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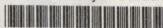
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Chronicles of the Kirk:

OR,

SCENES AND STORIES

FROM THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE SECOND REFORMATION.

FOR THE YOUNG.

BY

THE REV. JOHN ANDERSON,

Minister of the Free Church, Helensburgh; Author of the "Footsteps of the Flock," &c. &c.

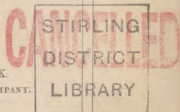
"If we were silent the CHRONICLES would speak of it."—*Intercessions of Davison and other Ministers with James VI.*

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"Of the wonderful deeds, of the good and evil days of our fathers much has been written; I, too, would make new again the times of old. Attend, then, ye young, it is for you I write, that your hearts may be kindled with new ardour for the Church of our dearly-beloved father-land."—*Schöke*.

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

THE LADY EMMA CAMPBELL,

THESE

"CHRONICLES OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND,"

FOR THE YOUNG,

ARE,

WITH THE HIGHEST SENTIMENTS OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It may be proper to state that, with the exception of a few occasional passages, the following pages were written several years ago. On the appearance of the excellent histories of Hetherington and M'Crie they were thrown aside, and all idea of their publication abandoned. Coming incidentally under the notice of a friend distinguished for his taste and judgment, he perceiving that they were addressed to, and, as he was pleased to think, adapted for, the Young, and that a work of this kind was yet wanting, recommended their being sent to the press. On this advice the Author has acted. He thinks it right to add that to the character of an original composition the Work has no pretensions. The materials which our older writers supplied so

largely he has used freely. The pearls of historic truth, for which they went down into the deeps, he has done little more than collect and arrange. This he has endeavoured to do with simplicity. It is not for him, it is for others to say how far he has done this successfully.

Oct. 31. 1848.



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SCENES AND STORIES

FROM THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT OUR FOREFATHERS WERE IN THE BEGINNING, AND HOW
THEY CAME TO BE CHRISTIANS.

A. D. 100—300.

WHEN discovered by the light of history, our forefathers, both of the mountain and the plain, were savages, rude and ferocious. They had no arts or commerce. The ground lay untilled and was covered with marshes and swamps. They had their dwellings in the woods, in dens, and in caves. They clothed themselves with the skins of the wild beasts they killed in the chase. They delighted in war, which they carried on with great bravery, but with as great cruelty; and they painted their bodies to increase the terror of their appearance in the day of battle. They were idolaters, and their idolatry

was of the darkest and most debasing kind. The name of their superstition was Druidism, or the worship of the oak, that kind of tree being the symbol of their chief god. To it and the mistletoe, a plant which grows from its root, and which twines itself around it, they paid religious homage. Their priests were called Druids. Their religious worship consisted of hymns, prayers, and sacrifices. Besides sheep and oxen, they sacrificed human beings. Such not unfrequently was the fate of public criminals, and of those whom they had taken captive in war. The victim having been bound to the altar, the priest plunged a dagger into his heart, and standing over him, from his dying agonies, and the way in which the blood followed the stroke, announced to the people the will of the gods.

Sometimes they sacrificed multitudes of human beings at once, which they did by enclosing them in huge baskets of wickerwork, and burning them to death. They worshipped their gods in the centre of deep groves, under spreading trees, and on high places. Their temples consisted of circles of stones with an altar in the midst, and were called clachans or carns,—that is, the “collection of stones.” The Druids pretended to be able to foretell future events, to have supernatural power over the elements, over disease, and over their fellowmen. The influence

which they acquired in this way was great, and the use which they made of it was bad. They borrowed from the people, and when asked to return what they had borrowed, said they would do so in the next world. They made a law that on the last day of October all the fires in the land should be extinguished, and that no hearth should be rekindled except with fire purchased from theirs. They were judges as well as priests, and their sentences were final. Their judgment seats were green mounds or little hills, which were called "Laws," a name which several places in Scotland bear to this day. Such were the evil days of our fathers. Blinded by error and enslaved by superstition, they had no happiness in life, and no hope in death. The Druids, the priests of a false religion, would no doubt be bitterly opposed to the introduction of the true, and had they been permitted would have employed their great power and influence to prevent it. But in a sudden and surprising manner God took them out of the way. Having offended the Roman governor, he assembled them in one place from all parts of the country, where, surrounding them with his legions, he put them to death. Perceiving, it is said, that their destruction was intended, they lifted up their hands to heaven and invoked the aid of their deities with loud and despairing cries. But false gods do not

hear and cannot answer prayer. On that day this ancient, powerful, and dangerous order of men perished. Thus in his wrath to them, but in his mercy to us, did God burn up the briars and thorns which at that time overspread this land. And thus did he prepare the way for the sowers of the Word to go forth and to sow the seeds of salvation in these long wild and waste places of the earth.

Who those missionaries of the Cross were, who constrained by the love of Christ, landed on our inhospitable shores, and first preached the gospel to our barbarous and benighted ancestors, we have no means of knowing. They are supposed to have been some of the disciples of John, the last of the apostles, but their names have been long forgotten. With such signal success were their labours attended, before the end of the second century the religion of Christ was not only generally professed but by royal authority established. For this we have the authority of Tertullian, one of the early fathers of the Church, who, in a work written in the year of our Lord 209, informs us, "that those parts of Britain into which the Roman arms never penetrated were become subject to Christ." For this we have the authority also of these traditionary verses which Fordoun and Major, two of our early Scottish historians, have thought worthy of being preserved—

"In years from Christ two hundred and three
Scotland a Christian kingdom came to be."

"Thus early," says Gildas, an ancient British historian, "did these frozen regions, far remote from the visible sun, receive the glittering beams of Christ Jesus the invisible sun." Thus, while over the greater part of the world it was yet night, in this our beloved fatherland it became day. "For which," says a modern writer, "ought the goodness of God to be devoutly acknowledged, seeing it is a glorious pre-eminence yielded to this island of having been the first region in the world under the government of Christianity, which was not till more than one hundred years after established by Constantine in the Roman empire."

CHAPTER II.

PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND, AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL IN SCOTLAND.

303.

IN the year 303, the tenth and last of the great persecutions by Rome Pagan was begun by the emperor Dioclesian. Extending itself from Rome to South Britain, then a Roman province, it raged for a time there with great fury. "The churches," says

Gildas, "were thrown down, all the books of the Holy Scriptures that could be found were burnt in the streets, and the chosen priests of the flock of our Lord, with his innocent sheep, were murdered." "This persecution," says Bede, "was more lasting and bloody than all the others before it, for it was carried on incessantly for the space of ten years, with burning of churches, outlawing of innocent persons, and slaughter of martyrs." While the storm of persecution thus raged in the South, our fathers in these northern parts knew nothing of its violence, and when multitudes of their persecuted brethren fled hither, they received them with open arms, and yielded them an asylum which even the power of Rome itself could not reach. Thus did our fathers reap the reward of their stubborn and successful resistance to the Romans. Nor did their kindness to the Christians of the South lose its reward. Among these refugees were some eminently learned and holy men, who, taking up their abode in the North, devoted their days to the spiritual instruction of their more hardy but less enlightened brethren. Thus the cause of Christianity came to be greatly promoted in Scotland, and as one has remarked, "the sorrow of the south proved the joy of the north."

CHAPTER III.

THE CULDEES, OR FIRST MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND.

300.

THE first ministers of the Church of Scotland were called Culdees, a word which, according to some, signifies "Servants of God," but according to others, "Houses of God." From this name, as well as from the testimony of historians, we learn that they were eminently holy men, who gave themselves wholly to the work of the ministry. "They devoted themselves exclusively," says a historian, "to the service of God and of religion. They followed after learning with great diligence, and employed themselves much in transcribing the Holy Scriptures, in fasting and in prayer. Besides preaching the word and ministering the sacraments, they composed the quarrels of the people, they received the gifts of the rich, and dispensed them amongst the poor. They rebuked wickedness, they withstood violence, they healed divisions, and they prevented wars. In one word, the lives of the Culdees which are on record are above all praise. They are the nearest to the lives of our Lord and his apostles which I have either read or heard of in any language or in any country." Such were the early ministers of the Church of Scot-

land, to whom, if not by an apostle himself, yet by his disciples, were committed, and by them transmitted, a form of doctrines, worship, government and discipline, in all respects substantially the same with that acknowledged and exercised by the Free Church of Scotland at the present day. Its ministers then as now were presbyters. No one had precedence or power over another. Every pastor had his own flock. They met together for counsel and government, but they were all and equally so many under-shepherds, acknowledging Christ as the chief Shepherd, their sole King and Head. The Church thus settled enjoyed for a time peace and prosperity. For the countenance which Christianity received from the early Scottish kings it soon rendered them substantial service. Not only did her ministers teach the people the way of salvation, they taught them the arts of life. Thus civilization followed in the train of Christianity, and Scotland, the rudest of the nations, came to be as distinguished for learning and piety as it was and always has been for valour and the love of freedom.

CHAPTER IV.

A TIME OF TROUBLE.

360.

IN the year of our Lord 360, Maximus the Roman governor, desirous of reducing the whole island under the yoke of Rome, but fearing to attempt this by force of arms, had recourse to artifice. The country which then bore the name of Caledonia was occupied by two nations, the Picts and the Scots. So long as these two nations lived in unity, the Romans failed in every attempt to subdue them. Maximus finding this, resolved to set them at variance, and it was not long till his arts were successful. Tempted with the prospect of becoming sole masters of the country, the Picts renounced the friendship of the Scots and joined the Romans. War was then proclaimed by the united Picts and Romans against the Scots. A great and bloody battle was fought at the Water of Dun in Carrick, in which the Scots were defeated, and their king, with the flower of the nobles, was slain. This defeat was followed by an edict commanding all the Scots of whatever age, sex, or condition, to depart the land before a certain day, under pain of death. The Church was involved in the calamity of the kingdom. Its ministers were included in the edict of banishment. The seats of

learning and religion occupied by the Culdees were broken up and deserted. Banished from their native country, the Scots sought refuge in many lands. Some fled to the Western Isles, others to the northern parts of Germany, but the greater part took refuge in Ireland, where, like the Hebrew exiles in Babylon, they remained in sorrowful captivity for fifty years.

CHAPTER V.

RETURN AND REVIVAL.

420.

THOUGH dispersed, the ancient Scots were not destroyed. The hope that they should one day return to their native land they never abandoned. That time came. In the year 420, Fergus II., being then in Denmark, where he had become famous for his military exploits, like another Judas Maccabæus, resolved to rally his scattered countrymen around his banner and attempt the deliverance of his country. On the expulsion of the Scots the Picts found that, instead of becoming masters of the country, they had become the servants of the Romans. They were soon convinced of their error in turning against their

old friends the Scots, and were as desirous to break up their alliance with the Romans as they had been to make it. They sent invitations to the Scots to return from beyond the seas, and to unite with them against the Romans, promising that if successful, they would restore to them the lands which their fathers had occupied. The Scots were very glad to receive these invitations, so uniting from all quarters, they put themselves under the command of Fergus, and came into Scotland, where, having joined their forces with those of the Picts, they drove the Romans from the land. In return for his good deeds as well as being the rightful heir, Fergus was raised to the throne. His future life justified the choice of his countrymen. No sooner was he settled in his kingdom, than the state of the Church began to occupy his thoughts, and he set himself with heart and hand to restore it to its former prosperity. The Culdees, scattered in foreign parts, he invited to return home. The churches and colleges which had fallen into ruin, he repaired at the public expense; and for the support of the ministry, he appointed an annual income out of the fruits of the ground, "which," says a historian, "though slender, the moderation and temperance of the times considered as ample." In the island of Iona he built a house of learning, which he furnished with a

library consisting of books he had collected beyond seas. The good work begun by Fergus, was carried on by his son Eugenius. Thus the Church and kingdom had once more prosperity. At this early period several of our countrymen distinguished themselves for their piety and learning. One of these was Ninian. This Ninian was of noble lineage. Having received the best education that the country could afford, he travelled into foreign lands, where he perfected himself in all the learning of the times. On his return home he devoted himself to the office and duties of the holy ministry with apostolic ardour and diligence. He founded a college in Galloway, which he called White-house. The name of the place now is Whithorn. Here he continued abounding in works of piety and charity many years, and had much people given him for his reward.

CHAPTER VI.

STORY OF COLUMBA.

521.

COLUMBA was born in Ireland, in the year of our Lord 521, and was descended from one of its kings. His parents perceiving his love of learning and re-

ligion, resolved to devote him to the Lord. They placed him under the care of Cruethan, a pious presbyter in those parts, who soon discovered in the child symptoms of that singular goodness and grace by which he was so eminently distinguished as a man. Columba afterwards studied under Finnian, Kiarnon, and others, who were so charmed with the endowments and dispositions of their youthful charge, that they treated him rather as a friend and equal than as a scholar. While pursuing his studies in his college, he was not so much engrossed with his books but that he found leisure for numerous acts of piety and charity, so that his name was revered by all the surrounding country. In the twenty-eighth year of his age, he founded a seat of learning, which, from the great number of oaks that grew around it, was called the "Field of Oaks." Among other gifts he presented it with a copy of the "Four Gospels," transcribed with his own hand. In the forty-second year of his age, he undertook the great work on which he had meditated for many years. This was the evangelising of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In the year 563, with twelve companions, Columba set sail from Ireland in a currach or wicker boat, and directed his course to Iona, where landing in safety, he proceeded to carry into effect his long-cherished designs. Iona, which, according to some,

signifies the "Isle of Waves," according to others, the "Blessed or Holy Isle," is said to have been a favourite seat of the Druids, and to have borne the name of Inis-Druinish, or Druid's Isle, and a green eminence on the east coast is still pointed out as their place of burial. Some have supposed that it was on this account Columba made choice of Iona, that on the spot where Druidism had celebrated its bloody rites, Christianity might erect her temples of light, and dispense to the surrounding isles her gifts of mercy; but the true reason which guided him in the selection of Iona was, without doubt, the greater facilities it afforded for carrying on the work to which his life was henceforth to be devoted. The dangers to which, in the prosecution of this great work for a long series of years, he was exposed, the hardships he endured from hunger and from cold, from wild and savage beasts, and scarcely less wild and savage men, time would fail us to recount. Suffice it to say, he endured and surmounted them all, and the work of his life was crowned with success. Through him the Highlands and Islands became subject to Christ. Churches were erected, and the ordinances of grace were dispensed to those who dwelt in these "uttermost parts of the earth." The closing years of his life were spent by Columba in private studies and devotions, and in superintend-

ing his Theological College at Iona. To this renowned seat of learning students flocked from all lands, so that it became the chief seminary of learning and piety at that time in Europe. The public labours of Columba were not more admirable than were his private virtues. The name of Saint was given him when a child, nor was he ever known during a long life to act unworthily of the honourable appellation. He was never known to speak an idle word, or to make the slightest deviation from the truth, even in compliment or in jest. A frequent and favourite guest in kings' palaces, he was yet a stranger to flattery and incapable of the mean acts of adulation. Aodh, king of Ireland, asked him on one occasion, "whether he thought that he should be saved?" "No," replied Columba, "except you repent."

A soldier one day asked him to bless his sword. "God grant, then," said Columba, "it may never shed a drop of blood." Much of his time was spent in travelling from one Court to another to heal divisions and to prevent wars. Instead of deciding these quarrels by stroke of sword, as rival clans and hostile nations were accustomed to do, it became the almost invariable practice to refer them to the arbitration of Columba. He was equally successful in preserving the peace of the churches. At a hill,

from its being a favourite retreat of his for devotion, called the "Hill of Psalms," one of the petitions he was accustomed to offer with peculiar earnestness was "that there might be peace in his days," and his dying injunction to his disciples was, "that they should be at peace among themselves." Numerous anecdotes are told of his hospitality, his courage, his meekness, his humility, and how "as a prince he had power with God in prayer and prevailed." It is said of Aidan, King of Scots, that, before engaging in battle, he sent to ask the prayers of Columba in his behalf. Columba did nothing without prayer. When his friends were at sea he continued to pray for them till they returned. When about to undertake a voyage himself, he requested his friends to remember him in their prayers, in which he trusted more than in the worthiness of the vessel or the skill of the sailors.

On one occasion, when passing the Gulf of Corryvrecktan, the roar of which, like the sound of multitudes of chariots, is heard among all the surrounding isles, he was overtaken by a storm. The crew looked upon themselves as lost, but Columba told them not to fear, for he was sure that his friend Kenneth would not forget them in his prayers. Kenneth had indeed not forgotten them. Knowing that Columba was at sea, and seeing the storm gathering,

Kenneth rose from the table at which he had just sat down to meat, saying, "It is not time to eat when Columba is in danger." He then flew to the church, and in such haste, that though he had on but one of his slippers, he would not wait to put his foot in the other. Soon after the tempest ceased, which made Columba afterwards to say "that they were much obliged to Kenneth for not waiting for his shoes."

