. Although he was desired by Morton to preside in the service of the inauguration of the new Archbishop of St Andrew's, he not only positively refused, but even reprobated the conduct of all concerned with the transaction. In answer, it was insinuated, that envy and disappointment were the causes of his objections. But Knox refuted the invidious insinuation, by calling to their recollection the circumstance of his having declined to accept a bishopric in England, when urged to take it by Edward and his council. When the General Assembly met, he, in proper form, protested against the schemes of the nobility for defrauding the church of her patrimony and her power.

From a work published by Knox when at St Andrew's, (being a vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by a Scots Jesuit,) it is manifest, that his bodily strength was hourly decaying, and that he was "wearie of the world and thirsting to depart." In the advertisement to the reader—in the dedication to the work—and in a prayer subjoined to it, are the following passages :—"John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernacle, to the faithful, that God, of his mercy, shall appoint to fight after me."—

“Call for me, deir brethren, that God, in his mercy, will pleis to put an end to my long and painful battell; for now, being unable to fight as God sometimes gave strength, I thrist an end befoir I be moir troublesum to the faithfull: And yet, Lord, let my desyre be moderat be thy Holy Spirit.”—“To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit; for I thrist to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I will rise again in glorie: howsoever it be that the wicked, for a time, shall trede me and others, thy servandes, under their feit.”—“Be merciful, O Lord, unto the kirk within this realme; continew with it the light of thy evangel; augment the number of true preachers: And let thy merciful Providence luke upon my desolate bed-fellow, the fruit of her bosome, and my two dear children, Nathanael and Eleazar. Now, Lord, put an end to my misery.”—“I heartily salute and take my good-night of all the faithful in both realms, earnestly desiring the assistance of their prayers, that, without any notable slander to the evangel of Jesus Christ, I may end my battle; for, as the world is weary of me, so am I of it.”

While at St Andrew's, upon this occasion, Knox seems to have kept up a patriarchal intercourse with the students of St Leonard's Col-



lege, who were always distinguished by a zeal for the good cause. He was wont to enter their college-yard—call the youths around him—and give them his blessing. Sometimes he would exhort them to know God and do his work, by standing to the good cause; or he would tell them to “use their tyme weill, and learn the guid instructiones, and follow the guid examples of their maisters.” Nay, our now enfeebled Reformer would even lay aside the stern traits of his character, and superintend the youthful sports of the students.\* His appearance about this period is thus graphically described by James Melville, one of the students who enjoyed his friendship and advice:—“Of all the benefits I had that year, was the coming of that most notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhon Knox, to St Andrew’s; who, be the faction of the queen oceupeing the castell and town of Edinburgh, was compellit to remove therefrae, with a number of the best and chusist, to come to St Andrew’s. I heard him

\* “This yeir, in the moneth of July, Mr Jhone David-sone, an of our regents, maid a pley at the marriage of Mr Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr Knox’s presence, wharin, according to Mr Knox’s doctrine, the Castle of Edinburgh was beseiged, taken, and the Captin, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie.”—*MS. Diary of James Melville.*

teach there the propheties of Daniel that summer (1571,) and the winter following. I haid my pen and my little buik, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderate the space of half-an-houre; but, when he enterit to application, he made me so to grew and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to write. He was very weik. I saw him, every day of his doctrine, go hulie and fear, with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in the ane hand, and gude godly Richard Ballanden, his servand, haldin up the uther oxtar, from the abbey to the parish kirk; and, by the said Richard, and another servand, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; but, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads, and flie out of it."

It was when at St Andrew's that Knox took his leave, by letter, of the General Assembly, which was held that year at Perth. On this occasion, he recommended to their consideration certain points which he esteemed of importance. In particular, he advised the clergy to preserve the church from the bondage of universities. In answer, the assembly professed their anxiety for his welfare, and also their readiness to follow

his instructions. At their request he examined a sermon, which had been lately published by the minister of Dunfermline, and wrote upon it, that, "by a dead hand, but glaid heart, he praised God that, of his mercy, he levis such light to his kirk in this desolation."

A cessation of arms having been agreed to between the contending parties,—the city of Edinburgh having been secured from the annoyance of the garrison, and the banished citizens having returned to their homes,—a deputation was sent to St Andrew's to request that Knox's congregation might hear once more his voice from his own pulpit. To this proposal Knox readily agreed, on condition that his flock should, previously to his coming, be informed of his determination to speak with an unbridled tongue against the conduct of those who occupied the castle in opposition to the Regent. On the 17th of August he left St Andrew's, and arrived in Edinburgh about the 25th. The first Sabbath after his arrival he was carried to the pulpit, but such was the weakness of his voice that few of the audience could hear him. His session, therefore, at his own desire, fitted up for him the Tolbooth Church, where, it was expected, his voice would be much better heard.

As Knox's former colleague, Craig, had be-

come obnoxious to the congregation, by a compromising of principle in favour of the Queen's party, and as he had left Edinburgh, it became necessary to choose somebody in his place. James Lawson, sub-principal of the college of Aberdeen, was fixed upon, and a deputation sent to him, with the following letter from Knox:—"All worldly strength, yea, even in things spiritual, decays; and yet shall never the work of God decay. Beloved brother, seeing that God of his mercy, far above my expectation, has called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet that I feel nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would gladlie anes discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of others, in whome I think the fear of God remains. Gif I hath had the hability of body, I should not put you to the pain to the whilk I now require you, that is, anes to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things; for into earth there is no stability, except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fightand under the cross, to whose mighty protection I hartilie commit you. Of Edinburgh, the vii of September, 1572.

"JOHN KNOX.

"P. S. Haste, brother, lest you come too late."

News having reached Scotland of the awful massacre of the Protestants in France, in which Coligni, and many others of Knox's friends, no less distinguished for piety, learning, and rank, had perished, our Reformer had himself carried to the pulpit, where the Almighty seemed to have inspired him with supernatural strength and eloquence. On this mournful occasion he exclaimed bitterly against the French king and the other perpetrators of these unheard of barbarities. He declared that the vengeance of heaven awaited the 'murderers; and, in presence of the French ambassador, he excommunicated the king, and desired Le Croc to write him that he had done so. Le Croc complained to the Regent of Knox having declaimed against his master, but he got no redress.

Lawson, having arrived at Edinburgh, and preached to the people, gave universal satisfaction. In the words of Melville, he was a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom nobody could hear without being melted into tears. Knox preached and presided at the installation of his assistant and successor. He proposed the questions to the pastor and people, exhorted them, and prayed for them. In the close of his sermon, he called God to witness, that he had walked in good conscience among them; not seeking to please men, nor serving

either his own or other men's affections, but, in all sincerity and truth, preaching the gospel of Christ. Then, having praised God who had given them one in his place, 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 steadfastness in the faith: and so concluding with a blessing, he gave them his last farewell. "All his sermons," says Bannatyne, "were religiously sweetest music in the close." "Having," says Dr M'Crie, "finished the service, and pronounced the blessing with a cheerful voice, he came down from the pulpit, and, leaning upon his staff, crept down the street, which was lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take their last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house, from which he never again came out alive."

He was so much overcome with the exertion, that, the same afternoon, he was forced to betake himself to bed. Here he was seized with a distressing cough and defluxion, which became so alarming that his friends saw the necessity of calling in medical aid. For many years back it had been his invariable practice to read every day a few chapters of the Old

and New Testament, and also as many of the Psalms as enabled him to peruse the whole in the course of a month: But, from this time, he became so enfeebled as to be unable for the task. Yet he did not deprive himself of the consolation which the gospel imparts. Every day, till he breathed his last, did his faithful secretary, and no less affectionate wife, comply with his request, in reading aloud to him particular portions of the Sacred Writings.

The passages which he desired should be read to him every day, were the seventeenth chapter of St John's Gospel, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah. He was also partial to Calvin's Sermons, in French. In this way almost every hour of the day was partly occupied in reading and meditating. While reading one of Calvin's Sermons on the Ephesians, those at his bed-side, supposing that he had dosed into sleep, asked him, if he heard the discourse? His answer was, "I hear, (I praise God,) and understand far better."

When he felt his final dissolution approaching so rapidly, he lost no time in settling his worldly affairs. In paying the servants, he exhorted them to walk in the fear of the Lord, and, by their conduct through life, to manifest the fruits



of the good example he had shown them, and the pious lessons he had taught them while under his roof.

On Friday the 14th he arose from his bed, but he was so weak as to be almost unable to sit upon a stool. On being asked, "What he would do out of bed?" thinking that it was the Sabbath, he answered, "That he would go to church and preach." He said, "That he had been meditating that night on the resurrection." This subject he would have taken up in order, after the death of Christ, which he had finished the Sunday before he was taken unwell. He had often, in the course of his life, expressed a desire that the Almighty would be pleased so to order matters as to enable him to finish his days in teaching and meditating on this important doctrine: In this it seems to have been the pleasure of the Lord to gratify his wish.

On the Saturday, two of his intimate acquaintances called upon him. Such was his regard for them, that, feeble and sick as he was, he left his bed, ordered dinner, and insisted on them partaking of it; which they did. Even at this, his last dinner on earth, his hilarity did not forsake him. He pierced a new hogshead of wine, and desired his guests to enjoy themselves with it while it lasted, adding, that he would be dead before it was finished.

Next day being Sunday, Knox supposed that it had been the first Sabbath of the fast, which had been appointed on account of the French massacre, and on that account refrained from eating any thing. The Laird of Braid, who was sitting at his bed-side, called him to remembrance, by telling him, that the fast did not begin till the following Sunday; and prevailed upon him to take a little of something he was eating as his dinner. On this occasion he desired the elders and deacons to be sent for, that he might bid them a final adieu, as he had formerly done to the people. In consequence of the wish he expressed the next day, (Monday the 17th,) the minister, Mr Lawson, the elders, and deacons, accompanied by one of the ministers of Leith, came to his bed-side, when he gave them his dying charge in the following impressive words:—"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 judgment, 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 those against whom I thundered God's judgment: 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. I declare, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandize of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, indulge my own passions, or the passions of others. Whatever the wicked may say, I rejoice in having a conscience void of offence. In conformity to my example to you, my dearest brethren, persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel, wait diligently on the flock, over which the Lord has made you shepherd, and which has been redeemed by the atoning blood of Christ Jesus, shed for the remission of sin. Abide constant in the doctrine which you have heard from me. Join not with the wickedness of those in the Castle of

Edinburgh, however much they may triumph in the world; but rather choose, with David, to fly to the mountain, than to remain in the company of the wicked. And you," continued he, "Mr James Lawson, 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 ye have the charge: against which church, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

The intelligent reader need hardly be reminded that, in this dying exhortation of our Reformer, is to be found an excellent and impartial outline of his character, conduct, and motives. That Knox knew his own heart better than those who have, since his death, taken it upon themselves to traduce him, cannot be doubted; and that he would not be disposed to disguise or conceal the truth, at a time when he expected every hour to be called into the presence of his Judge, to whom he must answer for all his deeds, seems no less certain. At the interesting moments during which this exhortation was pronounced, Knox's mind must have been elevated far above every silly motive of vanity, or feverish anxiety, respecting the estimation in which he was to be held by succeeding ages.