Though a lover of peace, he was remarkable for his boldness and courage. In the discharge of his duty he rebuked kings, and feared not the face of man. When all other means had proved unavailing, he laid the sons of a powerful noble called Connel under the sentence of excommunication. "Thrice," says the biographer of Columba, "had John, one of the sons of this Connel, robbed the house of a good man, one of Columba's intimate friends. On the third time it so happened that Columba met John as he was carrying off his booty, and earnestly besought him to leave it. He followed him to his boat, which lay at Camus in Ardnamurchan, and even waded after him into the sea with fruitless petitions. The robber and his followers laughed him to scorn. Columba, seeing this, and lifting up his hands to heaven, prayed to God with a loud voice that he would glorify himself by avenging the wrong done to his people. Leaving the shore, he sat down on an eminence, and thus ad-

dressed the friends who were with him—"God will not always bear to have those who love and serve him thus treated. That dark cloud already forming in the north is fraught with this poor man's destruction." The cloud spread, the storm rose, and between Mull and Colonsay overtook the boat which contained the marauder and his followers. Deeply laden with plunder, it sank, and all on board perished. Columba died on the Sabbath. That day his faithful servant, Dermid, said to him with tears in his eyes, "Sir, during this year you have often made us all sad by the mention of your death." "Yes, Dermid," said his master, "but I will be more explicit with you on consideration that you promise not to reveal to any one what I am about to tell you, till I am dead. This day is called the Sabbath, that is, *rest*, and will be indeed a Sabbath unto me. To me this is the last day of this toilsome life, the day on which I am to rest from all my labour and trouble. On this sacred night of the Lord, at the hour of midnight, I go the way of my fathers. So the Lord hath been pleased to shew unto me, and all my desire is to be with Him." When Dermid heard this, he wept bitterly, but Columba told him not to weep, and spoke to him words of comfort. Part of that afternoon was spent by Columba in transcribing the Psalms of David. Having come to that passage in

the thirty-fourth Psalm where it is said "they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing," he said, "I have come to the end of a page, and I will stop here, for the following verse, 'Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord,' will better suit my successor to transcribe than me. I will leave it, therefore, to Baithen." As usual, the bell was rung at midnight for prayers. Columba was the first to hasten to church. On entering it soon after, Dermid found him on his knees in prayer, but evidently dying. Raising him up in his arms, he supported his head on his bosom. The brethren now entered. When they saw Columba in this dying condition, they wept aloud. Columba heard them: he opened his eyes and attempted to speak, but his voice failed. He lifted up his hands as if to bless them, immediately after which he breathed out his spirit. His countenance retained in death the expression it wore in life, so that it seemed as if he had only fallen asleep. Thus died Columba on the 9th day of June 597, being in the 77th year of his age, full of good works and full of days; "a man," says his biographer, "to whom the Church of Christ owes more than to any other man since the days of the Apostles, to whom Scotland and England, yea, and foreign parts of the world also, owe a debt which they can never repay." Columba was

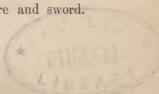
buried in his dearly beloved isle of Iona, which, through his wonderful labours, learning, and piety, became, in the well-known words of Dr Johnson—"the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion."

CHAPTER VII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBA.

THE reputation which Iona had acquired as a seat of learning, from the remarkable character of its founder, it continued to maintain long after his death, through the holy lives and apostolic labours of his scholars and successors. Besides training up young men for the ministry at home, they sent numbers of their own order as missionaries abroad. "From this nest of Columba," says an old writer, in allusion to his name, which signifies a dove—these sacred doves took their flight to all regions." Some of them passed over into France, others to Germany, and others unto Italy, and this they did in such numbers that they were likened to hives of

bees, and to a spreading flood. Among the nations who became their debtors for instruction in the Christian religion were their neighbours of the English nation. Is it asked how this became necessary? This it did in the following way. In 455, the Britons being sorely pressed by the Picts, called to their assistance the Saxons or *short-sword men*, a tribe of the German nation. In such numbers did this ferocious and idolatrous tribe land on the shores of Britain, the natives were filled with alarm, and soon discovered, but when it was too late, that they were more likely to become their destroyers than their deliverers. Their worst fears were soon realized. Having defeated the Picts, the Saxons turned their arms against the Britons. "After overthrowing our enemies," says an ancient British bard, "they joined with us in the rejoicings of victory, and we emulated one another in giving them welcome. But woe to the day when we loved them! woe to Guortegen and his cowardly advisers!" Calling fresh bands of their countrymen to their aid, the Saxons advanced into the interior of Britain. Frequently they were repelled, and once even they were driven into the sea, but they as often rallied, till at last driving the Britons before them, they overspread the whole country, which they wasted with fire and sword.



Shortly afterwards, the Saxons were joined by another German tribe, called Angles. The Angles were idolators like the Saxons, and were if possible more fierce and cruel. Headed by their king, surnamed the *Fire-brand*, they overcame the Britons in a great pitched battle, after which they made themselves masters of the entire country. Some submitted to the yoke of the conquerors, but the great body of the Britons fled to the mountains of Cambria or Wales, where, in their descendants, the Welsh, they still exist, preserving their customs and language to present times. Thus did Britain pass into the hands of the Saxons and Angles, from the latter of whom it received its name of England, or Anglo-land, and thus once more it was darkened and defiled with Pagan idolatry. The conversion of their Saxon neighbours was long an object which lay near to the hearts of the Culdees of Iona. An opportunity for attempting it, long sought, at last occurred. Oswald, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings, having been driven from his kingdom, took refuge in Scotland, where he made profession of Christ, and was baptized. On being restored to his kingdom he was anxious that his people should also receive the faith of Christ and be baptized. For this purpose he sent to the elders of Iona requesting them to send one of their number

into his kingdom. With this request they cheerfully complied, and made choice of Colmar, whom they appointed to this work by the laying on of their hands. He was soon afterwards followed by Aidan, whose labours among the Anglo-Saxons it pleased God to crown with rapid and great success. So much was the heart of this good king Oswald set on the conversion of his subjects, he did not think it beneath his dignity to act between Aidan and them the part of an interpreter. Numbers of Scottish preachers followed Colmar and Aidan into England, preaching the gospel to its idolatrous people wherever God set before them an open door. "Churches," says Bede, "were built in several places—the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word—and the English, great and small, were instructed by their Scottish masters in the rules and observance of regular discipline." In addition to the honoured names of Colmar and Aidan, might be mentioned those of Kiarnan, Columbanus, Sedulius, and numbers more, whose character and labours as the scholars of Columba was worthy of their master. With what diligence and zeal they laboured in preaching the gospel, and in planting churches at home and abroad, this is not the place to shew. From what has been said, we may see, to use the words of a modern writer, that "the Scottish Church, with its simple

and primitive forms, did more to preserve the light of knowledge and the life of true religion over the world during those dark ages, than all Christendom besides."

CHAPTER VIII.

PALLADIUS AND PRELACY.

A.D. 500.

AT first the ministers of Christ were equal in rank and dignity. They were bishops or overseers, not of their brethren, but of their flocks. Like the pastors, churches also were co-ordinate and co-equal. The distinction of ministers into bishops and presbyters, the bishops having the power of governing, the presbyters of preaching the word and dispensing the sacraments, and subject to the bishops, was an invention of man. It was first introduced by the bishop of Rome, on the pretence that Peter was the chief of the Apostles, and had supremacy over his brethren; and that as he was Peter's successor he was entitled to the same supremacy. Having succeeded in establishing his claim of supremacy over almost all the other churches of Christendom, he resolved to extend it also over the

churches of Britain. For this purpose, Celestine, then Bishop of Rome, about the year 450 sent hither one Palladius with a great company of inferior clergy. The character in which Palladius entered Scotland was that of its Bishop. "Unto the Scots believing in Christ," says the historian Prosper, "Palladius was sent as their first bishop." "Palladius," says Hector Boece, one of our own historians, "was the first of all that did bear the holy episcopacy among the Scots, being made bishop by the great pontiff or bishop, for till then the bishops were made by the votes of the people, and of the monks or Culdees." As prelacy had no place in the primitive church, it is evident that till this period it had none in the Church of Scotland. "Bishops indeed," says one, "in the New Testament sense of the term, there were then in the Church of Scotland as there are now; but of prelates there were none, and ought never and no where to be any." It does not appear that the Church of Scotland at this time acknowledged the claim of the Roman Church to supremacy, or to any superiority whatever. There is reason to believe, however, that by the arts and influence of Palladius, her government, hitherto presbyterian, became prelatic. Thus was prelacy introduced, and thus was the way paved for the introduction of Popery. The place selected by Palla-

dius for the scene of his labours was Fordun in Mearns. In the churchyard of this parish there is a house which is still called Palladius' Chapel, and in the neighbourhood there is a well called by the common people *Paldy's Well*. Palladius had three famous scholars, Patrick, Servanus, and Kentigern. Patrick was born at Kilpatrick on the Clyde, which place, it is said, bears his name; he was sent by Pope Celestine to labour in Ireland, which he did with such success that he is called the Apostle of Ireland, and by that people, in all things too superstitious, is honoured as the "Saint of their Green Isle" to this day. "His first and greatest care," says Buchanan, "was to teach the Irish the use of letters, as the prime means of making their conversion permanent." Kentigern laboured chiefly among the inhabitants of Strath-Clyde. The cathedral or High Church of Glasgow was dedicated to him and still bears his name. The scene of Servanus' labours at first was Culross in Fife. He was afterwards sent by Palladius to the Orkneys. Many wonderful stories are told of Servanus by the monks. In a poem written by one Winton, Prior of the Inch of Lochleven, he is celebrated in the following lines, which are only remarkable for their falsehood and their folly:—

“ When the third Pope John was dead,
Saint Serf seven year held that stead.
He was of life a holy man,
The king's son of Canaan.
His father's lands of heritage,
Fell to him by lineage,
And lawful heir—before all other,
These gave he to his younger brother.
All such cumber he forsook,
And to holy life him took.”

CHAPTER IX.

POPERY—ITS RISE AND PROGRESS IN SCOTLAND.

600—1400.

ON the early days of the Church of Scotland historians dwell with delight. “ Ah me,” says one, “ I could almost wish myself transported back to Iona, and living amongst the presbyters of Columba their life of piety and love.” These days, however, were not to last always. A dark night was already rolling on, which was to rest for ages on the land. The encroachments of the Papacy, long resisted, were at last successful, and the nation that had never submitted to the arms of Rome pagan, was subdued by the arts of Rome papal. The heathen poets

have a fiction that Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, sprang in full stature, and in complete armour, from the head of Jove. Not thus did the father of lies give life and form to the image of the beast. Popery was not the work of a few days or years, but of several ages. So early as the times of the apostles it had received life and influence. "Even now," says an apostle, "the mystery of iniquity doth already work." It was not, however, till the seventh century, that it stood forth that evil power, before which all nations were to fall down and do homage. In the year 606, Boniface, bishop of Rome, obtained a decree from the Emperor Phocas, a weak and wicked prince, that the Church of Rome should be acknowledged the mother and mistress of all other churches, and that he should be acknowledged as supreme and universal bishop. This may be regarded as the inauguration of Antichrist, and the commencement of his reign on the earth.

AUGUSTINE, A MONK SENT INTO BRITAIN.

The first attempts of the Church of Rome to practice its wicked arts on the Church of Scotland, by means of Palladius, we have already noticed; the next attempt of the same kind was made by a monk named Augustine, who was sent hither by Pope

Gregory. When this Gregory was an ordinary priest, it happened one day, as he was passing through the market at Rome, that he saw there certain slaves exposed for sale. Among these poor slaves there were several boys, with ruddy faces, blue eyes, and long yellow hair, who attracted his attention, and called forth his compassion. "To what nation," said he to the slave-trader, "do these boys belong?" "They are Angles, father," replied their owner. "They may be well called so," said Gregory, "for they have the appearance of angels, would they could be made like the angels in heaven; but from which of the many provinces of Britain do they come?" "From Deira," was the reply. "Ah," said Gregory, speaking in Latin, "*De ira liberanda sunt*," that is, "from the wrath of God they must be delivered." On asking the name of their king he was told it was "Ella." "Alleluia, praise ye the Lord," he said, "ought to be sung in his dominions." From this time he reflected much on the state of Britain, then in the power of the Saxons, and resolved at one time to proceed thither as a missionary, to turn them from idols. This purpose he was prevented from carrying into effect, but, on his becoming pope, he sent Augustine thither with this design. Had Augustine endeavoured to bring the Saxons under the authority of Christ,

he would have deserved our commendation, but instead of this, he acted as if his chief design was to bring them under the authority of the pope. What he taught them, moreover, was not the doctrines of Christianity, but mere Romish ceremonies. Nor was it the idolatrous Saxons only that he sought to bring under the authority of the pope, but the British Christians also. No sooner had he landed on the shores of Britain than he called upon the churches to acknowledge the pope as their head, and himself as their archbishop. Whatever success Augustine had among the idolatrous Saxons, he had little or none among the British and Scottish Christians. Neither his threats nor his promises could bring them to acknowledge the authority, or submit to the decrees, of the Roman pontiff.

LAURENTIUS.

Laurentius, who came into Britain after him, was not more successful. "When the see apostolic," he thus writes, "sent us to these western parts, to preach to the pagan nations, and we happened to come into this island which is called Britain, we held both the Britains and the Scots in great esteem for sanctity, before we knew them, believing that they

conducted themselves according to the custom of the universal Church ; but Bishop Dagan coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house in which we were entertained." So great was the aversion of our Scottish fathers to what they called this "newly imported religion," they would have no more communion with those who held it, than if they had been pagans. For their resistance to the pope and his pretensions, they had the honour of receiving the censure of several synods and councils of foreign churches, in one of which, held in the year 813, their ministers are condemned "as men who pronounced themselves to be bishops, and ordained elders and deacons without license of lords or superiors."

CLEMENT AND SAMSON.

Among those who distinguished themselves during the eighth century, by their resistance to Rome, our historians make honourable mention of two, Clement and Samson. These two Scotsmen being in foreign parts, met Boniface on his way from the pope into Scotland. They denounced the object of his mission in strong terms, and on these grounds :—"That he was turning men to the subjection of the pope, and not to the obedience of Christ—that he was

seeking to establish a sovereign authority in the person of the pope—that he exalted the single life above measure—that he caused masses to be said for the dead—that he erected images in churches, and introduced divers rites unknown to the ancient Church.”

Thus fearlessly did these two Scottish presbyters contend for the faith, the freedom and the forms of the Church of Christ, against the corruptions of the Roman antichrist. But they were not permitted to do this with impunity. In a council held at Rome, they were accused of heresy and condemned. What became of Samson is not known, but Clement was given over to the arm of the civil power, and was devoted to the flames.

IONA DESTROYED.

In 796 a great disaster befel Iona. The Danes or Northmen, after having made frequent incursions on the coast of Britain, steered their ships to the Hebrides. Landing on the once happy but now devoted isle of Iona, they laid its churches and colleges in ruins, and put great numbers of the Culdees to the sword.

“ Now watchfires burst from across the main,
From Rona, and Uist, and Skye,

To tell that the ships of the Dane
 And the red-haired spoilers were nigh.
 They lighted the island with ruin's torch,
 And the holy men of Iona's Church
 In the temple of God lay slain."

After this inroad of the Northmen Iona fell into almost utter decay.* But God can bring good out of evil. The wrath of man he can restrain, and the remainder he can make to praise him. The Culdees who escaped the edge of the sword fled to the mainland, and in different places, such as Dunkeld, Kirkaldy or Kirk-Culdee, and others, founded schools and churches upon the model of Iona. Thus the light extinguished in that favoured isle was rekindled in other places, where it became visible to greater numbers, and where, if not with such splendour, it shone with perhaps greater effect.

* Columba is said to have foretold this in the following lines, but that it would one day be restored to its former splendour:—

" O sacred dome ! and my beloved abode,
 Whose walls now echo to the praise of God,
 The time shall come when lauding monks shall cease,
 And lowing herds here occupy their place ;
 But better ages shall thereafter come,
 And praise re-echo in this sacred dome.

JOHN SCOTT OF AYR.

In the ninth century Scotland produced several learned and holy men, who, passing into foreign lands, were employed as teachers in kings' palaces and in colleges, where they taught with such success that the nation to which they belonged was greatly distinguished on their account, and obtained the name of "learned Scotland." In the dedication to Charlemagne of one of his works, Hericus, a writer of these times, says, "Why speak I of Scotland? almost that whole nation, setting at nought the perils of the sea, resort to our country with a numerous train of philosophers." Nor were they distinguished for their learning and piety only, but for the boldness also with which they assailed the corruptions of Rome. John Scott of Ayr, in particular, to use the words of an old historian, "was famous for his pregnant judgment, wondrous eloquence, and in those days rare knowledge of tongues. He went to Athens, and studied there some years. He returned into France and was much respected by Charles the Bold. Anastasius, Bibliothecus of the Vatican, writing to the same king says, "It is wonderful how one born at the end of the world could understand such things." This John did write a

book against the carnal presence, which was condemned at the synod of Vercelles. It is the fault of the Romanists that this book is not extant. He wrote also a book with a Greek title, on the distinction of natures, and for this the pope did persecute him; he fled into England, and was in account with Alfred, and was his counsellor and teacher of his children. Afterwards he retired to the Abbey of Malmsbury, where his disciples murdered him with their pen-knives, being enticed thereunto by the monks, because he did speak against the carnal presence.”*

MALCOLM CANMORE AND HIS QUEEN MARGARET.

Notwithstanding the earnest contendings of many noble confessors for the faith, the integrity and independence of the Church of Scotland gradually came to be greatly corrupted and impaired. The persons who did more perhaps than any other of their time to effect this change were Malcolm Canmore the King, and his Queen Margaret, sister of Edward King of England. For the zeal with which Margaret laboured to bring the Scottish

* Arnould, speaking of the Jesuits some centuries after the days of John Scott, said,—“ It is not their *pens* that I fear, it is their *penknives*.”

Church under the authority of the Pope, she was canonized as a saint. While Margaret corrupted the Church, Malcolm enriched and extended it. He created two episcopal seats, Moray and Caithness. He built a magnificent cathedral at Durham, and another at Dunfermline. Such was his ignorance, though a king, he could not even read. "But," says an old writer, "though he could not read he used often to turn over the leaves and kiss the prayer-book, and other books of devotion which he heard his wife say were dear to her." The work of conforming and subjecting the Church of Scotland to Rome, which Malcolm and Margaret commenced, his successors, Edgar, Alexander, and David, laboured with scarcely less zeal to complete. Edgar was the first of the Scottish kings who, at his coronation, was anointed with oil. This was an invention of the Pope, to bring kings more effectually under his power, no one being considered a rightful king who was not anointed with holy oil. In munificence to the Church David exceeded Edgar, and indeed all who had gone before him, for which he was called "The Saint," which led one of his successors to say, "he might be a good saint to the Church, but he was an ill saint to the crown."

PETER WALDO, AND HOW HIS OPINIONS CAME TO BE RECEIVED
IN SCOTLAND.

Peter Waldo was a rich merchant of Lyons. "It happened on a day," says the old Scottish historian Petrie, "when the elder men of Lyons were assembled, that one fell down and died suddenly; this spectacle gave occasion unto this Peter of thinking upon the frailty of this life, and the vanity of men's cares for so brittle a thing; wherefore he resolved to be more mindful of that eternal life. First to this end he purchased a Bible, and like the man desirous to buy the jewel, he spent the rest of his days in seeking the waters of life. That which he learned he imparted unto others. His manner of instructing was so familiar and effectual, that sundry of his neighbours were desirous to hear him, he was no less willing to teach them, and informed them not of private fantasies, but expounded the Holy Scriptures, and translated some parts of them into the French language. The priests were offended, and charged him to leave such work, and put not his hand into their harvest. The man cared more for conscience than their menaces, and followed his course; nor did the people abstain from his company. Wherefore John, Archbishop of Lyons, excommunicated him and all his followers, and did

confiscate their goods. So after five years they were scattered, some seeking place of residence in one country and some in another." Among other lands it appears that the "Poor men of Lyons," as they were called, came into ours, and in this way our fathers came to receive their opinions. For this we have the authority of Richard of Hexham, an English priest, who, writing of the state of religion in Scotland in 1138, gives our forefathers the following character:—"They, differing of a long time from the Universal Church, seem to have favoured overmuch Peter of Lyons and his apostasy."

A BISHOP PUT TO DEATH BY THE PEOPLE.

In the year 1221 there was a bishop in Caithness whose name was Adam. This Adam was a very bad man, who, if he got the fleece, cared not for the flock. Such was the rigour with which he exacted his tithes, the people were driven to desperation, and one day, in a state of great excitement, came together to consult what they should do. One of them, taking speech in hand, said, "Short rede, good rede, slay we the Bishop." This wicked suggestion was but too well suited to the temper of the people, who flew to the Bishop's house, and, setting

it on fire, burned him to death. This was a cruel deed ; but it was no less cruelly avenged. For that single life the Pope caused four hundred of the people of Caithness to lose theirs, which made the name and office of bishop more odious than ever in Scotland.

BRAVE SPEECH OF A YOUNG MINISTER (BY NAME GILBERT MURRAY) FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

“ Scotland, in her most trying calamities,” says one,* “ hath been always delivered by the hands of singular men.” If it be the dignity of other kingdoms to produce societies and social institutions, it is the dignity of Scotland to produce men, and now, at this crisis, God raised up in a youth one who, by his words of wisdom, saved the independence of his Church. The narrative of this transaction, as given by our historian Petrie, is as beautiful as the deliverance itself was wonderful. “ Henry II. of England did claim the lands of Northumberland from the Scots. Malcolm the Maiden and his brother William, at two several times, went to London, and did homage to the king for these lands. But then Henry would

* Edward Irving.

have more, that all the bishops of Scotland should be under the yoke of the Archbishop of York, as their metropolitan. At the first meeting at Norham, the Scots put it off but with slender delays. The next year, Hugo, Cardinal de St Angelo (sent into England), was for Henry in this purpose, and did cite the bishops of Scotland to compear before him in Northampton. They went thither, and the Cardinal had a speech of humility and obedience, all to persuade the Scottish bishops to submit themselves to the primate of York, who was a prelate of great respect, and whose credit in the court of Rome might serve them to good use. A young clerk (Gilbert Murray) stood up and spoke in name of the others. His speech is written diversely: I shall show it as I have copied it out of an old register of Dunkeld:—‘It is true, English nation, thou mightest have been noble, and more noble than some other nations, if thou hadst not craftily turned the power of thy nobility and the strength of thy fearful might into the presumption of tyranny, and thy knowledge of liberal science into the shifting glosses of sophistry. But thou disposest not thy purposes as if thou wert led with reason; and being puffed up with thy strong armies, and trusting in thy great wealth, thou attemptest, in thy wretched ambition and lust of domineering, to bring under thy jurisdic-

tion thy neighbour provinces and nations, more noble, I will not say in multitude, or power, but in lineage and antiquity, unto whom, if thou well consider ancient records, thou shouldst rather have been humbly obedient, or at least, laying aside thy rancour, have reigned together in perpetual love. And now, without any reason or law, but in thy ambitious power, thou seekest to oppress thy mother the Church of Scotland, which from the beginning hath been catholic and free, and which brought thee, when thou wast straying in the wilderness of heathenism, into the safe guard of the true faith and way unto life, even unto Jesus Christ, the author of eternal rest. She did wash thy kings, and princes, and people in the laver of holy baptism; she taught thee the commandments of God, and instructed thee in moral duties; she did accept many of thy nobles, and others of meaner rank, when they were desirous to learn to read, and gladly gave them entertainment without price, books also to read, and instruction freely; she did also appoint and ordain thy bishops and priests by the space of thirty years and above. And now, I pray, what recompence renderest thou unto her that hath bestowed so many benefits on thee? Is it bondage? or such as Judea rendered unto Christ, evil for good? It seemeth no other thing. Thou unkind vine, how art thou

turned into bitterness? If thou could'st do as thou wouldst, thou wouldst chain thy mother, the Church of Scotland, whom thou shouldst honour with all reverence, into the basest and most wretched bondage. It was a true saying of Seneca I see, 'The more some do owe, they hate the more.' A small debt maketh a grievous enemy. What sayest thou, David? it is true, 'They rendered me evil for good, and hatred for love.' Therefore, thou, Church of England, doest as becomes thee not; thou thinkest to carry what thou cravest, and to take what is not granted. Seek what is just, and thou shalt have pleasure in what thou seekest. And to the end that I do not weary others with my words, albeit I have no charge to speak for the liberty of the Church of Scotland, and albeit all the clergy of Scotland would think otherwise; yet I dissent from subjecting her, and I do appeal unto the apostolical lord, unto whom immediately she is subject, and if it were needful for me to die in the cause, here I am, ready to lay down my neck unto the sword: nor do I think it expedient to advise any more with my lords the prelates, nor, if they will do otherwise, do I consent unto them, for it is more honest to deny quickly what is demanded unjustly, than to drive off time by delays, seeing he is the less deceived who is denied betimes. For the controversies,

which you, my Lord Cardinal, say, may arise among ourselves, we have wise and learned prelates who can determine the same ; so that we have no necessity for any stranger to be set over us.' "

When Gilbert had made an end, some English, both prelates and nobles, commended the young clerk that he had spoken so boldly for his nation, without flattering, and not abashed at the gravity of such authority ; but others, because he spoke contrary unto their mind, said, " A Scot is naturally violent." But Roger, Archbishop of York, who principally had moved this business, to bring the Church of Scotland into his see, uttered a groan, and then with a merry countenance, laid his hand on Gilbert's head, saying, "*Ex tua non pharetra exiit illa sagitta ;*"* as if he had said, " When ye stand in a good cause do not forethink what ye shall say, for it shall be given unto you." Thus Gilbert was much respected at home after that ; and Pope Celestine put an end to this debate, for he sent his bull to King William, granting that " neither in ecclesiastical nor civil affairs the nation should answer unto any foreign judge whatever."

* That bolt went not out of thine own bow.

HOW ALEXANDER II. FORBADE THE POPE'S LEGATE TO ENTER
SCOTLAND.

1237.

In the year 1221, there came a legate into Scotland from Pope Honorius, with authority to raise money for sending an army to fight against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. This legate, who was a cardinal, having raised no small quantity of coin, spent it in intemperance, and, on his return to Rome, gave out that it had been taken from him by brigands and robbers. Soon after another legate is sent into Scotland on the same errand; but when the good King Alexander heard of his coming, he called a council, in which one of the counsellors, who, it is worthy of notice, was a bishop, being asked his advice, spoke as follows:—"Sundry things there are which might stay me from speaking, yet, most noble Prince! when I consider thy humanity, faith, and constancy, given to nothing more than to the defence and weal of thy true liege people, I cannot but for the zeal I bear to common liberty declare the truth. Since we have had experience, and are sufficiently taught by the doings of the former legate, we should be unwise, and very fools indeed, if we admitted the second. Verily if

any man should demand of me what I think should be done in this matter, I do for my part protest, that neither this legate, nor any other in times to come, ought to be received within this realm. If there be any of you that hath more money than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may bestow it upon the poor, rather than to the use of such vicious legates, who order it in such sort, that all men have cause to think, whatsoever cometh into their hands is but cast away and lost." These words of the bishop were so well liked by the council and by the king, that he sent word to the legate, saying,—“he could not be received into the realm.” In this he followed the example of Alexander I., who, when he heard of the pope’s intention to send a legate to redress the affairs of the Scottish Church, said,—“I remember not that ever a legate was in my land, neither have I need of one, thanks be to God, neither was any in my father’s time, nor in any of my ancestors’, neither will I suffer any so long as I may.”

THE MONKS.

As early as the fourth century, we find monkish institutions existing in different parts of the world.

Their founder was Antony, an Egyptian. After having spread with great rapidity through the east, they were introduced by Martin, bishop of Tours, into Europe. The distinguishing features of the monastic life were, separation from the world, self-denial, and bodily mortification. Martin lived in a cell made of the branches of trees. Many of his disciples occupied caves dug out of the rocks, they lived on bread and water, and their raiment was the skins of beasts. During the following centuries, monastic institutions underwent numerous alterations, till in the ninth century, by means of Benedict, abbot of Aniane in France, they were entirely re-modelled. Benedict is regarded as the second founder of the monastic order, and hence it is sometimes called the order of St Benedict. Instead of living in caves and cells like their brethren of earlier times, the monks of the ninth and succeeding centuries, had large and costly houses, erected in the most beautiful spots that the country could afford, surrounded by wide enclosures, and having annexed to them large tracts of land. The Scottish monks had houses of this description amounting to one hundred and seventy. The monks of Glasgow had extensive possessions in the neighbourhood of that city which bear the name of Monkland to this day.

THE MONASTERY.

Among other officers the monastery had these,—

1. The abbot or head of the house, so called from Abba, Father.
2. The prior, who represented the abbot. His usual duty was to superintend ten monks, hence he was sometimes called *Decanus* or Dean.
3. The cellarer, whose duty was to supply the brethren with their food, “to see all things orderly served and in due time.”
4. The chanter or precentor.
5. The kitchener: “this office,” says a learned writer, “was conferred on those only who had made the art their study;” “the monastery,” says another, “had cooks able to please the palate of the prince, yea of Epicurus himself.”
6. The seneschal or steward.
7. The treasurer.
8. The sacristan, who had the care of the church, the altar, vestments, vessels, bells, candles, wine, wafers, and keys.
9. The lecturer.
10. The master of the novices, whose duty was to teach entrants on monastic life the rules of the house, and to provide them with monastic attire.
11. The infirmarer, whose office was to wait on the sick.
12. The refectiener: his duty was to provide the monastery with cups, basins, candlesticks, towels, and cloths, and to wait on the abbot at his meals.
13. The chamberlain, who had

the care of the cells and dormitories. These offices were appointed by the abbot, whose favour persons desirous of holding these offices cultivated not unfrequently by the mean acts of dissimulation and flattery. "They would pretend," says an old writer, "to be simple and modest in the eyes of their brethren, till they gained their purpose, and then it was, 'wretches hold your peace, you know nothing, *we* will govern the house,' to which harsh language they were in the habit of contemptuously adding *thee* and *thou*."

MONASTIC LIFE.

The grand virtue professed by the monks was self-denial, but their life was one of the lowest and most entire self-gratification. They were "lovers of pleasure," they were profane swearers, gluttons, and drunkards. Giraldus, an old author, writing of them, says, "one thing is very common, whilst the monks indulge themselves in immoderate drinking, contentions ensue, and they begin fighting with the very cups full of liquor." "If they were well fed," says another, "they cared for nothing else." Professing to have renounced the world, they were covetous of money and had recourse to the meanest and most wicked acts to procure it. They terrified the

weak, they practised on the fears of the superstitious ; they robbed the widow and the orphan, they waylaid travellers, and “ from the basest motives they watched the last moments of the dying.” Forgetting all their religious obligations, lost to all sense of sin and shame, they abandoned themselves to all manner of sensuality and crime. “ Who at the beginning,” exclaims Bernard, a monk of the twelfth century, “ who could think that monks would become so wicked. I will speak, I will speak, though I be called presumptuous, I will speak the truth. How is the light of the world become darkness ! how is the salt of the earth become unsavoury ! They whose lives should have been a pattern of life unto others, are become blind guides of the blind. I am a false witness if I have not seen an abbot having above sixty horses in his train. When ye saw them riding ye might say these were not fathers of monasteries but lords of castles—not shepherds of souls but princes of provinces ; they must have carried after them their table cloths, cups, basins, candlesticks, ornaments ; scarcely will any of them go four miles from his house, but he must have all his chattels with him ; as if he were going a journey into a wilderness.” This same Bernard, addressing his brethren, says to them, “ the Church of God is committed unto you, and ye are called pastors but are

robbers; and oh! that ye were content with the wool and the milk, but ye thirst after the life. The priest goeth about his bounds, and to fill his sack he giveth the blood of the just, for he selleth murders, adulteries, perjuries, and so he filleth his pockets to the brim; the report of such gain cometh unto the bishop; the priest is sent for, Give me my part, saith the bishop. He answereth, I will give thee nothing. Then saith the bishop, if thou wilt not give me my part I will take all from thee. Then followeth chiding and discord through avarice. Then the priest, considering within himself that, by the authority of the bishop, he hath that power, repenting wickedly he saith, I am sorry, take your part, and also of my part what you please. So they are reconciled, alas, as Herod and Pilate were reconciled, and Christ is crucified, and Christ's poor ones are spoiled. Behold these times so filthy with these works of darkness! Wherefore live unto this generation, for the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy, if it can be called hypocrisy, which cannot be hid, it is so frequent, and which seeketh not to be hid, it is so shameless. All seek themselves. They are the servants of Christ and do serve anti-christ; they walk in honour with the goods of the Lord, but give him no honour. And hence is this, which ye see daily, whorish, glittering, stage habits,

royal apparel; hence is the gold on the bridles, saddles, and spurs; hence are their cup-boards, so glorious with cups and plates; hence are their surfeits and drunkenness; hence are their harps, flutes, and pipes, their full wine-cellars, and their flowing garners. These things have not come through their deservings, but by their works of darkness.

Such was monastic life in the twelfth century, and such it continued to be throughout Europe, till the great Reformation.

THE SCOTTISH MONKS.

“ Their separation,” says an anonymous writer, “ from the things of time was merely nominal. Their mode of living may be summed up in a sentence, an utter neglect of the duty of religious teachers and the untrammelled gratification of every passion. Hunting was a favourite pastime of theirs, and of none of their privileges were they more jealous. Their dependents were dragged before their courts, to endure temporal punishment in this world, and to have directed against them anathemas as to the next, for the smallest infraction of their hunting or fishing privileges. With regard to nobles as powerful as themselves, complaints are made to the sovereign, and solemn obligations taken for the security of these sacred rights. Hart and hind, boar

and roe, the eyries of falcons and tersels are to be preserved intact, and hunting with hounds or nets, or scelling traps to destroy game, were sins which scarcely repentance could atone for. The dull monotony of a religious life they variegated by such exhilarating sports, and the contemporary literature is rich in the glowing descriptions of their skill. On rising at the matin bell, the monk, after his orisons were said, would, if of a placid disposition, take his rod, and on the banks of the classic Tweed, or at the Falls of Clyde, he could, with great benefit, pass the forenoon. If of a more energetic disposition, his hounds and his nets would do effectual execution on the game of the monastic preserves. The religious service of the day, it might be thought, would break up for a little the hilarity of the brotherhood. But no, they threw a pleasant air over the gloom of devotion, and in their religious duties were unable to restrain their jokes. Their religion was of much the same character with their morality. It was a form which required to be maintained in order to save appearances; and the people were kept attached to it by pompous ceremonies, and the virtues of relics and saints. The priests of Glasgow appear to have been particularly favoured with choice articles of holiness. An inventory of them has been preserved. First, we have a bit of the

wood of the cross ; item, a golden vial, with part of the hair of the blessed Virgin ; item, a golden vial, containing part of the coat of St Kentigern, and Thomas a Becket ; item, in another casket, the mouth of Saint Ninian ; item, a small bag with part of the sweat of Saint Martin : item, four sacks with the bones of saints ; item, a wooden chest, with many small relics ; item, two linen sacks full of the bones of Kentigern, Tenaw, and different other saints. Can there be a more wretched exhibition of human folly, or the picture of a more debasing superstition !” The seat of superstition, and the source of corruption, the monastery was also a shelter for crime. “ Under the shadow of its privileges,” says the writer above quoted, “ it formed a sure covert for the assassin, and, for a sum of money, the foulest crimes received immunity. A life of violence was thought sufficiently atoned for by devoting the few years of feeble age to the duties of a monk, and thus, wherever weakness was created by the cries of conscience or the relentings of humanity, the hand was nerved to crime by the prospect of the sure pardon of Heaven following the repentance implied in monkish seclusion.” In his “ Satyre of the Three Estates,” written in 1535, Sir David Lindsay brings in an abbot and a priest, who give this account of their office :—

ABBOT.

" Touching my office I say to you plainlie,
 My monkis and I we live richt easilie;
 There is nae monkis from Carrick to Carrail
 That fairis better, and drinks mair halesum aill.
 My prior is ane man of great devotion,
 Therefore daylie he gets ane double portion.

PRIEST.

" Thocht I preach nocht I can play at the catch:
 I wat there is nocht ane among you all
 Mair ferylie can play at the fute-ball;
 And for the cartes, the tabilis, and the dyce,
 Above all parsons I may bear the pryse."

MONASTIC ORDERS.