The approbation of God, and his own conscience, was all he must at that time have been anxious to secure ; and he knew well that these would instantly be forfeited by the slightest deviation from strict rectitude and truth. To a dying man posthumous fame is but dust in the balance, compared with the salvation of his immortal soul.

Mr David Lindsay came to visit him one day, and having asked him how he felt himself? 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. This thing grieves me very much. Go then, I pray you, and tell him from me, that John Knox remains the same now, when he is going to die, that ever he knew him when able in body ; and wills him to consider what he was, and the state in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble. 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 craggy rocks, in

which he confideth, defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a god (young Lethington), afford him help : but he shall be disgracefully pulled out of that nest, and brought down over the wall with shame, and his carcase shall be hung before the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God. That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish if I could save it." Although Lindsay thought the message harsh, yet he consented to go to the castle. On entering the garrison he found Sir Robert Melville walking on the wall, and told him the object of his visit. Melville seemed somewhat affected with what he heard, and went to confer with Grange. After a few minutes Grange himself appeared, and dismissed Mr Lindsay with a disdainful sneer. Lindsay returned to Knox, and reported the result of the commission. "Well," said 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."

Knox's debility and sickness did not so much increase as his inability to utter any words but with great pain. The cough, defluxion, and difficulty of breathing were the principal causes of this. Yet, notwithstanding the obvious pain

and difficulty he had in articulating, none who did him the favour of a call, when on his death-bed, went away without being repaid for their kindness by an admonition. On one of these occasions, a religious gentlewoman of his acquaintance, having come to his bed-side, desired him to praise the Lord for the good which he had done. She was going on to speak in his praise, when he sternly interrupted her, by saying, "Tongue, tongue, Lady; flesh of itself is over proud, and needs no means to puff it up." He exhorted her to humility, and to cast away her ignorant 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." He then again declared, that his hopes of mercy and of pardon rested not on his own works, but on the merits of Christ's atonement. When the rest of the company retired, looking to the Laird of Braid, he said, "The others have bid me good night; when do you mean to do it? I have been greatly indebted to you, more than I will be able to recompense; but I commit you to one that is able to do it—to the eternal God."

Lord Boyd came to him to make up a misunderstanding which had subsisted between them; but, as the attendants were not present, and as



Boyd has not detailed what was said on the occasion, none of the conversation has been preserved but the first sentence uttered by his Lordship :—" I know Sir," said he, " that I have offended you in many things, and am now come to crave your pardon."

Among other things, when the Earl of Morton, Lord Boyd, and the Laird of Drumlanrig waited upon him, he asked of Morton (who had, by the death of Mar, been raised to the regency,) whether he had any previous knowledge of the design to murder Darnly ; upon Morton denying that he had any hand in the affair or knowledge of it, " Well," said he, " my Lord, the Almighty has 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 then, 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 his country and true subjects. 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." Had Morton attended to Knox's advice, he would not probably have been brought to the scaffold.

Lord Lindsay, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Ruthven, the Bishop of Caithness, and several other noblemen and gentlemen, visited him in his last illness. Some of these asked him, in a kindly manner, if they could be of any service to him; but he told them, in reply, that the pleasures and friendships of this world could avail him nothing. These, and every body around him, he exhorted to continue in the truth which they had been taught:—"Serve," said he, "the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed indeed is death to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God." When lying quiet, he would often say, "Come, Lord Jesus:" "Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my soul;"—"Be merciful, Lord, to thy church which thou hast redeemed;"—"Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth;"—"Raise up faithful pastors who will take the charge of thy church;"—"Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and merey."

On the Friday, he suggested to his secretary the necessity of making preparations for his fu-

neral, and of giving orders for the making of his coffin.

On the Lord's Day, (23d November,) being the first Sabbath of the fast, none being present but those of his own household, he lay quiet for some time. In the time of the afternoon's sermon, he started, and suddenly exclaimed :—"If any man be present, let him come and see the work of God." All thought that he was about to expire. His secretary instantly sent to the church for John Johnston, writer. When he came, Knox burst forth in these rapturous expressions :—"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 Satán, 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." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and creed, interspersing them with devout aspirations at the conclusion of the petitions and articles. Stretching out his hand to heaven, he exclaimed : "Lord, I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all into thy hands : Thou knowest my troubles, I do not

murmur against thee." When lying, like one in a sleep, he exhorted and prayed, and broke forth into short sentences : Such as, "live in Christ, and flesh need not fear death"—"Grant true pastors to the church, O Lord"—"Let purity of doctrine be retained"—"Restore peace to the commonwealth"—"Lord make an end of my troubles." His troubles greatly increased in the after part of the day. In the evening many came to visit him : Perceiving his breath to be shortened, some of them asked him 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." Towards the evening he slept some hours together, but with great unquietness and heavy moaning.