As the corruption of the clergy was supposed to have been produced by their great wealth, Pope Innocent III., grieved perhaps at the scandal it was giving, and seeing, at least, the injury it was doing, resolved to raise up an Order, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct, might redeem the Church from its reproach, and fix it once more on the affections of mankind. Agreeably to the will of the pope, various orders arose. Of these the most famous were the three following:—The Dominicans or Black Friars; the Carmelites or White Friars; the Franciscans or Grey Friars. The

founder of the Dominicans was Dominic, a Spaniard; they were called Black Friars from their wearing a white gown with a black cross upon the back of it. The Franciscans wore a grey gown with a rope about their waist, from which they were called Grey Friars; their founder was Francis, an Italian. The Carmelites wore a white dress, the emblem of purity, and were called from this White Friars. "As the popes," says Mosheim, "allowed these mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people wherever they went; and as they exhibited in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness than were observable in the other monastic societies, they were regarded with the utmost veneration and esteem throughout all the countries of Europe." They were brought into Scotland by the Bishop of St Andrews in 1206. Such was the influence they obtained with the great, they became their favourite confessors; nor was it long till the country swarmed with them, and they had churches and monasteries erected for them in all parts of the kingdom.* The

* One of the complaints most frequently made against the clergy in the poems of Sir David Lindsay, is their neglect of preaching. In one place he says:—

poverty of the Begging Brethren was only in appearance. They were covetous and rapacious, and raised money, as well as upheld their pretensions to superior sanctity, by the basest impostures, of which the following pretended miracle may serve as an example.

A PRETENDED MIRACLE.

In the year 1559, public notice was given by the friars, that they intended to perform a miracle at the chapel of the Virgin Mary, in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh, upon a young man who had been born blind. On the day appoint-

“ War not the preiching of the begging frieris,
Tint war the faith among the seculeiris.”

Again,—

“ Our parsons heir, he takis na uther pyne
But to receive his teinds, and spend them syne.
Howbeit he be obleist, be gude resoun,
To preach the Evangell to his parachoun,
Howbeit they suld want preiching sevintene year,
Our parsons will nocht want ane sheif of beir.

Wherof I think they sulde have schame
Of spiritual priestes to tak the name ;
For Isayas into his wark
Calls thame lyke doggis that can nocht bark.
That calleit are preistes and can nocht preich,
Nor Christ's law to the pepill preich.”

ed a vast concourse of people assembled from the three Lothians. The young man, accompanied by a solemn procession of monks, was conducted to a platform erected on the outside of the chapel, and was there exhibited to the multitude. Many of them knew him to be the blind man whom they had often seen begging, and whose necessities they had relieved; all looked on him and pronounced him stone blind. The friars then proceeded to their devotions with great fervency, invoking the assistance of the Virgin, at whose shrine they stood, and of all the saints whom they honoured; and after some time spent in prayers and religious ceremonies, the blind man *opened his eyes*, to the astonishment of the spectators, whose alms he went down from the platform to receive. It happened that there was among the crowd a gentleman of Fife, Colville of Cliesh, who, from his romantic bravery, was usually called Squire Meldrum, in allusion to a person of that name, who had been celebrated by Sir David Lindsay. He was of Protestant principles, but his wife was a Papist, and had sent a servant with a present to the Virgin. The Squire was too gallant to hurt his lady's feelings by prohibiting the present from being sent off, but he resolved to prevent the superstitious offering, and, with that view, had come to Musselburgh. He had witnessed the

miracle of curing the blind man with distrust, and determined if possible to detect the imposition. Wherefore, having sought out the young man from the crowd, he put a piece of money of considerable value into his hand, and persuaded him to accompany him to his lodgings in Edinburgh. Taking him along with him into a private room, and locking the door, he told him plainly that he was convinced he was engaged in a wicked conspiracy with the friars, to impose on the credulity of the people, and at last drew from him the secret of the story. When a boy he had been employed to tend the cattle belonging to the nuns of Sciennes, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and had attracted their attention by a peculiar faculty which he had of turning up the white of his eyes, and of keeping them in this position, so as to appear quite blind. This being reported to some of the friars in the city, they immediately conceived the design of making him subservient to their purposes ; and having prevailed on the sisters of Sciennes to part with the poor boy, lodged him in one of their cells. By daily practising he became an adept in the art of counterfeiting blindness ; and after he had remained so long in concealment as not to be recognised by his former acquaintances, he was sent forth to beg as a blind pauper, the friars having bound him by a solemn

vow not to reveal the secret. To confirm his narrative he 'played his pavier' before Cliesh, by flyping up the lid of his eyes, and casting up the white, so as to appear as blind as he did on the platform at the chapel of the Virgin. The gentleman laid before him the iniquity of his conduct, and told him that he must next day repeat the whole story publicly at the Cross of Edinburgh. And as this would expose him to the vengeance of the friars, he engaged to become his protector, and to retain him as a servant in his house. This the young man did, and Cliesh, with his drawn sword in his hand, having stood by him till he had finished his confession, placed him on the same horse with himself, and carried him off to Fife.* The detection of the imposition covered the monks with confusion, and had, it is to be hoped, the effect of opening the lady's eyes to the true character of their religion. This effect it had on one who was destined to become a distinguished preacher and promoter of the faith he was at that time seeking to destroy. This was John Row the reformer, whose third son was John Row the historian. The night on which Cliesh arrived at his house in Fife, he found Mr Row there on a

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 198, and Row's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 451.

visit. Next morning Cliesh introduced the subject of religion. "Mr John Row," said he, "you are a great scholar and lawyer, you have been bred at the court of Rome, where there is both learning and policy enough. I am but a country gentleman, without any learning, and have never been abroad. I will not therefore enter the lists to dispute with you, for I would be foiled, and what is worse, in this way wrong my religion, yet let us talk in a friendly way about the points wherein you and we differ." Mr Row said he was very willing to do so. "Let me ask you then," said Cliesh, "if you hold that the Pope and his clergy can in these days work a true and real miracle?" "There is no doubt," said Row, "but they can." "Have you heard," said Cliesh, "of the miracle wrought lately at St Larcit's chapel?" "O yes," replied Row, "and what can ye say to it? What can any man say against it, that a man born blind has been restored to sight?" "But," said Cliesh, "are you sure that the man was blind?" "Has he not," said Row, "begged through Edinburgh and Musselburgh, all his days being a blind man?" "Mr John," said Cliesh, "I am sorry that an honest man like you is so pitifully deceived by false knaves, deceivers of the souls of men." He then told him how he had detected the imposture, and that the very man was

in his house, whom he called in, and who revealed in Row's presence the whole matter. "Now," said Cliesh, "Mr John you are a great clergyman, a great linguist, and lawyer. But I charge you, as you must answer to God at the last day, that you do not reject the light, but that, as soon as you have entered your study, you will shut the door, and taking your Bible, earnestly pray to God that you may understand the truth revealed in it, and that in His light you may see light. Read 2 Thes. ii., and if you do not there see your master the Pope to be the great Antichrist, who comes 'with lying wonders,' as his deceiving clergy have lately done at Musselburgh, you may say Squire Meldrum has no skill." Mr Row, with great ingenuousness, said he would do as Cliesh desired. He did so, and it pleased the Lord by this means to convert him from Popery to the truth. He became the intimate friend of Knox, and knowing the errors of Popery better than many others, he was of great service in promoting the Reformation.

POPISH ERRORS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

"It is difficult," says Dr M'Crie, "for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were, which the monks delivered for ser-

mons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations, the virtues of holy water, crossing, the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some wonderful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible."

The festival of Christmas was observed by solemn mummeries like the following :—A stable was erected behind the altar, and an image of the Virgin Mary was placed in it. Several priests, in the appearance of shepherds, entered the great door of the choir, to whom a boy, in the likeness of an angel, announced the nativity. Several boys in the same likeness then sang, "Glory to God in the highest." The shepherds then advanced to the stable singing, "Peace on earth and good-will towards men." Two priests stationed there, in the character of mid-wives, said, "Whom seek ye?" The shepherds answered, "Our Saviour Christ." The priests then opening the curtain, exhibited a child, saying, "The little one is here, as the prophet Isaiah said." They then shewed the image of the Virgin, saying, "Behold

the Virgin." The shepherds bowed and worshipped the child, and saluted his mother, after which they returned to the church chanting "Alleluia." This festival was kept twelve days with great rejoicing.

The ordinary services on the Lord's day consisted chiefly of prayers read in Latin, psalms, chants, masses, and a kind of religious plays, founded on scriptural subjects, the most common of which was the death of Christ. These exhibitions were performed and witnessed without solemnity, or even outward decorum. During them, some might be seen lounging about the doors without, while others were engaged conversing, laughing, gossiping, and disputing within. The behaviour of the people in the churches is thus described by an old poet:—

"There are handled pleadings and causes of the law,
There are made bargains of divers manner things,
Buyings and sellings, scarce worth a haw,
And there are for lucre contrived false blessings,
And while the priest his mass or matin sings,
These fools which to the church do repair,
Are chatting and babbling as in a fair.
Thus is the church defiled with villany,
And instead of prayer and godly orison,
Are used shameful vagaries and tales of ribbaldry;
Jestings and mockings, and great derision.
There few are, or none of perfect devotion;
And when our Lord is consecrate in form of bread,
Thereby walks a knave, his bonnet on his head."

The appearance of religious worship was preserved; but it was not the worship of God, but of saints, angels, and graven images. In them our fathers trusted, and to them they sent their cry. The ancient idolatry of the Druids was overthrown; but a new idolatry, hardly less degrading, was practised in its stead. Image-making was followed as a trade; their makers carried them about the country, and to markets and fairs, for sale. Orders also were received to bring them from abroad.

“Beyond the sea,” said an English bishop of the fifteenth century, “are the best painters that ever I saw. And, sirs, I tell you, this is their manner and it is a good manner: When that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mould, or paint an image, he goes to a priest, and shrives him as clean as if he should then die, takes penance, and makes some certain vow of fasting, praying, or of pilgrimage, praying the priest to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a fair and a devout image.” The image of the Virgin Mary was in greatest repute, for, while the power of other saints was limited, hers was believed to extend to all things; she was able, also, to attend to her own candle, which saved much trouble.

Images of the saints were set up at their tombs,

and in chapels dedicated to their honour. These places were called shrines, and were visited by the people on all occasions. Were they about to undertake a voyage, or journey, or some dangerous expedition, they went there to pray for safety. Were they sick, thither they went to pray for health. Were their friends sick, they went to pray for their recovery. There, also, parents carried their sick and diseased children. Persons when in sickness frequently prayed to a favourite and powerful saint, and vowed, should they recover, to undertake a pilgrimage to his shrine. Some shrines were favourite places of resort. Such was the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury, whose designation was, the *Saint of Sinners*. Whoever resorted to the shrines of the saints carried with them offerings, sometimes in goods, but chiefly in money. They were kept by priests, who found in this popular superstition a fruitful source of profit. All their services, indeed, were sold for money, insomuch that "no penny, no paternoster," became a common proverb. By means of the practice of "confession," they acquired a perfect knowledge of the character, condition, and most secret affairs of the people, of which they made the most fearful use. Without their knowledge, and without their leave, there was "no possessing and no enjoying the goods of life, no marrying, and no

inheriting, no speaking and no thinking," no living in safety, and no dying in peace.

" The puir cottar being lyke to die,
 Havind young infants twa or three,
 And has twa ky, but ony mae
 The vicar must haif ane of thae,
 With the gray rugg that covers the bed,
 Howbeit the wyfe be puirly clad.
 And gif the wyfe die on the morne,
 Thocht all the bairns sould be forlorne :
 The uther kow he cleikes away,
 With the puir cot of raploch gray.
 Would God this custome war put down,
 Whilk never was foundit be reason."*

THE STATE OF THE PEOPLE

As the natural consequence of the depravity of the clergy, and the corruption of religion, the people were gross in their manners, and licentious in their lives. In the literal, as well as in the spiritual, sense of the words, they were "poor, and wretched, and miserable." For profane swearing† and falsehood, they were infa-

* Lindsay's " Three Estates."

† The one half of conversation was made up by *swearing*. In the " Three Estates " of Sir David Lindsay, nearly a hundred different oaths occur, which it was the fashion for all ranks to use in common conversation.

mous among the nations. Murder was a common occurrence. With their neighbours of England, or among themselves, they were constantly at war. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, "Scotland," to use the words of a modern writer, "was little better than a great human slaughter-house." Christianity continued to be professed; but during these three centuries of Popish darkness and delusion, it was but a name. A religion of festivals, postures, pilgrimages, penance, saying of vespers and matins, burning of tapers, ringing of bells, mumbling of beads, and chaunting of masses, there was; but to the religion of Christ it had scarcely any more resemblance than Druidism, Odinism, or any other form of heathenism. Thus was that great light, which, when setting in heathen darkness, our fathers saw, and in which they so long walked, eclipsed, and, to all appearance, extinguished for ever. Darkness again covered the land, and gross darkness the people. A poet of those times puts these words into the lips of Truth:—

"The prophesie of the propheet Esay
Is practisit, alace, on me this day,
Wha said the veritie suld be trampit doun,
Amid the street, and put in strong presoun,
His fyve and fyftie chapter wha list luke,
Shall find thir words written in his buke.
Richt sa, Sanct Paul wrytes to Timothie,

That men shall turn their ears from veritie ;
But in my Lord God I haif esperance
He will provyde for my deliverance.
Get up thow ! thow sleepest all too lang, Lord,
And mak some ressonabile reformation."

CHAPTER X.

JOHN WICKLIFFE, THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION—
JOHN RESBY—PAUL CRAWAR—THE LOLLARDS OF KYLE—PATRICK HAMILTON.

1400—1528.

THE darkest hour precedes the dawn. It was so with the night of Popery, which, when most dark and settled, was about to be dispersed. Like the natural day, the Reformation had its harbingers. Among those sons of the morning by whom it was ushered in, the first place is due to John Wickliffe, who may be said to have been the first English Protestant. So evangelical were his sermons, he was called by the common people the Gospel Doctor. He was the first who translated the Bible into the English tongue, for which he was hated by the priests, who, for this and other good works, denounced him as a heretic, and treated him as an evil doer. After enduring many hardships, he died in 1387, at his Rectory of Lutterworth, in peace. Forty-

and-one-years afterwards, the Council of Constance declared his memory to be infamous, and ordered his bones to be dug up and burned. This was done, after which his ashes were thrown into the river Swift, his enemies thinking thereby to destroy his ashes and his memory together. "But no," says an old writer, "the Swift carried them into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the ocean, and the ocean round the world." The protest of Wickliffe against Popery, it has been justly said, was one of light rather than of power. It revealed the errors and evils of Popery, but it did not remove them. Wickliffe belongs thus not to the Reformation, but to its introduction, to the dawn, not to the day, hence he is commonly and justly called its "Morning Star." The light which he shed over England was not confined to that country. It arose upon Bohemia, and on this wise. It happened about the close of the fourteenth century that Richard the Second of England married Anne, sister to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia. In return for the customs of her native country, which this Queen Anne taught the women of England, the English taught the Bohemians the true religion. For the courtiers and noble maidens who followed her hither did here light upon the books of John Wickliffe, which they sent or carried with them into their own country,

where they were by many eagerly read and openly approved. Among those who were thus brought to the knowledge of the truth were John Huss, and his scholar Jerome of Prague, both of whom, not long afterwards, sealed their testimonies with their blood, having by their faithful preaching, their holy lives, and their glorious deaths, kindled the light of life in the souls of multitudes of their countrymen. It shone also upon Scotland, and in what way you will now learn.

JOHN RESBY, THE FIRST MARTYR OF THE REFORMATION IN
SCOTLAND.

In the year 1407, John Resby, an Englishman, came and preached the doctrines of Wickliffe in our native land. "After having," says the historian Tytler, "remained unnoticed for some time, the truth, the boldness, and the novelty of his opinions, at length awakened the jealousy of the Church; and it was found that he had preached what were at that time esteemed the most dangerous heresies. He was immediately seized by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor in theology, and compelled to appear before a council of the clergy, where this inquisitor presided. Here he was accused of maintaining no fewer than forty he-

resies, amongst which the principal were a denial of the authority of the Pope, as the successor of St Peter, a contemptuous opinion of the utility of penances and confession, and an assertion that a holy life was absolutely necessary in any one who dared to call himself the vicar of Christ. Resby defended himself in an eloquent and admirable manner; but his eloquence, as may easily be supposed, was thrown away upon his bigotted judges. This brave and pious disciple of the truth was condemned to the flames, and delivered over to the secular arm. The sentence was carried into immediate execution, and he was burnt at Perth in the year 1405, his books and writings being consumed in the same fire with their master." John Resby was the first who suffered for the truths of the Reformation in Scotland.

PAUL CRAWAR.

When the good followers of John Huss in Bohemia heard that there were many in Scotland enquiring after the truth, they sent hither one of their number to "expound unto them the way of God more perfectly." His name was Paul Cwarar. That he might fulfil his commission with greater safety and success, Cwarar came into Scotland as a physician. He was intimately acquainted with the Scriptures,

which he went about reading and expounding to the people, who heard him gladly. He was also a man of great learning and courage, and was not afraid to dispute with the priests, whom he often silenced and put to shame. It was not long, however, that he was permitted to teach what was in these days, and what by the Church of Rome still is, accounted heresy. Laurence, the bigotted and blood-thirsty abbot of Lindores, who had brought Resby to the stake, was yet living. At his instance, Paul Crawar was arrested and condemned; "and," says a historian, "as he boldly refused to renounce his opinions, he was led to the stake, and gave up his life for the truth with the utmost cheerfulness and resolution." Whereby says an old poet,

"———Most clearly we may see
How that the Papists loudly lie,
Who our religion so oft cald
A faith but of fifty yeare auld:
As by the stone ye may know,
Of Resby burnt before Paul Craw,
The thousandth yeare four hundrethe five,
In Perth, while Huss was yet alive."

THE LOLLARDS OF KYLE.

1494.

It was one thing to put to death the confessors of the truth and another thing to extinguish the truth it-

self, the knowledge of which was now diffused throughout different parts of the country, particularly in the bounds of Carrick, Conningham, and Kyle. In these and in other places of the west of Scotland not only was the truth known and professed by individuals, but by small communities, one of which was called the "Lollards of Kyle." The name Lollard was at first given to the followers of Wickliffe and Huss, either from its being the name of one of their number or from its signification a "psalm-singer," and was afterwards given to the early Protestants in derision. In the year 1494, during the reign of James IV., thirty individuals bearing this designation were summoned by the Popish Archbishop, Robert Blackater, to appear before the king and a council of the Church at Glasgow, on a charge of heresy. Among the individuals summoned, were Campbell of Cessnock, Reid of Barskimming, Campbell of New-Milns, ancestor of the noble family of Loudon, Schaw of Polkemmet, the ladies Stair and Polkellie, and other persons of distinction. They were accused of holding and teaching the following articles:—1. Images should not be worshipped. 2. Nor relics of saints. 3. The Pope is not the successor of Peter. 4. After the consecration bread remains, and the natural body of Christ is not there. 5. The Pope deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences. 6.

Masses profit not the souls which are said to be in purgatory. 7. We should pray unto God only. 8. The Pope, who is called the head of the Church, is Antichrist. The bishop addressing Adam Reid, said, "Reid, believest thou that God is in heaven?" Adam answered, "Not as I do the sacraments seven." The bishop said unto the king, "Sir, lo! he denieth that God is in heaven." The king said, "Adam, what sayest thou?" He answered, "If it please your majesty, hear the end between this churl and me." Then turning to the bishop, he said, "I neither think nor believe as thou thinkest, but I am most assured that God is not only in heaven, but also on earth; but thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either God is not at all, or that he is so set up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for if thou didst firmly believe that God is in heaven, thou wouldst not make thyself cheekmate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Christ gave unto his apostles, to preach the gospel and not to play the proud prelate, as all the rabble of you do now." And then he said unto the king, "Sir, judge now whether the bishop or I do believe best that God is in heaven." The bishop could not revenge himself as he would, and other counts were given him. But the king, willing to put an end,

said unto Adam, "Wilt thou burn they bill?" "Yes, sir," said Adam, "if the bishop and you will." With these and the like scoffs the bishop and his band were so abashed, that the greatest part of their accusations were turned into laughter. Thus ended this diet of Glasgow, nor was there one of a like kind held in Scotland for nearly thirty years. This long respite from persecution was owing to the broken and troubled state of the kingdom, occasioned by the fatal field of Flodden, in which James IV., with the greater part of his nobles, and the flower of the Scottish nation, perished.

PATRICK HAMILTON.

1528.

Among those whom the fame of Luther and Melancthon attracted to Germany, was Mr PATRICK HAMILTON, a young man of good family, and, it is said, of royal descent. On arriving at Wittemberg in 1526, four years after Luther's memorable appearance at Worms, he was introduced to the great Reformer and his friend Melancthon. Their friendship he soon acquired, and their tenets he eagerly imbibed. From Wittemberg he proceeded to the University of Marburgh, where he enjoyed the in-

structions of Francis Lambert. During his stay here he distinguished himself by the proficiency he made in philosophy, but especially in divinity, at the undefiled wells of which, the Holy Scriptures, it was now his privilege to drink. The doctrines of the Reformers he openly avowed, and defended by public disputation in the University in such a manner, that by reason thereof, and of his great learning and holy life, he was, says Knox, "in admiration with many." These were happy days for the young scholar from Scotland. We doubt not, as he sat at the feet of Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert, he said often to himself, in the joy of his heart, "It is good to be here." But every good man loves and lives for his country. To young Hamilton, Wittenburg and Marburg were what Goshen was to the Israelites—places of light and joy, but while walking and rejoicing in that marvellous light, he remembered that, as in Egypt of old, darkness covered his native land—that throughout all its borders there was "no vision," and that the people were perishing for lack of knowledge; and as he thought thereon, he resolved to return home, that haply, through his means, his countrymen might be introduced into the true light, and be made to know "the joyful sound." No sooner had he returned to Scotland, which he did in 1527, than he

entered on his mission, and began to preach to his countrymen the gospel of the grace of God. The youthful appearance of the preacher, his high rank, his reputation for learning and piety, his having been the scholar and friend of Luther and Melancthon, the boldness with which he denounced Popery, and the gracious doctrines which he taught, made him everywhere to be hailed with delight. When Beaton and his clergy saw this, they took council together how they might most effectually prevent the spread of the new opinions, and punish the youthful heretic by whom they were so daringly preached. Shortly before this, Beaton had procured an Act of Parliament to be passed against the importation of Luther's writings into the country—"a kingdom," according to the act, "which had always been clear of all sic filth and vice." This Act he now resolved to follow up by a blow that should not only strike terror into the hearts of heretics, but crush heresy itself. He resolved to bring Mr Patrick Hamilton to the stake. It is true, his intended victim was highly connected, and was greatly beloved, but the nobler the victim, the more terrible and effectual would be the example. To effect his design, he felt, however, it was necessary to act cautiously as well as boldly. But to act in this way no man was better qualified than the archbi-

shop. Of the cunning which he could practise, our historians have left us the following example :— About this time there was a deadly feud between the Earls of Arran and Angus. It happened one day that the Earl of Angus, suspecting no deceit nor danger, came into Edinburgh with only a few followers, when the Earl of Arran, who was that day also in Edinburgh, with a numerous retinue of friends and followers, heard this, with the advice of the archbishop, he resolved to lay violent hands on his rival. Not only did this cruel bishop give him this bad advice, but putting on armour under his rochet or bishop's dress, he resolved himself to take part in the fray.

In the meantime the Earl of Angus hearing of what was intended against him by the Hamiltons, and being desirous not to come to blows, for which indeed he was ill prepared, sent his uncle, Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld,* to Beaton to persuade him to prevent the threatened strife. Beaton pretended to be most anxious to preserve the peace, and laying his hand on his heart said, "Upon my conscience, my Lord, I cannot help what is about to happen." As he did so the mail which he wore

* Translator of Virgil's *Æneid*, and one of the greatest poets Scotland has produced.

beneath his rochet rattled, "Ha! my Lord," said the Bishop of Dunkeld, "methinks your conscience clatters." He then hastened to his nephew, the Earl of Angus, to bid him defend himself as he best might, "For me," he said, "I will go to my chamber and pray for you." The encounter took place, and many lives were lost, but the treachery and cowardice of Beaton and the Hamiltons were well rewarded, for the Earl of Arran was defeated and driven out of the town. This skirmish was called "Clean the Causeway."

Beaton proceeded against Mr Patrick Hamilton with his characteristic craftiness. Under pretence of a friendly conference, he invited him to St Andrews. In the simplicity of his heart, the youthful reformer complied with the invitation, and thus fell into the snare laid for his life. On his arrival at St Andrews, he was waited upon by several of the priests, who pretended to seek instruction, though their real design was to ascertain his opinions and to procure matter for his condemnation. Among those who acted this deceitful part, there was one Alexander Campbell, a Black Friar, who confessed to him that he held the new opinions, and wished to be more perfectly instructed respecting them. Lest the king should interpose his authority, he was persuaded to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of

St Duthock in Ross-shire, where he should hear nothing of the bloody deed till it was done. The plot was now ripe for execution. One night, having retired to rest, Hamilton was roused from his sleep by an armed band of the archbishop's, and carried prisoner to the castle.

February 28, 1528, he was brought before his judges, and after a form of trial, was declared to be an obstinate heretic, and condemned to death by the fire. On the afternoon of that day he was led to the stake at which he was to suffer. When the people beheld the stake prepared at the College gate and saw the martyr led thither, they were amazed, and supposed in the words of Knox, "that all this was done but to terrify him and cause him to recant," but God for his own glory, for the comfort of his servant, and for the manifestation of the tyranny of those beasts of blood, had otherwise decreed. For he so strengthened his faithful witness, that neither the love of life nor the fear of that cruel death could move him to swerve a jot from the truth he had professed. At the place of execution, he gave to his servant, who had been with him a long time, his gown, coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, "These will not profit me in the fire—they may be of service to thee. After this you can receive from me no more good but the example of my death,

which, I pray thee, keep in mind. For albeit it be bitter to the flesh and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." The innocent servant of God being now bound to the stake, his executioners attempted to kindle the pile by lighting a train of gunpowder; this however made only a momentary blaze, which scorched his side and face severely, but left the pile of wood and coals unkindled, while they ran to the castle for materials of a more combustible nature, and he was kept enduring this lingering torture. What grieved him more than the pain of the fire, certain of the archbishop's followers, among whom Campbell the Black Friar was the chief, kept disturbing his last moments, by crying out "*Convert heretic—call upon our Lady—say hail Mary!*" to whom he answered, "*Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan.*" The friar persisting in these attempts to disturb him, he said to him with great solemnity, "O wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the same to me—I summon thee to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ." The wood-pile being now effectually kindled, the heroic martyr, amid the tumult and vehemence of the flames, was heard crying with a loud voice, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this

realm ! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men." After which, with the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," he yielded up his soul to God. Thus perished Patrick Hamilton, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, a martyr for the truth of God, and a victim of that false Church whose history is written in the blood of the saints. His death filled the Papal world with joy. Letters were sent from various parts to the archbishop, commending and congratulating him for what he had done. "Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop," said the Doctors of Louvaine, "hath so deserved, that although we be far distant, both by sea and land, we desire to thank you for your worthy deed, which thing is not less to be commended for the matter than the manner, it being performed by so great consent of so many estates, as of the clergy, nobility, and common people, not rashly but prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. Think not that the example shall be confined to Scotland, other nations shall imitate the same. Your university we now acknowledge to be equal to, if not above our own. Let us labour with one consent that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheep-fold ; while we have time let us have inquisitors of books containing that doctrine, whether by apostate monks, or by merchants, the most

suspected kind of men in these days. It shall not be the least of your praise, that heresy has been extinguished in Scotland during your primacy. Nor are they who assisted you to be defrauded of their deserved commendation, as the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, stout defenders of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, friars, and professors of the Scriptures."

The death of Patrick Hamilton was not long an occasion of joy to some of his enemies, nor was it so indeed to any of them in the end. So troubled was Alexander Campbell, the Black Friar, at the thought of what he had done, and the citation he had received to appear at the tribunal of God, he became distracted, and within a few days after at Glasgow died despairing. Hamilton did more to promote the cause of the Reformation in Scotland by his death, perhaps than he could have effected by his life. Little did his persecutors imagine that the flames in which he perished "were in the course of one generation to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume with avenging fury the Romish superstition, the Papal power, and the Prelacy itself."

CHAPTER X.

GAWAIN LOGIE — WILLIAM AIRTH — RICHARD CARMICHAEL —
ALEXANDER SETON—JOHN LINDSAY'S ADVICE TO THE ARCH-
BISHOP—MARTYRDOM OF HENRY FORREST—NORMAN GOUR-
LAY AND OTHERS.

1527—1584.

GAWAIN LOGIE.

“ Within short space,” says Calderwood, “ many began to call in question many things which they held before for certain and undoubted truths, in so much that the University of St Andrews, St Leonard’s College in particular, by the labours of Mr Gawain Logie, principal, and of the sub-prior, Mr John Winram, began to spy the vanity of the revived superstition. Mr Gawain Logie instilled into his scholars the truth secretly, which they in process of time spread throughout the whole country, whereupon did arise a proverb, when any man savoured of true religion, it was said to him, “ Ye have drunk of St Leonard’s Well.” There was one William Airth, a Black Friar, who, in a sermon preached at Dundee, spoke more freely against the licentious lives of the bishops than they could bear, for which the Bishop of Brechin ordered some of his retainers to beat him, which they did, and that sore. Friar Airth

went to St Andrews, and told the heads of his discourse to Mr John Major, whose word was then an oracle. Mr John said his doctrine could be defended. A day was appointed for him to repeat his sermon at St Andrews, and all who were offended were invited to attend. On the set day, in the presence of the doctors and masters of the universities, he discoursed from the theme, "Truth is the strongest of all things." Speaking of "cursing," or the censure of the Church, he said, if it were rightly used, it was the most fearful thing upon earth, for it was the very separation of the soul from God, but it ought not to be used rashly, nor for every light cause; but now, he continued, such is the ignorance and covetousness of the priests, they have brought it altogether into disgrace; for the priest, whose duty it is to pray for the people, will stand up on a Sunday and cry, "Ane has tint a spurtle—anither has had a flail stown—the gudewife on the ither side of the gate has tint a horne spoone; God's malison and mine I give to thame that know of this gear, and restores it not." How the people made light of these censures, or, as they were called, "curings," he told the following tale. "One day, after I had preached at Dunfermline, I came to a house where certain persons were drinking their Sunday's penny, and being thirsty, I asked drink. 'Yes, Father,'

said one of the company, 'ye shall have drink, but you must resolve a doubt that has risen among us, namely, 'What servant will serve a man best on least expenses?' 'The good angel,' says I, 'who is man's keeper.' 'Tush,' he replied, 'we mean no such high matters—we mean, what honest man will do greatest service for least expense?' And while I was musing what might that mean, he said, 'I see, Father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men; know ye not how the bishops and the priests serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dykes, and that will keep our corn better than the sleeping boy that must have three shillings of fee; and therefore if their cursing be worth anything, we hold the priests to be the cheapest servants that are within the realm.' As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancients took to distinguish true miracles from false; "but now," said he, "through their greediness, the priests not only revive false miracles, but cherish and hire knaves to work them, so that their chapels may be the better known, and their incomes increased. And thereupon chapels are founded, as if our Lady were more powerful, and took more pleasure in one place than another. Hence, of late, our Lady of Kersgrange has been hopping about from

one green hill to another. But, honest men of St Andrews, if ye knew what kind of miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God for them nor our Lady." For this sermon Airth, who seems to have been more witty than wise, was forced to flee into England. It was no safe matter yet to speak in jest or earnest, or even in sleep, against the priests. This found Richard Carmichael, chanter to the Chapel Royal of Stirling. Having been fleeced by them of some money, this Richard was heard one night saying in his sleep, "the evil ane tak awa the priests, for they are a greedy pack." For this he was accused of heresy by Sir John Clapperton, Dean of the Chapel, and saved himself from the flames by burning his Bill. Alexander Seton, a black friar, began at this time to discover the corruptions of Popery. In his sermons he declared that the truth of God for many years had not been clearly taught—that its purity had been corrupted by the traditions of men—that Christ was the end of the law for righteousness—that forgiveness of sins came by faith in the mercy of God through the merits of Christ; and that it was not in the power of man to satisfy for his sins. He made no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimages, prayers to the saints, or such like superstitions. The popish doctors accused him secretly of heresy, but

for some time they said nothing publicly. Having occasion to go to Dundee, they hired a friar who, in his absence, charged him openly with having taught heresy. When Seton heard this, he returned to St Andrews without delay, and caused the bell to be tolled for religious service. He asserted the truths he had formerly taught, and added "that if bishops were to be known by such marks and qualifications as Paul required, there were at that day no true bishops in Scotland." This was reported to the bishop, who told him what things he had heard, and asked him if they had been correctly reported. "My lord," said Seton, "they who informed you that I said these things are manifest liars." "Your answer," said the bishop, "pleaseth me well. I could never think of you that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things; where are the knaves that brought me this tale?" They appeared and affirmed what they said before. "My lord," said Seton, "you may judge how little credit these men are entitled to who cannot distinguish between Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi, and Paul, and the poor friar Alexander Seton. In truth, my lord, I said that Paul said 'A bishop must be apt to teach,' that Isaiah said, 'they that fed not the flock are dumb dogs.' I of my own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before had pronounced,

at whom, my lord, if you be not offended, you can not justly be offended at me." The bishop was, however, highly displeased, and though he dismissed him safely, from that time sought to take away his life. To avoid falling into his hands, Seton soon after fled to England, where he became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and where he preached the gospel in great purity and with great success for many years. Not long after Seton, three others, for holding and teaching the reformed opinions, were forced to flee for their lives. These were Alexander Aless, John Fife, and John Macbee. Aless and Fife fled to Germany, where they rose to fill eminent stations, and became the familiar friends of Luther and Melancthon. Macbee fled to Denmark, where he was raised into favour by Christian, king of that country, and became one of the principal translators of the Bible into the Danish tongue.

JOHN LINDSAY'S ADVICE TO THE ARCHBISHOP.

The new opinions continuing to gain ground, the Archbishop of St Andrews convoked a council of the clergy, in which was debated the expediency of proceeding against others suspected of heresy, and of bringing them to the stake. During the debate

there was present one John Lindsay, one of the archbishop's servants, who said, "My lord, gif ye burn ony mair, except ye follow my advice, ye will destroy yourselves utterly. If ye *will* burn, let them be burned in some howe cellars, for the reek of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected as mony as it blew upon." Whether this address was well taken or not, we shall now witness.

MARTYRDOM OF HENRY FORREST.

There was at this time living at Linlithgow a young friar of the order of the Benedictines, by name Henry Forrest. This Henry had been heard to say, "that Mr Patrick Hamilton was a good man, and that he had died a martyr for the truth." For these words he was thrown into prison. While in prison one Walter Laing, a priest, was sent by Beaton to ensnare him in his talk. He made confession of his faith to Laing.

Being brought to trial, his confession was treacherously produced, and on the strength of it, and on a New Testament having been found in his possession, he was declared to be a heretic, and adjudged to death. He was brought to a green mound between the castle of St Andrews and Monimail, where the clergy were assembled and set in array,

to witness his execution. As the youthful martyr beheld them, and among them the false friar who had betrayed him, he was moved with righteous indignation, and cried out, "Fie on falsehood! fie on false friars—betrayers of confessions; after this day let no man ever trust them, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men." The clergy now proceeded to degrade him of his friar's orders; upon this he exclaimed, "Take from me not only your orders, but your baptism also." His degradation being completed, he was led to the stake, where, with the greatest constancy and courage, he endured the pains of his cruel death.

NORMAN GOURLAY AND DAVID STRAITON.

Norman Gourlay and David Straiton suffered martyrdom near the Rood of Greenmill, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the 27th August 1534. "Gourlay," says Knox, "was a man of reasonable knowledge." David Straiton, who was of good family, being one of those who are naturally "impatient of all the oppressions done under the sun," was at first stirred up against the priests for their pride and avarice. One day the Bishop Murray sent his agents to him for the tithe of fish which his servants had caught. "If he would have the teind,"

said Straiton, "let him come and receive it where he got the stock." On saying which he ordered his servants to cast the tenth fish into the sea. Process of cursing was soon after this led against him, which, when he regarded not, he was accused of heresy. At this he became greatly alarmed, and began to frequent the company of such as were godly. Before this he despised all reading of books, and especially such as were good; but now he seems to have become a new man, delighting in nothing so much as in hearing the Holy Scriptures read to him—giving himself to prayer, and exhorting all men to peace and contempt of the world. He took great pleasure in the company and instructions of John Erskine of Dun—an early and eminent favourer of the new doctrines. On one occasion, as the Laird of Lauriston was reading to him from the New Testament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, he came upon these words of our Lord and Master, "He that denies me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my Father and before his angels." At these words David Straiton threw himself in great emotion on his knees, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven for some time, at length broke forth into these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked and justly mightst thou abstract thy grace from me.

But, Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth, no, not for fear of death, nor bodily pains." His prayer was not offered in vain. When along with Norman Gourlay he was brought up for judgment, every effort was made to persuade him to recant, but he stood resolutely to the defence of the truth, and along with his fellow-confessor was adjudged to the fire, through which they passed in triumph.

CHAPTER XI.

JAMES AND CATHERINE HAMILTON—WALTER STEWART'S RECANTATION, AND HOW HE CAME TO HIS END—JAMES V. AND THE BAD ADVICE GIVEN HIM BY THE PRIESTS—THOMAS FORREST—JEROME RUSSELL AND ALEXANDER KENNEDY—THE CRAFTY CARDINAL—THE WEDDERBURNS—THE KING'S FEARFUL VISION—HIS DEATH—THE SIX MARTYRS OF PERTH—GEORGE WISHART.

1535—1545.

JAMES AND CATHERINE HAMILTON.

AMONG those who received the truth from Mr Patrick Hamilton were his brother, James, and his sister, Catherine. Both were summoned by Beaton to appear at Holyrood to answer for heresy. James

Hamilton, by the advice of the King, fled, and was condemned for contumacy. His sister, Catherine, obeyed the summons, and was examined on certain points of faith in the presence of the King and clergy. Being questioned on the article of justification, she answered "that no person could be saved by works." Her inquisitor here entered into a long discourse, telling her that there were different kinds of works, all of which he explained, which chafed the lady so much that she cried out, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me but the works of Christ, my Saviour." At this answer, and the contempt which she manifestly entertained for her ignorant inquisitors, the King laughed heartily. Knowing, however, the length to which her enemies would proceed against her, and that if she were condemned not even his interposition could save her from the flames, he took her aside, and prevailed upon her to recant.

WALTER STEWART.

Walter Stewart, brother to Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, who had been accused of breaking an image in the Church of Ayr, preserved his life by making a similar recantation. But the life which

he thus sinfully purchased he was not permitted long to enjoy. On his return home he fell from his horse, as he was crossing the water of Calder. Clinging to a stone, he cried to his friends for help, but this none of them could render him. Seeing his death to be inevitable, he called upon them to take an example by him, and not to redeem life by recanting the truth. "He died," he said, "in the faith he had formerly professed, and, as God had enabled him to repent of his recantation, he hoped to be saved by his mercy through Christ." Letting go his hold, he was carried down the flood and perished. Thus does God teach us that, while he forgives his people the iniquity of their sins, he at the same time takes vengeance on their inventions.

JAMES V. AND THE BAD ADVICE OF THE PRIESTS.

James V. was at one time, there is reason to believe, favourable to the Reformers. He encouraged Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, a famous Scottish poet, and the celebrated George Buchanan, to write satires against the priests. Some of Sir David Lindsay's dramatic pieces, the chief end of which was to expose the vices of the Romish clergy, were acted before him, and it was by his express command that Buchanan wrote his famous satire "The Francis-

can." "The King," says Buchanan, "demanded a satire from me that would not only pierce the skin, but penetrate their hearts." That it had the desired effect all who have read the life of this great scholar, and of what he suffered from their rage and resentment, know. The few following lines are from the invocation, and may give the reader an idea of the whole :—

"O Muse! explain how priests deception spread,
How torpid souls are by delusion fed
With pious frauds and wild inventions full.
Kingdoms entire a wretched people gull,
To gaping crowds their wonders strange reveal.
Beneath a veil their base chicane conceal,
Despotic creeds, a wild and wicked life,
Full of ambition, wrath, fraud, envy, strife,
Christ's sheepfold plunder, at each ill contrive,
Of sense and gold the Christian flock deprive."

Whatever favour, however, the king might continue to show to the poets of the Reformation, it was not long till, through the flatteries of the Pope, and of his queen, Mary of Guise, he withdrew it from the preachers, and consented even to their persecution. How the priests laboured to obtain this consent, the following extract from an old Scottish historian will shew :—

"Farther, they said to the king, what occasion have you to go to England for any advantage that

the King of England will give you? We shall make your grace to possess abundance at home if you will execute justice as we advise upon the heretics, of whom we have given you a list, who are all great readers of the Old and New Testament in English; and we engage upon our consciences that all their lands, rents, and goods, shall be your own for their contempt of our holy father the Pope and his laws, and of your grace's authority. Therefore if you will do us justice in this matter we shall give you a hundred thousand pounds a-year to augment the patrimony of your crown, and a supply for any war you may have with England or any other enemy; and we desire but that you will give us a temporal judge to our mind to do justice on these wicked heretics, which will be to your great honour and profit and advantage of the church, and maintenance of the laws of our holy father the Pope. And we have no doubt but the Pope will reward your grace for thus maintaining his authority. The King yielded to these wicked suggestions of the clergy against his own subjects, unmoved by the duty he owed to God and to them, but entering heartily into the covetous views of the bishops. 'I desire,' said he, 'that you had justice. Choose therefore a fit person who will execute justice most sharply and rigorously for punishment of these heretics, and I shall give him

my authority, when he finds a heretic, to burn him and to put him to death at your pleasure.' " Thus authorized to proceed against the followers of Christ, a convocation of the clergy met at Edinburgh in 1539. They summoned Robert Forrester, a gentleman ; Keillor, a black friar ; Beveridge, a friar ; Simson, a priest ; and Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar, to appear before their tribunal for heresy, whom, after a short trial, they adjudged to the flames, which they endured at one stake on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

THOMAS FORREST.

Of Thomas Forrest, our historians have left us the following interesting memorials. He was of the house of Forrest, in Fife. After acquiring the rudiments of learning in Scotland, he went abroad, and finished his education at Cologne. He then returned home, and entered the monastery of St Colm's Inch. Happening one day to take up a volume of Augustine, he was by means of it enlightened in the doctrine of grace, of which he had hitherto been utterly ignorant. He was often heard afterwards to say, " O happy and blessed book, by which I came to the knowledge of the truth." From reading Augustine, he betook himself next to the reading of the

Scriptures. From the stream he repaired to the fountain. Thus taught himself, he straightway set himself to teach others, and had the satisfaction of seeing his efforts among his younger brethren of the monastery attended with signal success. He was not so successful with the aged monks. "The old bottles," he used to say, "would not receive the new wine." After some time spent in the monastery of St Colm, he was made vicar of Dollar, where he preached the way of salvation by the blood of Christ, and led an eminently holy and useful life. He wrote a little catechism, which, when any one came to visit him, he caused a poor child answer him, in order to allure the hearts of his hearers to the truth. In this way he converted many. He rose at six in the morning, and studied till twelve noon, and after dinner till supper. When he visited any sick persons in the parish that were poor, he would carry to them bread and cheese in his gown sleeve, and give them silver out of his purse, thus supplying their temporal wants, while he fed their souls with the bread of life. He took great delight in reading the Epistle to the Romans. He would get three chapters by heart in one day, and at evening gave the book to his servant Andrew Kirkil, to mark where he went wrong in the rehearsing, and then he would lift up his hands to heaven, and thank God that he was not idle that

day. When persons called "pardoners"* came with authority from the Pope to sell indulgences to his parishioners, he protested against them, and exposed their imposture, saying, "Dear people, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you; there is no pardon that can come to us from the Pope, or any other, but only by the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin."

* A pardoner's account of himself:—

"I am Schir Robert Rome-raker,

Ane perfet publick pardoner,

Admitted be the Pape.

Schirs, I shall schaw you for my wage

My pardons and my pilgrimage,

Whilk ye shall see and grape!

My patent pardons, ye may see,

Cum fra the Cham of Tartarie,

Weill sealed with oster-schellis.

Tho' ye have nae contrition,

Ye will have full remission,

With help of bukis and bells.

Whaever be heiris this hell clink,

Give me ane ducat for till drink,

Sall never be sent to hell.

Cum, win the pardoun; now, let's see,

For meal, for malt, or for monie.

For hen, or guse, or gryse.

Of relics heir I have ane hunder,

Why cum ye not? This is ane wonder.

I trow ye be nocht wyse!"

—*Sir David Lindsay.*

What endeared him to the people made him an object of dislike to the priests and friars, who accused him to the Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose diocese he lived. At the instigation of the friars, the bishop sent for him, when the following singular conversation took place between them: "My joy, dear Thomas," said the bishop, "I love you well, and must therefore give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself." "I thank your lordship heartily," replied Forrest. "My joy, dear Thomas," continued the bishop, "I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, which is very injurious to churchmen, and therefore I would that you took your cow and your uppermost cloth as other churchmen do. It is too much, also, for you to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you may make the people think that *we* should preach likewise. It is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or any good gospel that telleth forth the rights of the Church, to preach that and let the rest be." Forrest answered—"My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth. And whereas your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would that your lordship did

the like." "Nay, nay, dear Thomas," cried the bishop, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach." "Then," said Forrest, "when your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle or good gospel—truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and avoid the evil." "I thank God," replied the bishop with vehemence, "that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was. As for you, dear Thomas, go your way and let be these fantasies, for if you do not you will¹ repent when you cannot mend it." But Forrest had counted the cost, and he replied, "I trust my cause is just in the sight of God, and I am not much concerned for what may follow thereupon." And so he departed. From the bishop's thanking God for his ignorance of the Scriptures, it came to be a proverb among the people, "Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, wha kent neither the auld law nor the new." The following account of Forrest's trial is given by Lindsay of Pitscottie:—"False heretic," said Mr John Lauder, his accuser, "thou sayest it is not lawful for churchmen to take their tithes and offer-

ings." The vicar answered and said, " Brother, I said not so ; I said it is not lawful for churchmen to spend the tiends and patrimony of the church, as they do, on harlots and delicate clothings, riotous banqueting, and wanton playing at cards and dice, and the people not instructed in God's word, as the Scripture of Christ commands." The accuser answered—" Deniest thou this, that is openly known in the country, that thou gavest again to the parishioners the cow and the upmost cloth, saying thou hadst no reason unto them ?" The vicar answered—" I gave them again to them that had more need of them than I had." The accuser answered—" What sayest thou, that thou taughtst thy parishioners to pray unto God the paternoster in English, and also taught them the Belief and Ten Commands in English, which is contrary to our acts ? Shall the common people know any part or point of the Word of God in English, or any part of it be read in English, or any books thereupon be used in English ?" The vicar answered and said—" Brother, my parishioners and congregation were so rude and barbarous that they understood no Latin, that I was forced on my conscience to teach them the words of their salvation in English. Further, I taught them the Lord's Prayer in their own mother tongue, to the effect that they might know and un-

derstand to whom they prayed and in whose name, what they should ask in their prayer, and what hope they should have in obtaining the same." Then the accuser answered—"Why didst thou not follow the order and commandment of our holy father the Pope, and all the Catholic Church?" The vicar answered—"Verily, brother, I follow the order and commandment of our Master and Sovereign Jesus Christ." The accuser said—"Heretic, where finds thou that?" The vicar answered—"My brother, in my book which is here in my sleeve." The accuser sprang to him, and, pulling the book out of his sleeve, shewed it to the people, saying—"See the heretic, he hath the book hid in his sleeve—lo! here it is, which is heresy, and makes all this plea and cumber in the holy church, and among the prelates thereof." The vicar answered—"Brother, you could say better if you pleased; but God forgive you that calls the true Scripture of God to be the book of heresy." And with this he turned him to the people and said unto them—"My dear brethren and hearty friends, believe not this wicked man, that calls this book heresy, for I assure you there is nothing in this book but the latter will and testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, written by his four evangelists for our salvation in Christ." The accuser answered—"Heretic, thou cannot deny but

the New Testament in English is contrary to our acts and forbidden by the Pope, and is enough to burn thee, thief." Then the Council gave sentence on him to be burnt for using of the same book, the New Testament, in English. When he was brought to the place of execution, Friar Arbuckle said to him—"Say, I believe in God." "I believe in God," said Forrest. "And in our Lady," said the friar. "I believe," said he, "*as* our Lady believeth." Nay, said the friar, "Say, I believe in God and *in* our Lady." "Cease," replied Forrest, "tempt me not, I know what I should say as well as you, thanks be to God." The friar then left him, and tempted his brethren in like manner. In the meantime Forrest attempted to address the people. "I never ministered the sacraments," he said, "but I said—as the bread entereth in your mouths, so shall Christ dwell by lively faith in your hearts." Here one standing beside him with his jack on him, interrupted him, saying—"Away, away, we will have no preaching here." Another, taking the New Testament from his bosom, held it up and cried—"Heresy! heresy!" Then several cried—"Burn him! burn him!" When bound to the stake, he cried with a loud voice, first in Latin then in English—"God be merciful to me a sinner." And after that, in Latin first and then in English—"Lord

Jesus, receive my spirit." He then began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm, which he continued to do till he was consumed in the flames.

JEROME RUSSELL AND ALEXANDER KENNEDY.

Scarcely had the stake at which Forrest and his companions suffered, been removed, when another was erected at Glasgow for the martyrdom of Jerome Russell and Alexander Kennedy. Russell was a grey friar, and is described by Knox as "a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning." Kennedy, who was only eighteen years of age, had received a liberal education, and possessed "an excellent genius for Scottish poetry." When brought to trial, with a weakness for which his tender years are a sufficient apology, he was inclined to recant. His indecision, however, was only for a moment. High and mighty as his judges were, an opportunity he felt was given him to testify that truth was greater. Suddenly and powerfully impressed with the dignity of being a witness for the truth of God, he overcame the King of Terrors, and falling on his knees, with a glowing countenance and a loud and joyful voice, he broke out into these words, "O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest to mankind, and to me a

miserable wretch above all others ! For even now when I would have denied thee and thy son Christ Jesus, my only Saviour, and to have cast myself into hell, thou has prevented me, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort, which has taken from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was before oppressed. Now I defy death." When rising from his knees, and looking round on his persecutors, he said, " Do with me what you please. I praise God I am ready." Jerome Russell, who had arrived at a more mature age than his youthful companion in tribulation, conducted his defence with a calmness, a courage, and an eloquence, which filled even his enemies with admiration. The archbishop, it is said, was inclined to save them, but some of the inferior clergy interfered, and threatened if he did, to proclaim him as an enemy to the Church.

The admirable defence of Russell served only to fill them with rage. They replied to him with taunts, and like the murderers of Stephen, gnashed upon him with their teeth. Roused to a high pitch of holy and generous indignation, their noble-minded victim addressed them in these eloquent words, " This is your hour and power of darkness. Here ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned ; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye

shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go on and fill up the measure of your iniquity." They were condemned to death. Next day they were led out to execution. On their way thither the "gentle Jerome," says Knox, "comforted his youthful friend with many comfortable words, often saying to him, "Brother, fear not, more powerful is He that is in us, and for us, than all that are in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us contend, therefore, to enter in unto our Master and Saviour by that way which he himself trode before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it has been already destroyed by Him, for whose sake we suffer." With such words did they cheer their hearts as they passed to the place of suffering—"where," says the historian, "they triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire."

DAVID BEATON, OR THE CRAFTY CARDINAL.

(1540.)

In the year 1539, the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had stained his soul so deeply with the blood of the martyrs, died, and was succeeded by his

nephew David, called the crafty. No sooner had he been installed Primate of Scotland, than he made it appear how little the Reformers had to hope for of favour or mercy at his hands. His first public act was to convene his clergy with the nobles and barons at St Andrews. On the appointed day, at the head of a large concourse of all ranks, he entered the Cathedral, and ascending a throne, in a long and animated discourse he called upon them to support the Church, and to suppress heresy. Through his influence, the Parliament which met in March 1540 passed several severe acts against the new opinions. The Scriptures were forbidden to be read, persons suspected of heresy were not to be harboured, and rewards were offered to those who should inform against them; to deny the authority of the Pope was declared to be worthy of death. Notwithstanding these measures, and the efforts of the Cardinal to root out the new opinions as they were called, they continued to spread, and to be embraced by persons of all ranks. Florence Wilson,* a black friar in Elgin, renounced his monkish life and fled. George

* "Of the Scottish poets who flourished during the 16th century few are entitled to a more conspicuous place than Florence Wilson. His beautiful poem, *De Animi Tranquillitate*, is written in a style of sublimity which even that age did not very frequently attain."—*Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets*.

Buchanan, who sometime before had been thrown into prison for his satire against the grey friars, entitled the "Franciscans," made his escape, and sought refuge on the continent, where enduring many trials, this glory of the Scottish nation remained for nearly twenty years.

THE WEDDERBURNES.

There was at this time one James Wedderburne, a merchant in Dundee. This James had three sons, whom he sent to the University of St Andrews, and who were eminent for learning. They all embraced the reformed religion, and being accused to the king, who gave orders for their being brought to trial, they sought safety in flight. James, the eldest son, went to Rouen, in France, where he continued till his death. "He had," says Calderwood, "a good gift of poesie, and made divers comedies and tragedies in the Scottish tongue, wherein he exposed the abuses and superstitions of the time. Certain of his countrymen at Dieppe accused him to the bishop of Rouen, as a "declared heretic." The bishop desired them to send to Scotland for his process, till which was produced he said he could do nothing against him. He does not seem to have suffered further trouble because of his opinions. At his

death he said to his son, "Here as in a theatre we have each our parts to act. I have acted mine; you are to succeed; see that you act your part faithfully."

John Wedderburne, the second son, brought up also under Mr Gavin, Logie, and "having drank of St Leonard's well," by the advice of his friends, but sorely against his own inclinations, took priest's orders, and became a priest in Dundee. It was not long, however, till he openly professed the reformed religion. Being summoned, he fled to Germany, where he heard Luther and Melancthon. He translated the Psalms of David, and several of Luther's writings into Scottish verse. He turned also many profane songs into godly rhymes. At the death of James V. in 1542, he returned to Scotland, but being persecuted by Beaton, he departed to England.