About nine o'clock he awoke, and Dr Preston asked him how he found himself, and what caused him to mourn so heavily in his sleep ? To this, he answered ; "In my lifetime I have been often assaulted with Satan, and many times he has cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me to despair ; yet God gave me strength to overcome all his temptations. And now, that subtile 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 showed 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.’” He desired them to wet his mouth with a little weak ale.

Upon Monday the 24th, he arose about nine o’clock, and, although unable to stand without being supported, he insisted upon putting on his stockings and doublet. He was conducted to a chair, where he remained for half an hour, and then was carried back to bed again. Every hour it became more apparent that his dissolution was fast approaching. His wife, and his secretary, with three of his greatest friends, Dr Preston, Johnston the writer, and Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, remained constantly by the bed-side. Having been asked by Campbell, 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 my troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys." In the afternoon, he desired his wife to read to him the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" Soon afterwards he said, "I commend my soul to thee, O Lord." About three o'clock in the afternoon his speech became still worse, and one of his eyes failed. About five o'clock he said to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my first anchor." She turned up the seventeenth chapter of St John's gospel, and afterwards, some of Calvin's Sermons on the Ephesians. About half an hour past nine, they went to prayer. These being ended, Dr Preston said unto him, "Sir, heard you the prayer?" He answered, "Would to God that you and all men heard it with such an ear and heart as I have done. I praise God for that heavenly sound." He added, "Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body," counting three of his fingers, "into thy hand, O Lord."

After this, his attendants looked every moment for his death. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock he gave a long sigh, and a sob, and said, "Now, it is come." All of them instantly drew near, and Richard Bannatyne said unto

him, "Now, Sir, the time you have long called for to God doth instantly approach: Seeing all natural powers fail, and that you are specchless, I desire you not only to think on those comfortable promises which you have so often declared to us, but that you also give us a sign that you have heard them, and that you die in peace." At these speeches he lifted up one of his hands, and immediatly thereafter, without further struggle, and with two long sighs, he expired, rather after the manner of one falling asleep than dying. *Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace.*

Upon Wednesday the 26th November, Knox was buried in the centre of the church-yard of St Giles, now the area of the Parliament Square. His mortal remains were carried to the grave by Regent Morton, all the nobility who were in town, and a vast crowd of the people. When the body was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton pronounced his eulogium in these memorable words:—"There lies he, who in 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." These words are the more honourable for Knox, as they were spoken by a man whom he had often censured with peculiar severity.



Knox was in stature below the ordinary size, and by no means robust in his habit of body. His countenance is said to have been austere, and his eye keen. He wore his beard long and shaggy.

---

Knox's character has been held up in two very different lights. By the Roman Catholic writers he has been represented not only as a heretic and apostate, but as a man of a turbulent spirit and seditious principles. He has been represented as profligate, depraved, and vicious in all his habits and propensities.\* But as these representations were dic-

\* The Popish writers were at great pains to circulate the following absurd account of the manner of Knox's death:—"The opening of his mouth was drawn out to such a length of deformity, that his face resembled that of a dog, as his voice did the barking of that animal. The voice failed from that tongue which had been the cause of so much mischief, and his death, most grateful to his country, soon followed. In his last sickness, he was occupied not so much in meditating upon death, as in thinking upon worldly affairs. When a number of his friends, who held him in the greatest veneration, were assembled in his chamber, and anxious to hear from him something tending to the confirmation of his former doctrine and their comfort, he, perceiving that his death approached, and that he could gain no more advantage by the pretext of

tated by bigotry and blind zeal in favour of their own religion, they do not even deserve to be mentioned. On the other hand, the learned Beza denominates him the Apostle of the Scots, and also the GREAT MASTER KNOX. This character of our Reformer is the more likely to be correct, from the circumstance of the intireligion, disclosed to them the mysteries of magic which he had hitherto kept secret ; confessed the injustice of that authority which was then defended by arms against the exiled Queen ; and declared many things concerning her return, and the restoration of religion after his death. One of the company who had taken the pen to record his dying sayings, thinking that he was in a delirium, desisted from writing ; upon which, Knox, with a stern countenance and great asperity of language, began to upbraid him. ‘Thou good for nothing man, why dost thou leave off writing what my presaging mind foresees as about to happen in this kingdom ? Dost thou distrust me ? Dost thou not believe that all which I say shall most certainly happen ? But that I may attest to thee and others how undoubted these things which I have just spoken are, go all of you from me, I will, in a moment, confirm them all by a new and unheard of proof.’ They accordingly withdrew, leaving the lighted candles in the chamber. When they returned, they saw the lights had been extinguished, and his dead body lying prostrate on ‘the floor.’ How ignorant and credulous must the adherents to Popery have been at this period, when a story so extravagantly ridiculous as the above could be listened to by them.

mate intercourse, personal and scriptural, which was for a long period kept up between these two illustrious characters. The German biographer Melchior Adam, the Dutch Verheiden,\* and the French La Roque, have all contributed their mite of praise to his memory. Mons. Senebier says of him, "That he was a violent but honourable opponent to the Catholics; and that he immortalized himself by his courage against Popery, and his firmness against the tyranny of Mary."

Neither is the testimony of his secretary, Bannatyne, to be overlooked. No doubt he was a favourite servant, and, in gratitude, respected his master, and may have therefore, in the most honest simplicity, been carried away by enthusiasm. Yet from the character he maintains for learning and integrity, and, above all, from the opportunities of judging, which his personal intercourse afforded him, his testimony ought to be esteemed of the first importance. "After the foresaid manner," says he, "died

\* In a work published by Verheiden, *anno* 1725, a portrait of Knox is given, and the following lines are placed under it:—"To thee, Knox, the Scottish Church listened as her first instructor, and under thy auspices was restored; for celestial piety, and love of the Reformed religion, attracted thee above all things."

blessed old Knox, 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 godliness in reproof of vice. And although the 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 a man born who did more heartily reverence nor more willingly obey all the lawful commands of civil authority; neither was there a 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.—What dexterity in teaching, boldness in reproof, and hatred of wickedness was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declare; which, if I should labour to set out, it were as one who would light a candle to let men see the sun. All his virtues are better known, and notified to the world a thousand fold, than I am able to express.” In the General Assembly, he

had formerly declared, that "he served him not in respect of worldly commodity, but of the integrity and uprightness which he knew him to possess, especially in the faithful administration of his office in teaching the word of God."

This representation of his character is completely borne out by the testimony of Thomas Smeton; who says of him, "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 exertions; none more diligent in the charge intrusted to him: Yet no man, while he lived, was more assaulted with the hatred of wicked men, or more vexed with the reproaches of evil speakers. Notwithstanding of this, he had such resolute courage, that he went forward in God's way with the greater Christian boldness."

"In a word," says one of his old biographers, "he was so zealous for God's glory, so careful for the church's good, and so constantly conscientious in all his practices, that I am fully confident there is no man, except he have a vertigo in his brain, will be so blackish as to

imagine that such a fixed star can be made subject, by our vile aspersions, to the falling sickness of disgrace."

Dr Robertson delineates his character in the following colours:—"Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted too with the learning cultivated among divines of that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinction of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the Queen's person and conduct. These very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people; and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."

His illustrious biographer, Dr Macric, says, that "he was inquisitive, ardent, acute, vigor-

ous, and bold in his conceptions ; qualified by a bold and fervid eloquence, he was singularly adapted to arrest the attention, and govern the minds of a fierce and unpolished people. A desire to propagate the Reformed doctrines was his ruling passion—an ardent attachment to civil liberty held the next place in his breast. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption—his constancy no disappointment could shake. All his measures were planned with sagacity, and executed with boldness. The duties of the ministry he performed with assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. He excelled alike in alarming the conscience, and in arousing the passions, as he did in opening up the consolations of the gospel, and calming the breasts of those agitated with a sense of sin. He was dreaded and hated by the licentious and profane. He was loved and venerated by the religious and the sober. In private life he was beloved and revered by friends and domestics. In disposition he was sometimes churlish and melancholy ; but in his friendship he was sincere, affectionate, and firm. When free from his morose affections, he relished the pleasures of society—and when with his acquaintances, he was accustomed to unbend his mind from severer cares, and to indulge in innocent recreation, and the sallies of wit and humour. His



faults are to be traced to his natural temperament and the character of his age and country. As his passions were strong, and his zeal warm, he was often betrayed into intemperate language. Naturally inflexible and independent, he appeared sometimes obstinate, haughty, and disdainful. He was stern, not savage; austere, not unfeeling; vehement, not vindictive. In contemplating his character, the Reformer and not the man must be looked at. If he cannot be regarded as an amiable man, he may, without hesitation, be pronounced a great Reformer."

When the pen of so many able hands has been employed in delineating the character and doing justice to the purity of the motives of the Scottish Reformer, it seems unnecessary to say more; suffice it to mention, that the more his conduct has been investigated the more highly has it been applauded by a grateful posterity. In proof of this assertion, it need only be told, that it is at present in contemplation to erect monuments to his memory in three different parts of Scotland. Nor are such the grateful tributes merely of the man of letters, the divine, or the politician; they are the doings of *the people*, whose intelligence and piety have enabled them to feel and appreciate the blessing he conferred on them. The testimony of these, in an age so liberal and enlightened,

is more than sufficient to give the lie to all the calumnies which have been penned to his prejudice. In saying this much of Knox, it would be invidious not to remind our reader how much the character of the illustrious Reformer has been indebted to the talent and discrimination of his able biographer, Dr M'Crie. Till the time that M'Crie's Life of Knox made its appearance, it had been the practice of every stripling in politics or theology to rail at the austerity of the Reformer and to reprobate those very traits in his character which alone qualified him for the performance of his arduous duties. But the tables are now turned in his favour; and he who would now presume to deprecate the stern intrepidity of Knox, would only, by doing so, expose himself to derision. If the perusal of this work prove, in any respects, instrumental in effecting the same purpose, and in making ordinary readers, for whose information the book is principally intended, better acquainted with the transactions of that important period, the author will not think that he has laboured altogether in vain.