Robert Wedderburne, the youngest brother, went to Paris, where he sought the society, and gained the friendship of several of his countrymen, who had embraced the truth. In 1546 he returned to Scotland. On the passage home, after long reasonings and disputings with his fellow-passengers about religion, he persuaded several of them to assist him in making a wooden image of Cardinal Beaton, in which they affixed his name. They put him on his



trial, arraigned him of his manifold crimes, and adjudged him to death. They then kindled a fire in which they cast the wooden image, where it was speedily burnt to ashes. It is remarkable that on the same day in which they burnt his image, the cardinal was slain in his palace at St Andrews.

JAMES V. HIS FEARFUL VISION AND DEATH.

One night as he lay in his palace at Linlithgow, James V. rose in great terror out of his sleep, and calling for torches, said that Thomas Scott the Justice-clerk was dead—that he had entered his bedroom, and along with him a company of devils, and that he had addressed him in these words, “O woe unto the day that ever I knew thee or thy service! For serving thee against God, against his servants, and against his truth, I am adjudged to endless torment.” Next morning the tidings came to Linlithgow that the Justice-clerk had died during the night in Edinburgh, despairing of his salvation, and continually repeating these words, “I am condemned by the just judgment of God.” Whatever impression this had on the king, it had none on the cardinal. He drew up a list containing the names of some hundreds of individuals suspected of heresy, several of whom were of high rank, and presenting

it to the king, he urged upon him the policy of cutting them off by a single blow. Among other inducements, he held out to the king the wealth that would accrue to him from the forfeiture of their estates. This wicked expedient the king was high-minded enough to reject. Calling some of the clergy to him, after many sore reproofs that they should advise him to use such cruelty upon so many noblemen and barons, he said, "Wherefore was it that my ancestors gave so many lands and rents to the Church? was it to maintain hawks and hounds and idle priests? Begone—get you to your charges and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me, or else I vow to God I shall reform you. The King of England burns you—the King of Denmark hangs and heads you—I shall use sharper punishments." Here the king drew a hanger from his belt and made as if he would strike them, which, when they perceived, in terror of their lives, they fled from his presence. Such, however, was the influence of the Cardinal, and such the facility of the king, the same or a similar list was presented to him again, which, it is said, he received for farther consideration. However this may be, death, which breaks off the purposes of the good, and the projects of the bad, put an end to this. Shortly afterwards the Scottish army, com-

manded by Oliver Sinclair, an unworthy minion of the king, was defeated by the English at Solway Moss. When the news were brought to the king he was filled with such grief and shame that he shut himself up in his Palace at Falkland, and refused to be comforted. His servants asked him where he would keep Christmas, which was then approaching. He replied, "I cannot tell—choose you the place. This I can tell, before Christmas ye will be without a master, and the realm without a king." There appeared in him no sign of death, yet he constantly affirmed, "before such a day I shall be dead." Becoming distracted, he cried out frequently, "Oh! Oh! fled Oliver? is Oliver taken? fled Oliver?" He was told that the Queen was delivered of a daughter. "Is it so," said the unhappy monarch, remembering how the Stuarts came to the throne, "God's will be done. It came with a lass, and it will gang with a lass." After this he "spoke not," says the old historian, "many words that could well be understood, but ever harped upon his old song, "Fy, fled Oliver? is Oliver taken? All is lost!" Thus died James V. of a broken heart, in the flower of his days, being only thirty-one years of age. "All men," says Calderwood, "lamented that the country was left without a king, but some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's truth was taken away."

THE SIX MARTYRS OF PERTH.

In the Parliament which met at Stirling in the December of this year (1543), the old laws against heresy were revived, and the Cardinal was authorized to carry them into effect. His whole efforts were now collected to crush the cause of the Reformation. The more effectually to do this he resolved to make the tour of the kingdom, and to erect local tribunals for the trial and punishment of heretics. The first town he visited with this intention was Perth, the inhabitants of which were among the most forward in the kingdom to receive the new opinions, and the objects, on this account, of the Cardinal's special displeasure. He was accompanied by the Regent, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyle, Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Robert, Lord Borthwick, and several others of the nobility, all violent persecutors. Among the clergy who attended him were the Bishops of Orkney and Dumblane. They were followed by a numerous train of domestics, and a guard of armed men. Their arrival filled the inhabitants of Perth with terror. They beheld a dark cloud gathering over them, and as multitudes had made themselves obnoxious for their opinions, no one knew on whom it might burst. Some trembled for themselves, others for their friends. Two tribunals were

erected—the Regent presided at the one, the Cardinal at the other. Numbers were brought to trial. Several were banished, and five men and one woman were condemned to suffer death. Their names were Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ronaldson, James Finlayson, and Helen Starke. The night before their trial, looking upon their fate as sealed, they employed themselves in reading the Scriptures, in prayer, and exhorting one another to constancy in the faith, expressing the hope that if they should suffer death the next day, they should all meet in the kingdom of heaven. The sentence pronounced against them was, that the five men should be hanged from a gibbet on the Borough-muir, and that the woman, who was the wife of James Finlayson, should be drowned. Of the six martyrs of Perth it may be said, in the words of holy writ, “these all died in the faith.” At the place of execution their tongues were loosed, and they called upon the people to fear God and to forsake the leaven of papistical abominations. Looking down from the Muir upon the town, and pointing to the monasteries adorned with towers and spires, they declared “that the time was not far distant when all those proud buildings should be demolished, and when the monks and friars, like foxes, should be hunted from their dens, and have no place for shel-

ter." Thus did they meet death without fear, in the firm assurance that the reign of Antichrist in Scotland was hastening to an end. The parting of Helen Starke with her husband was peculiarly affecting. Warmly attached to her husband, with whom she had enjoyed several years of domestic happiness, she requested that they might die together. Her request being refused, she turned to him and said, "Husband, be constant in the faith, and suffer patiently for Jesus Christ, his sake. Rejoice this day. Many happy days have we lived together, but this we should consider the most joyful of all, because we are soon to have a joy which will last for ever. I will not bid you good night, for this night we shall meet in the kingdom of God." Helen Starke was now conducted back to the town, and led out to the South Inch. All this time she had her youngest child in her arms. Giving it to the nurse whom she had provided, she recommended it and her other children to the care of the pious women who stood around her weeping, and entreated them that they would shew kindness to her orphan children for Christ's sake. "All this," says a historian, "did not overpower her fortitude, or shake her faith. She rose superior to her sufferings, and she died with courage and with comfort." The place where this heroic woman met her death was a pool on the bank of the

Tay, near to what was called the Monks' Tower. From Perth the Cardinal and his company proceeded to the shires of Angus and Mearns, and their chief towns. Multitudes were summoned before him and sentenced to different degrees of punishment. Several were sent prisoners to St Andrews. Among these was John Roger, who had been at one time a Black friar, but who now preached Christ, and had been an instrument in the conversion of many. This good man came to his end in the following way. He was found dead at the foot of the Sea Tower in which he had been confined, having lost his life in attempting to escape, or having been secretly massacred.

GEORGE WISHART.

George Wishart was a brother of John Wishart, laird of Pittarrow, in the shire of Mearns. Having been banished by the Bishop of Brechin for teaching the Greek Testament to some young persons in Montrose, he went to Germany. He then returned to England and entered Bennet's College in Cambridge, where he continued for several years. In 1544 he returned to Scotland, where he preached the new doctrines to the people, who flocked to hear him in crowds, and who were charmed with the matter and

manner of his preaching. As no man of that time preached the gospel in such purity or power as Wishart, no man by the Romish clergy was so heartily hated and so greatly feared. Hearing of his being in the west country, Cardinal Beaton desired the Bishop of Glasgow to take him prisoner. With this intention the Bishop proceeded to Ayr, where Wishart then was, but finding him surrounded by a great number of the principal gentlemen of the county, he judged it imprudent to make the attempt, and contented himself with taking possession of the church in which he was to have preached. The Earl of Glencairn offered to expel the bishop from the church, but the Reformer, as gentle as he was good, would not suffer it. "Let him alone," said he, "his sermon will not do us much harm, let us go to the market cross." The bishop preached to his own followers and a few of the inhabitants of the town; but according to Calderwood's account of the matter, his sermon must have been harmless enough. "The sum of all his sermon," says he, "was this—'they say we should preach—why not? better late thrive than never thrive. Hold us still for your bishop and we shall provide better the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermon. He departed out of the town in haste, but returned not to fulfil his promise." Mr Wishart remained for

some time in this part of the country, preaching commonly in the church of Galston. Coming one day to preach at Mauchline, he was prevented from entering the church by the Sheriff of Ayr, who filled it with a troop of soldiers. Hugh Campbell of Kinzeancleuch and others would have entered it by force, but Wishart taking him aside said, "Brother, Christ Jesus is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and I find that he himself preached oftener in the desert and on the sea-shore than in the temple. It is the word of peace that God sends by me, and the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." The people then followed him to a dyke, upon the south-west of Mauchline, on which he stood and preached. By his sermon that day the laird of Shaw was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance that all men wondered. While Wishart was thus occupied in Kyle, it was told him that the plague had broken out in Dundee. When he heard this, nothing could induce him to stay longer in Kyle. "The people of Dundee," said he, "are in trouble, and they have need of comfort. Perhaps the hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence his word, which before, through the fear of man, they set at a light price." His arrival in the plague-smitten town of Dundee was an occasion of great joy to the faithful and to

the afflicted. He preached every day, and when not occupied in preaching, he went about from house to house carrying consolation to the sick and the dying. So mightily did he raise the hearts of all who heard him, they regarded not death, and they who departed judged themselves more happy than they who were left behind. "While Wishart," says Calderwood, "was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devil ceased not to stir up his own son the Cardinal against him. He hired a desperate priest, named Sir John Wightman, to kill him. Upon a certain day, the sermon being ended, and the people departing, no man suspecting danger, the priest stood waiting at the foot of the stair, with a drawn dagger in his hand, concealed under his gown. Mr George, as he was most sharp of eye and judgment, espied him, and as he came near he said, 'Friend, what would ye have,' and with that he seized the priest's hand, wherein the dagger was, which he took from him. The priest confounded, fell at his feet, and openly confessed the truth as it was." When the people heard of what had taken place, they came running back, crying, "Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force;" but Wishart, taking him in his arms, would suffer no man to do him harm, saying, "Whosoever troubleth him shall trouble me." So he saved the life of him who

sought to take away his own. The dagger which he wrested from the assassin's hands, Wishart presented afterwards to John Knox, whose future greatness he had the sagacity to foresee. Though he frequently escaped from the snare of the fowler, he had for a long time a presentiment that he would fall into the hands of the Cardinal at last. One night, while staying with James Watson, at Invergowrie, he rose and went forth into the garden. William Spalding and John Watson followed him quietly and took notice of what he did. After walking up and down for a short space, he fell upon his knees with many sighs and deep groans, which continuing to increase, he fell upon his face. Next morning they asked him where he had been. When he would not answer them, they said, "Mr George, be plain with us, for we heard your moaning and saw you both upon your knees and upon your face." Then with a dejected visage he said, "I had rather ye had been in your beds, for I was scarcely well employed. I will tell you that I am assured my travel is near an end. Pray therefore to God for me, that I shrink not now when the battle waxeth most hot." Upon this they began to weep and said, "that was small comfort to them." He answered, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gos-

pel as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it, yea, it shall not lack whatever the enemy may imagine to the contrary—the very cope-stone.” So shortly after this he came to Haddington, where he tarried a few days. When departing he took farewell of all his friends, and especially of Hugh Douglas of Langniddrie, as it were forever. To John Knox, at this time tutor in the family of Langniddrie, who was desirous of attending him as far as Ormiston, he said, “Nay, return to your bairns, (meaning his pupils), and God bless you; one is sufficient for a sacrifice.” He then went on to Ormiston, where he staid all night. After supper he made a most comfortable discourse to the laird of Ormiston and his family on the happy deaths of God’s children. He then said cheerfully, “Methinks I am very desirous to sleep; shall we sing a psalm?” They sang the fifty-first psalm, after which he retired to his own room, saying as he withdrew, “God grant quiet rest.” That night he fell into his enemies’ hands. About midnight, the Earl of Bothwell, with a troop of soldiers, surrounded the house, who called out for the laird, assuring him it was vain to resist, as the Cardinal and Regent, with their followers, were at hand. Hearing the noise and knowing that it was himself they had come to

seize, Wishart said, "Open the gates; the blessed will of my God be done." But the laird of Ormiston would not admit the Earl till he promised that no harm should be done his guest. "I promise," said the Earl, "in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor the cardinal shall obtain their intent of him; that I shall retain him in my own hands and house till either I set him at liberty or restore him to the place where I now receive him." This promise being given and hands shaken by both parties for its being kept, Wishart was delivered to the Earl of Bothwell. This false Earl did not long keep his promise. For a sum of gold he surrendered him to the Cardinal, who had long sought his life, by whom he was carried prisoner to St Andrews. On the first day of March, 1546, he was brought to trial before the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the inferior clergy. He was accused and convicted of heresy, and condemned to be burnt. Next morning, clad in a coarse linen garment, and with an iron chain about his waist, he was led out to suffer. The place of execution was on a rising ground, that the smoke and the fire might be seen far and wide, and thus spread the greater terror. The pile was erected opposite the Cardinal's palace. Here, in the fore-tower, the windows of which were adorned with silk

hangings and cushions, the Cardinal and his prelates sat, to feast their eyes with the spectacle. As the martyr came out of the castle gate, there met him certain beggars who asked his alms. "I want," said he, "my hands wherewith I should give you alms, but the merciful Lord of his kindness and of the abundance of his grace, vouchsafe to give you necessities both to your bodies and to your souls." Two friars then met him, saying, "Mr George, pray to our Lady that she may intercede for you to her Son." He meekly answered them, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren." When he came to the stake, he fell upon his knees, and said these words, "O, thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me. Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy hands." He then addressed the people who stood bye:—"Not sorrowfully," he said, "but with a glad heart and mind. Consider," he said, "and behold my visage. Ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not, and if any persecutions come unto you for the word's sake, fear not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul will sleep after death till the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such that this night my soul shall sup with my Saviour, Jesus Christ, for whom I suffer this." He then

prayed for his enemies. When he had made an end, the executioner came up, fell on his knees, and begged his forgiveness. "Most willingly," said he, "do I tender it; be of good courage and do thine office." He was now fastened to the stake, the pile was kindled, and the bags of gunpowder suspended from his body exploded. The captain of the guard, perceiving that he was still alive, drew near, and bade him be of good courage. "Captain," said the heroic martyr, "this flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit; but he who looks so proudly from yonder wall, within a few days shall be seen lying there in as much shame as he now shews pomp and vanity." When he had uttered these strange, and as it turned out prophetic words, the executioner, pulling the rope tightly which was about his neck, he was strangled, and the fire being now fully kindled, he was speedily consumed.

The blackened and scorched stake has been removed—the ashes of the martyr have been gathered up—the Cardinal and his company have withdrawn from the windows of the fore-tower into the inner rooms of the palace, and the people have returned to their own homes. As they sit around their hearths and rehearse to their families and friends what they have that day witnessed, other and sterner emotions are kindled in their souls than that of pity for

the cruel death of so good a man. From many a hearth and from many a closet there rises that night an avenging cry in the ears of heaven—"How long, O Lord, holy, just, and true, dost thou not judge and avenge the blood of thy saints on them by whom it is shed in this land?"

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH OF THE CRAFTY CARDINAL—HENRY BALNAVES—JOHN KNOX—ADAM WALLACE—THE PATERNOSTER CONTROVERSY—DEATH OF SIR DAVID LINDSAY, AND THE INFLUENCE HIS POETRY HAD IN PROMOTING THE REFORMATION—TRAGEDY OF ST GILES' PROCESSION—THE COVENANT—THE LAST MARTYR TO POPERY IN SCOTLAND.

(1546-1558.)

"FROM the day," says Knox, in which George Wishart, that innocent lamb, was slaughtered, not only might not the people withhold from piteous mourning, but men of rank, at open tables, avowed that the blood of Mr George should be avenged, or else they should lose life for life. Among those who spoke on this wise were John Lesly, a brother of the Earl of Rothes, his nephew, Norman Lesly, and Kirkaldy of Grange. Tidings of those threats, and of the angry spirit which the death of Wishart

had raised in the breasts of the people, were brought to the Cardinal, but in the pride of his heart he laughed them to scorn. "Tush," said he, "I care not for the feud or favour of all the heretics in Scotland! Is not my lord governor mine?—witness his eldest son, pledge at my table. Have not I the Queen at my service? Is not France my friend? and what danger have I to fear?" Soon after his return from Angus, whether he had gone to be present at the marriage of a daughter to the Master of Crawford, as if secretly afraid of the danger he professed to despise, he resolved to fortify his palace of St Andrews, that chief seat of his guilty pleasure, and of his almost regal splendour. It is remarkable that the means he thus took to increase his security led to his destruction. On the night of Friday the 28th of May 1546, Norman Lesly, his uncle, and Kirkaldy of Grange, entered the town of St Andrews. That night they conspired the death of Beaton. Next morning early the conspirators, who consisted of about twenty in number, assembled in small parties in the neighbourhood of the castle, and there waited to see how things might best favour their purpose. Observing the porter lowering the drawbridge, to admit the masons who were employed on the new erections, Norman Lesly, and three men with him, seized the

opportunity of entering with them. While they held the porter in conversation, Kirkaldy of Grange, Melville of Carnbee, and several others, entered unnoticed. John Lesly now attempted to enter. When the porter saw him, suspecting evil, he sprang to the drawbridge, and attempted to raise it; but ere he could effect this, John Lesly made good his entrance with the rest. The porter was slain, and the keys of the castle were taken from him. The workmen on the walls seeing this, being unarmed, made no resistance, but permitted themselves to be led without the gates, which were shut upon them. The Cardinal's servants were led out one by one, and dismissed in like manner; and thus in a few minutes, and without a struggle, Norman Lesly and his followers became masters of the castle. While all this was taking place, the Cardinal was asleep. Wakened at length by the shouts, and rushing to the window, which he threw up, he asked "what the unusual noise and disturbance meant?" He was answered by a voice from without, "that Norman Lesly had taken his castle." The unhappy man, thinking to escape, rushed to a private gate, but seeing it already guarded, he returned to his apartment, and seizing a two-handed sword, with the assistance of his page, barricaded the door. John Lesly coming up, demanded admittance. The Car-

dinal asked, "Who is it that calls?" "My name," he replied, "is Lesly." "Is it Norman?" enquired the Cardinal. "Nay," said the other, "my name is John." The Cardinal said, "I must have Norman; he is my friend." "You must," said the conspirator, "be content with such as are here, for you shall have none other." The Cardinal now called out, "Will ye save my life?" "It may be," said Lesly, "that we will." "Nay," replied the Cardinal, "swear to me in the name of God that you will, and I shall open the door." John Lesly made no answer, but called out for fire to burn the door, which he and those who were with him were about to apply to it, when, perhaps dreading to be burned to death, the despairing prelate unlocked it from within. The conspirators entering, rushed upon him with their daggers, and, while he kept crying out, "I am a priest, I am a priest; ye will not kill me"—stabbed him repeatedly. Melville perceiving that John Lesly and Carmichael were in a passion, stayed them, saying, "This work and judgment of God, though secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity;" and presenting the point of his sword to the bleeding Cardinal, said, "Repent of your wicked life, but especially of the death of Mr George Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood we are now sent by God. And here

I protest before God, that neither the hatred of your person, the love of your riches, nor the fear of any trouble that you might have done to me, hath moved me to deal this stroke, but because you have been, and remain, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his holy gospel." When he had said this, he struck him twice or thrice through the body with his sword. And with these words in his mouth, "I am a priest, I am a priest—fie, fie—all is gone,"—the wretched Cardinal sank from his seat, and died.