Our Reformer left behind him a widow, two sons, and three daughters. Nathanael and Eleazar entered the university of Cambridge eight days after their father's death. Nathanael became Bachelor of Arts, *anno* 1576; was ad-

mitted Fellow of St John's College in 1577; was made Master of Arts in 1580, and died soon after. Eleazar became Bachelor of Arts in 1577; was admitted Fellow of St John's College, March 1579; made Master of Arts in 1581; was one of the preachers by the University in 1587; was made Vicar of Clacton-Magna, same year; was created Bachelor of Divinity in 1588; and died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St John's College, Cambridge. They left no issue. The daughters were by the second wife. One of them was married to Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's; another of them to James Fleming, also a clergymen of the Scottish Church. The third was married to Mr Welsh, minister of Ayr. The widow married Sir A. Ker of Fadounside, a keen adherent to the doctrines of the Reformation.

Knox's daughter, who married Mr Welsh, seems to have inherited a portion of the spirit of her father. Her husband was imprisoned for opposing the arbitrary measures of James VI. who tried to overturn the Presbyterian establishment of the church. When he was banished by one of the most disgraceful modes of procedure ever followed in a court, she accompanied him to France. When his health became impaired, and he became anxious to end his days in his native country, she undertook a journey

to London in her husband's behalf. She obtained a personal interview with the king, and asked him for liberty to her husband to return to Scotland? On this occasion his Majesty asked Mrs Welsh, "Who was her father?" She answered, "Knox." "Knox and Welsh!" exclaimed the king, "the devil never made such a match as that." "Its right like, Sir," said she, "for we never speired\* his advice." His Majesty asked her, how many children her father had left, and whether they were mostly lads or lasses? She answered, that "there were three, and that they were all lasses." "God be thanket," cried the king, raising both hands; "for an had they been three lads, I had never bruiked† my three kingdoms in peace." She urged his Majesty to give her husband leave to return to his country. "Give him the devil!" said the king, after his usual way of speaking. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she. "If," said the king, "you will persuade your husband to submit to the direction of the bishops, I will allow him to return to his native country." At this, the daughter of Knox lifted up her apron, held it towards his Majesty, and replied, in the spirit of her father, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kept‡ his head there."

\* i. e., asked.

† Enjoyed.

‡ Receive.

Having thus given an outline of Knox's life and sentiments, and of his successful endeavours to establish that form of religion, and those principles of civil liberty, which constitute alike the pride of our nation and the happiness of its people,—and having brought under review the principal facts of the history of a period of our church and state, of all others the most interesting and beneficial, the author begs to take his leave of his readers, with every wish for the promotion of their temporal happiness here and spiritual welfare hereafter. In doing so, he would again express a desire that the perusal of the work may, through the grace of God, have the effect, not only of inspiring them with feelings congenial to those of the Scottish Reformer, but also of inciting them to imitate his example in labouring to perform the will of God in all things—in keeping a watchful eye over the interests of Presbyterianism—and in repelling every attempt to corrupt the purity of that faith, for the establishment and maintenance of which our ancestors fought and fell.

---

## APPENDIX.

---

### No. I.

*As the fate of Wishart tended much to bring about the Reformation, and as he was the clerical preceptor and personal friend of Knox, a more particular account of him than could have been given in the former part of this Work, will not be unacceptable.*

**G**EORGE WISHART was descended from the ancient and respectable family of Pitarrow, in the county of Mearns. He commenced his education at Montrose, and completed his studies at Cambridge, where he seems to have imbibed the tenets of the Protestant Religion. The respectability of his birth—his mind cultivated by science—the amiableness of his manners—the gracefulness of his elocution—and, above all, the purity of his morals, fervour of his sanctity, and enlarged benevolence, eminently qualified him for becoming an instrument, in the hand of God, for propagating the doctrines of the Reformation. In doing so, his zeal and success were such as to rouse the jealousy of

Cardinal Beaton, who prevailed on the magistrates of Dundee to prohibit him from preaching in that burgh. On being driven from Dundee, Wishart retired to the county of Ayr, where he obtained the friendly patronage of the Earl of Glencairn.

Learning that a contagious distemper raged in Dundee, Wishart went thither to administer consolation to the sufferers, and to strengthen their fortitude by the prospects which religion discloses. Such beneficence, while it alleviated the afflictions of the sufferers, and excited their warmest gratitude, gave energy to his instructions, and rendered him so justly beloved as to open a door for the doctrines which he taught.

His zeal in propagating the Reformed Religion brought upon him the displeasure of Cardinal Beaton, and other dignitaries of the national church. His enemies were afraid to attack him openly; but a priest, impelled either by his own gloomy bigotry, or having been instigated by his superiors, placed himself near the pulpit, having a dagger concealed under his robe, with which he intended to destroy Wishart. But perceiving something suspicious in the man's appearance, Wishart seized his arm, from which he wrested the weapon, and exhibited it to the audience. The criminal fell at Wishart's feet, acknowledged his guilt, and solicited pardon; which was granted.

But although the sincerity of Wishart's faith and his virtuous conduct entitle him to veneration, yet his religion was mingled with a considerable portion of enthusiasm; of which few even of the most virtuous of the Reformers were divested. Deeply interested in enlightening mankind—meditating on the sublime and mysterious doctrines of the gospel—and feeling apprehensions that he might fall a sacrifice to his enemies—Wishart seems to



have mistaken the anticipations of a troubled fancy, for inspirations from heaven. He seems also to have believed, what historians of that period have asserted of him, that he was illuminated by the Spirit of Prophecy. Some parts of his conduct, and the declarations he made in moments of deep agitation, seem to have proceeded from a conviction that he was divinely inspired.

Having, at one time, received a letter from one of his friends, intimating an alarming illness, and requesting his company, Wishart set out to visit him. But after proceeding so far on the road, he told those who accompanied him, that God had forbidden him to go farther, and he returned to Montrose. His friends who proceeded to the spot where Mr Wishart suspected danger, found sixty horsemen lying in ambush to have interrupted him.

But though this, and similar incidents recorded by the historians of that period, establish the reality of his enthusiasm, yet the doctrines which he taught, and the precepts he inculcated, evince the vigour of his understanding and the purity of his faith. And although he lived in great terrors on account of the cruelty and violence of Cardinal Beaton, and often intimated his fears that he would suffer martyrdom, yet he consoled himself in the firm belief that this realm would be illuminated with the light of the true gospel.

His fears for himself proved to be but too well founded. After having preached at Haddington, where he was much afflicted at the coldness of the people, he went to Ormiston, having first cautioned John Knox not to accompany him there, as one sacrifice, he said, was enough. Soon after he had gone to rest, the house was surrounded by armed men, sent by the Regent Arran, under the charge of the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of that bounds. The Laird of

Ormiston refused to deliver up Wishart, till Bothwell promised, upon his honour, to answer for his safety, and to put it out of the power of Beaton to injure him. The Harl did make some feeble attempts to save his prisoner from the fury of the Cardinal, but ultimately yielded him up contrary to his solemn promise, and Wishart was committed to the Castle of St Andrew's.

The furious zeal of Beaton, in every thing that regarded the protection of the church, and the continuance of its abuses, drove him, in this instance, far beyond the prudence and sagacity which he generally evinced in the management of secular affairs. He carried on the trial and execution of the mild and pious Wishart with a high hand, and a total disregard of law, justice, and sound policy.

He first applied to Arran for a commission to some layman to try and condemn Wishart. The Regent was quite disposed to comply with Beaton's request, but Hamilton of Preston having represented to him, in strong terms, the criminality and injustice of sacrificing an innocent and worthy man at the shrine of a corrupt and profligate church, and pointed out to him the offence such a measure would give to those who had advanced him to the Regency, Arran not only refused the commission, but insisted that Wishart should have a fair trial.

Beaton, who was seldom capable of restraining his violence, expressed himself with indecent warmth, on receiving a refusal so much calculated to defeat his cruel purposes against Wishart. He, at the same time, set the temporal power at defiance; and, agreeably to the maxims of that spiritual dominion which he was at all times so eager to establish, he convened the dignitaries of the Scottish Church, and proceeded to try Wishart on the common law.

The court was opened by a sermon from John Winram, then sub-prior, a man of a liberal and enlightened mind, and who was not altogether blind to the corruptions of the church. He noticed in his discourse the ignorance and negligence of many of those who had the care of souls; and he intimated doubts as to the propriety of prosecutions for heresy; quoting from the parable of the wheat and tares:—"Let them grow together till the harvest."

Lauder, who was the nominal prosecutor, exhibited eighteen articles of accusation against Wishart, drawn up in the most coarse and reproachful manner. To these the meekness and humility of Wishart formed an interesting contrast. He fell on his knees and prayed for a short time; and afterwards, with great modesty, gave an account of his sermons; declaring, he had never taught any doctrine that was not agreeable to the ten commandments, the apostolic creed, and the Lord's prayer. The prisoner, finding he was treated with the rudest violence, appealed from that court to a competent Judge. Lauder, in order to flatter the Cardinal, enumerated his many splendid titles, and argued that these rendered him the most competent Judge.

The Cardinal, irritated at the appeal which Wishart had made, and hurried on by the natural violence of his temper, disregarded that appeal, ordered the accusation to be again read, and the prisoner to be heard in answer to the charges. In his reply, Wishart showed that his opinions had been much misrepresented; but as he acknowledged some points that were held to be inconsistent with the faith of the church, he was, contrary to the wish of some of the clergy present, condemned as an obstinate heretic, and sentenced to be burnt.

The prisoner was carried back to the castle, and lodged in the room assigned to the chaplain. Here he spent the night in prayer and the most unaffected piety. Two friars intimated to him next morning that the sentence pronounced against him was to be executed that day ; and they importuned him to make confessions. At his own request, the sub-prior conversed with the prisoner, and offered him the sacrament, but which Wishart refused, unless it was administered in the manner he wanted ; a request which Winram could not grant. He represented to the prelates that he was convinced of Wishart's innocence, and of the simplicity of his heart ; but Winram was silenced with threats, and prohibited from allowing Wishart the benefit of the sacrament because he was a heretic.

When breakfast was set before him by the Captain, Wishart took bread and wine, and having blessed them, partook of them as memorials of Christ's sufferings. The Captain and others present also joined him.

The place of execution was in front of the castle. The martyr was, according to some historians, dressed in linen or sack-cloth ; others say he was dressed in black, but all agree that some bags of gunpowder were attached to his clothes. To prevent all possibility of a rescue, the Cardinal pointed the artillery of the castle towards the place of execution. Wishart conducted himself as became a martyr for the cause of purity and truth. After having prayed, he exhorted the people to adhere, notwithstanding his suffering, to what he had taught them. Having again prayed, the fire was kindled, and the powder exploded without extinguishing life. The Captain of the castle, who seems to have been much more feeling than the Priests, exhorted Wishart to maintain his fortitude ; to which the martyr answered with unshaken firmness ; and

the cord round his neck having been tightly drawn, he expired.

Thus perished a venerable and pious martyr for the Reformation, whose worth and virtues have been extolled by every honest historian. His modesty and virtuous piety adorned the age in which he lived, and added weight to the doctrines he taught, and his death led to happy results.

Beaton was seated at a window of the castle, from which he saw the execution, and the other priests were placed behind the Cardinal. Some accounts bear, that Wishart, when at the stake, prophesied that the Cardinal would soon meet with a violent death, at the place where he then sat with so much unfeeling and haughty dignity. But Knox, who was not far from St Andrew's at the time Wishart suffered, does not mention that prophecy.

Some have found fault, and others have laughed at the prophecies of this good man. But it is not easy to determine whether Wishart and others of the Reformers actually considered themselves as divinely inspired, or if enthusiastic historians imputed to them these gifts.

The Cardinal and his brethren regarded the death of Wishart as a triumph to their cause, and hoped that it would induce the people to renounce the doctrines of the Reformation, and adhere to that of the state. But that cruel murder had an entirely opposite effect from what the Cardinal had expected. Beaton, as has been already stated, was soon after murdered, and the death of Wishart did more towards the propagation of the Reformed Religion than all his sermons had ever done.

## No. II.

*The following Works were the production of  
Knox.*

1. An admonition, or warning, that the faithful Christians in London, Newcastle, Berwycke and others, may avoide God's vengeance both in thys life and in the life to come. 2. A faythfull admonition unto the professours of God's truthe in England, whereby thou mayest learne howe God wyll have his churche exercised with troubles, and how he defendeth the same : To be found in the Advocates' Library. 3. A godly lettter sent too the faythfull in London, Newcastle, Barwycke, and to all other within the realme of Englande, that love the coming of our Lord Jesus : To be found in the Advocates' Library. 4. A confession and declaration of prayer upon the death of that most famous king Edward the VI. kynge of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland : To be found in the Advocates' Library. 5. The copie of a letter sent to ladye Mary dowagire, Regent of Scotland, 1556. 6. The copie of a letter delivered to the ladie Marie, Queen Regent of Scotland, 1558 : To be found in the Advocates' Library. 7. The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Wemen : To be found in the Advocates' Library. 8. Appellation from the cruell and most unjust sentenece of the bishoppes and elergie of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates, and comunalitye of the same realme : Advocates' Library. 9. An exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christes gospell, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary suppressed. 10. An answer to a great number of blasphem-



ous caillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversarie to God's eternal Predestination: Advocates' Library. 11. The ressoning betwix Jo. Knox and the abbote of Crossraguell. In the library of Boswell of Auchinleck. 12. A Sermon preached at Edenbrough, 19th August, 1565. For which the said John Knox was inhibite preaching for a season. 13. To his loving bretheren whome God ones gloriously gathered in the church of Edinburgh, and now are dispersed for tryall of our faith. Advocates' Library. 14. An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyric. Advocates' Library. 15. A Fort for the Afflicted. 16. Sermon on Ezekial ix. 4. 17. A Notable exposition upon the fourth of Matthew, concerning the tentations of Christ. Advocates' Library. 18. The Historie of the Church of Scotland, very common. There are many more tracts, sermons, and letters, containing religious advices to his friends, and directions to his fellow promoters of the Reformation, which have not been published, but which are minutely described by Dr M'Crie in his notes to the life of Knox.

---

### No. III.

#### *Knox's Bible.*

There is an old Bible, at present in the possession of Hugh Elder, Mason, residing at No. 91, Fountain Bridge, near Edinburgh, which unquestionably belonged to Knox. Although there are no direct proofs of the truth of this fact, yet there are a variety of genuine marks of its authenticity, so incontestable as to have convinced several learned and literary characters who have seen it.



At the end of the apocrypha, the words *John Knox* are written in an old hand, resembling that of the Reformer's. In various other parts, there are several notes evidently of a more modern date, chiefly noticing the transit of the book to different holders. The title page and some leaves through the book are gone. But it bears at the end of one of the books, the following imprint:—"Rouen: Printed at the cost and expence of Rychard Carmron. This copy to be presnted to Johon Knox, preacher of the Lord's Word, at Edinburg, the cheif city of Scotland. Anno Dom: 1566." It would appear that when Knox died, in 1572, it came into the hands of his successor Mr Lawson. After Mr Lawson's death, it naturally came into the possession of his widow, whose maiden name was Page. At an after period, by an intermarriage which took place between the families of Page and Howison, it came into the family of the latter name, from whom Elder is descended; his great-grandmother's name having been Howison. It has been in the family of the present holder for about one hundred years. It lay for upwards of 70 years upon the 'cabirs,' (rafters), in one of the farm-houses of Wester Yard-houses, parish of Carnwath, Lanarkshire.

---

*Nota.*—Upon consulting a subsequent authority, it would appear that our Reformer was partly educated at the university of Glasgow, in place of having pursued his studies solely at St Andrew's, as stated in an early part of the Work.



95-18

30/