By this time the town had been alarmed. The common bell was rung, and the citizens, with the Provost, came to the gate, crying out, "What have ye done with the Lord Cardinal? We must speak with the Lord Cardinal. Let us see the Lord Cardinal." They who were within answered them from the battlements, that it would be well for them to return to their own houses—that the man whom they called the Lord Cardinal had received his reward, and would not trouble the world any longer." Still, however, they refused to depart, and insisted that they might see him. "If then," said Norman Lesly, "ye must see him, ye shall see him." Thus saying, he dragged the dead body to the spot, and, all ghastly and bloody as it was, suspended it in their sight from the wall. "There" said he, "there is your god; and now

that ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses"—a command which the people instantly obeyed. "Thus," says a historian, "the dead body of the Cardinal really came to lie with open shame upon the very battlements of his own castle, as Wishart had foretold, and where he had sat in triumph to behold the execution of that righteous man." "In this way," says an old writer, "was this proud cardinal slain in his castle at St Andrews, and so ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travail for all his pretences, and sudden death." That the Cardinal was a bad man, and had done many things worthy of death, all must admit, but whether it was right for Norman Lesly and his friends, who were only private persons, to take upon them to put to death a great public criminal, may well be doubted. Be this as it may, "Beaton," in the words of the younger M'Crie, "died unlamented, as he had lived undesired, and the general feeling as to the manner of his death was expressed by Sir David Lindsay, the Scottish poet, in the following lines:—

' As for the Cardinal, I grant
He was the man we weel could want,
And we'll forget him soon;
And yet I think, the sooth to say,
Although the loon was weel away,
The deed was foully done.'

HENRY BALNAVES.

For their own safety, the conspirators found it necessary to keep possession of the Castle, which they had so strangely won. Being joined by nearly one hundred of their friends, they held out against the whole power of the kingdom for nearly two years. Among the refugees in the castle were Sir David Lindsay, and Henry Balnaves of Halhill. This Henry was the son of poor parents in Kirkaldy, and, when only a boy, travelled to the Continent, and hearing of a free school in Cologne, he gained admission to it, where he not only received a liberal education, but was instructed in the Protestant doctrines. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, in which profession he rose to such eminence that the poor scholar of Cologne obtained a seat in Parliament, became one of the Lords of Session, and eventually Secretary of State. On the accession of Beaton to power, Balnaves was deprived of office, and, on the death of the Cardinal, so obnoxious was he to the clergy for his attachment to the cause of the Reformation, he was obliged to escape within the walls of the Castle to preserve his life.

JOHN KNOX.

About a year afterwards, the Castle of St Andrews received a more remarkable man than any even of these. This was JOHN KNOX. Soon after his joining them, the Reformers, perceiving his singular piety and gifts, requested him to preach in public, and to become colleague to John Rough. But Knox, having a deep sense of the sacredness and responsibility of the ministerial office, and being withal a very humble man, and not thinking himself qualified for so great a work, would not comply with their request. They, however, grieving to think that so great a light should be hid under a bushel, persisted in their purpose, and, having consulted together, resolved that they would, by the mouth of their preacher, give him a public call to become one of their ministers. And so, upon a certain day, having delivered a sermon on the election of ministers and the power of a Christian congregation to call any one of their number in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office, and how dangerous it was for such a person to reject the call of those who desired instruction, John Rough, turning to Knox, addressed him in the following words:—“Brother, you must not be offended though I deliver to you that which I have in charge from all

who are here assembled, which is this—in the name of God and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the name of this congregation calling you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you regard the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Then, addressing himself to the congregation, he said—"Was not this your charge unto me, and do you not approve this vocation?" They said—"It was, and we approve it." At this solemn and unexpected appeal, Knox was agitated and distressed. He rose from his seat and attempted to reply, but his feelings overpowered him. He burst into tears, and, rushing out of the assembly, he shut himself up in his chamber, in which he remained in great heaviness and trouble of heart for many days. Satisfied, at length, that the call he had received was of God, he declared his willingness to close with it. From this time he had the appearance of a man who had indeed a great work to perform, who had in soul, body, and spirit consecrated himself to the Lord, and who, in the words of his biographer, "had

resolved with the Apostle not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Knox, at the time of his entering on the work of casting down the Papacy in Scotland, was in the prime and vigour of his days, being in the forty-first year of his age. His first sermon was delivered in the parish church, in the presence of John Major, his old preceptor, and other members of the University, the sub-prior of the Abbey, a great number of canons and friars, and a large assembly of the citizens. It was the first blast of the trumpet calling to battle. Such was the boldness with which he attacked the Romish Church, declaring it to be Babylon and doomed to perdition, and such was the eloquence with which he spoke, that his hearers were raised to the highest pitch of excitement. Some said—"Others had hewed the branches of the Papistry, but he struck at the root to destroy the whole." Others said—"Mr George Wishart had not spoken so plainly, and yet he was burnt, and so would Knox be in the end." To those who spoke in this wise, the Laird of Niddrie, "a man," says Knox, "fervent and upright in religion," gave this answer—"The tyranny of the Cardinal made not his cause the better, nor the sufferings of God's servants his cause the worse, and

therefore we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, otherwise ye may be disappointed, now that men have other eyes than they had then."

Soon after this, Knox had a public disputation with one Arbuckle, a grey friar, who undertook to defend the Church, a task for which it turned out he was not over well qualified. Being asked a proof for the existence of a purgatory, he had none better than a quotation from Virgil. As for the pain of that imaginary region, this learned clerk likened it to the affliction of having "ane evil wife." From this time the Papists had no great heart for public disputations, but to put down the Reformers had recourse to other shifts, in which they were more successful. On the last day of June 1547, a French squadron, which had been long expected, consisting of twenty-one armed galleys, appeared in the Firth, and in a short time landed their ordnance, erected batteries, and began the bombardment of the Castle. The siege, which was conducted by Leo Strozzi, a knight of Rhodes, was carried on with such skill and vigour, it soon became manifest that the place must be taken. To add to the distress of the besieged, while the cannon dealt destruction on them from without, a deadly plague was preying on them within. After holding out a month, they surrendered,

on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be landed safely in France. They were then conducted as prisoners on board the galleys. The Castle was plundered, and its defences levelled with the ground. Enriched with spoil, plate, vestments, and jewels, amounting in value to a hundred thousand pounds, and carrying the garrison with them, the squadron returned to France. Now was the joy of the Papists, both in Scotland and France, complete, for such a blow had the cause of the Reformation received, they concluded that in Scotland again it would never lift up its head. At this exultation of the Papists, the common people made a song, the burden of which was—

“Priests content ye now,
And priests content ye now,
For Norman and his company
Have filled the galleys fou.”

When the squadron arrived at Rouen, in France, where they cast anchor, the garrison expected, according to the terms on which they had capitulated, to be set at liberty. But those conditions were violated, and they were detained prisoners of war. Some of them were imprisoned at Rouen, some at Brest. Knox and several others were kept on board the galleys, where they were chained and

treated as common galley-slaves. During their captivity, Knox and his companions endured many severe trials. Of these trials one not the least painful was the attempts that were constantly made to induce them to recant and embrace the Popish religion. This trial they bravely endured, nor did the fear of death or the hope of liberty prevail with one of them, to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. "On one day," says a modern writer, who has drawn the character of Knox with singular ability, "an officer or priest presented them an image of the Virgin Mary, requiring that they should do it reverence as the Mother of God. 'Mother—Mother of God?' said Knox, 'this is no Mother of God, this is a *pented brodd*. She is fitter I think for swimming than for being worshipped.' So he threw it into the river, adding, 'Let her swim, she is light enough.' It was not very cheap jesting there, but come of it what might, this thing to Knox was a *pented brodd* and nothing more, and worship it he would not." To add to the sufferings of Knox, he was seized with a fever which brought him to the gates of death. Yet even then his fortitude never failed him.

He exhorted his fellow prisoners to be of good courage, and held out hopes constantly to them of release. To their anxious enquiries, "if he thought

they would ever obtain their liberty," the uniform answer of this remarkable man was—"God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life." Nor does he seem to have been supported by the expectations merely of his deliverance, but to have been favoured with a kind of foresight of his high destination as the reformer of a kingdom. In the summer of 1548, when the fleet was cruising off the east of Scotland, as they were one day becalmed in the Firth nearly opposite St Andrews, Sir James Balfour, one of his fellow prisoners, came to him where, overcome with toil and sickness, he lay on the deck, and asked him to look up and see whether he knew the spires and turrets before them. "Yes," said the iron-bound captive, "I know them well: I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall again glorify him in the same place."

ADAM WALLACE.

Leaving Knox and his companions in captivity, we return to the course of events in Scotland. What had there been left undone by the sword, the priests resolved should be compelled by the fire. Persecution

was once more let loose upon the devoted reformers. Its first victim was Adam Wallace. This Adam lived at Winton in East Lothian. Having with his wife, Beatrice Livingstone, been much with Lady Ormiston, and having taught her and her children the reformed doctrines, he had made himself obnoxious to the Romish clergy, by whom he was cited to appear at a diet held at Edinburgh. On his appearance he was accused of denying purgatory, and the invocation of saints—of having called the mass idolatrous, and of denying transubstantiation. Though a man of little learning and of humble rank, he conducted his defence with great boldness and ability. This, however, only served to enrage his judges who had beforehand resolved to take away his life. When he had ended his defence, they cried out, “Heresy, heresy, let him be condemned.” So without further ceremony, he was declared to be an obstinate heretic, and adjudged to the flames. Sentence being pronounced, he was led back to prison for the night, which was already coming on. All that night was spent by him in prayer, and in singing of psalms, which in former days he had committed to memory, of which pious diligence he now reaped the benefit; these being to him songs in the night. Next day he was led out to the place of execution on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh. On com-

ing to the stake, he asked the officers that stood by "Is your fire making ready?" On being told that it was, he answered, "As it pleaseth God I am ready, soon or late, as it shall please Him." As he stood at the stake some of the bystanders cried out, "God have mercy upon him." Looking to them he said, "And on you too—let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake, for the disciple is not above his master." Here the Provost interfered, and commanded that he should speak to no man, and that no man should speak to him. He then looked up to heaven and said, "They will not let me speak." He was then bound to the stake; the fire was kindled, which, after enduring with great constancy, he departed to God.

THE PATERNOSTER CONTROVERSY.

In 1554 the following ludicrous dispute took place in the bosom of the Church about the Paternoster. Richard Marshall, a doctor of divinity, and prior of the black friars in Newcastle, one day preaching at St Andrews, taught that the Lord's prayer, commonly called the Paternoster, should be said to God only, and not to the saints, angels, or any other creature. When the grey friars heard this, they employed a brother to teach the people

the contrary doctrine, viz., that the Paternoster should be said to saints and angels as well as to God. "If," said friar Soittis, for such was the grey brother's name, "we meet an old man in the streets, we say to him, 'Good day, father.' And, therefore, much more may we call the saints 'Our fathers.' And because it is granted that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, 'Our father which art in heaven.' They are holy, therefore ought we to hold their names holy, and may say to any one of them, 'Hallowed be thy name.' And for the same cause as they are in the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them and every one of them, 'Thy kingdom come.' And seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, 'Thy will be done.' " Thus far well. But when he came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, "He began," says Calderwood, "to be confounded and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, and partly because he spoke against his own knowledge and conscience, and so was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, "but," said he, "they may pray for us, and thus we may obtain it through their intercession." The other petitions he glossed in the same manner, but neither much to his own satisfaction nor that of his hearers,

who, when he came out of the church, followed him crying, "Friar Paternoster! Friar Paternoster!" to avoid which he was compelled to leave the town of St Andrews.

Whatever the people might think of the point in dispute, the priests found it one of great difficulty. Not only was the University divided on the question, but the whole Church, so that it came to be a proverb, "To whom say you your Paternoster?" The following lines in ridicule of this ludicrous controversy, were found one morning written on the door of the Abbey Church :—

"Doctors of theology of four score years,
And old jolly lupoys, the bald grey friars;
They would be called rabbi, and magister noster,
And wot not to whom to say their Pater Noster."

SIR DAVID LINDSAY, AND THE INFLUENCE HIS POETRY HAD IN
PROMOTING THE REFORMATION.

(1557.)

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, one of the earliest of our Scottish poets, and styled by some "our earliest Scottish Reformer," was born in 1490. In 1505, the year of John Knox's birth, he was sent to the University of St Andrews. His death took place in 1557, having lived to see the Reformation,

which he was among the first to begin, and which he did so much to advance, nearly completed. It is worthy of being remarked, that nearly all the great poets who lived about the time of the Reformation ranged themselves on its side. This Dante and Petrarch did in Italy, Chaucer in England, and Dunbar and Lindsay in Scotland. William Dunbar, one of the greatest poets, perhaps the very greatest, that Scotland has produced, was born in 1465, and died about 1530. He was educated for the church, and seems to have been a travelling novitiate of the order of St Francis. What he thought of this holy order, we learn from one of his poems, entitled, "*How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Friar*," which in modern English may be thus paraphrased. "Before the dawn of day, methought St Francis appeared to me, with a religious habit in his hand, and said, Go, my servant, cloath thee in these vestments, and renounce the world. But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost. And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed? St Francis, reverence attend thee, said I, for the good-will which thou hast manifested towards me; but with regard to those garments of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, take it not in evil part. If thou wouldest

guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of England, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friar's weed I have ascended the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury; in it have I also crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from whose guilt no holy water could cleanse me."

The following verses are from his "Satyre of all Estates."

Sic pryd, with prelats, so feu till preich and pray,
Sic haunt of harlots with thame, baith nicht and day,
That suld haif ay their God afore their ene,
So nice array, so strange to their abbay,
Within this land was nevir heard nor sene.

So mony prelistis cled up in secular weid,
With blasing breistis casting their claiths on breid—
It is no need to tell of whom I mene,
To whom the Psalm and Testament to reid,
Within this land was nevir heard nor sene.

How Sir David Lindsay exposed the errors of Popery, and how he contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, and with what effect, the fol-

lowing extracts from his writings may serve in some measure to shew.

HIS PRAYER TO THE KING TO REFORM THE CLERGY.

Sa thare is nocht I understand
 Without gude ordour in this land,
 Except the spiritualitie,
 Pray and thy Grace thareto have ee,
 Cause them mak ministration
 Conforme to thair vocation,
 To preich with unfeignit intentis,
 And truly use the sacramentis
 After Christis institutionis,
 Leving their vain traditionis,
 Whilk does the silly sheep illude,
 For whom Christ Jesus shed his blude.
 As superstitionis, pilgrimagis,
 Prayand to graven imagis,
 Express aganis the Lord's command
 I give your Grace to understand. *

HOW THE TRUTH WAS REJECTED BY THE PRIESTS.

PRIEST.

———We fain would understand
 What errand ye haif in this region?
 To preich or teich, wha gaif to you command?
 What buik is that, harlot, into thy hand?

* From the "Complaynt," published in 1529.

Out walloway ! this is the New Testament
 In English tounge, and printit in England.
 Herisie ! herisie ! fire ! fire ! incontinent !

TRUTH.

Forsooth, my friend, ye haif ane wrang judgment,
 For in this buik there is nae herisie,
 But our Christis word, baith dulce and redolent—
 Ane springing well of sinceir veritie.

PRIEST.

Cum on your way—for all your yellow lockis,
 Your wanton words, but doubt ye sall repent ;
 This nicht ye sall forfair ane pair of stockis,
 And syne the morne be brought to thole judgment.

TRUTH.

For our Christis saik, I am richt weil content,
 To suffer all things that sall please his Grace ;
 Howbeit ye put ane thousand till torment,
 Ten hundred thousand sall rise intill their place.*

THE PARDONER'S COMPLAINT OF THE BIBLE.

Dool fell the brain that hes it wrocht,
 So fell thame that the buke hame brocht,
 Als I pray to the rude
 That Martin Luther, that fals loun,
 Black Bulinger, and Melanethoun,
 Had been smored in their cude.
 Be him that bure the croun of thorne,
 I wald St Paul had never been borne ;
 And als I wald his bukis

* The " Three Estates," written in 1535

War never red in the kirk,
But amongis freiris in the mirk,
Or riven among rooks.*

BISHOPS SHOULD PREACH.

Ane bischop's office is for to be ane preichour,
And of the law of God ane teichour,
Richt sa, the parson unto his parochoun,
Of the Evangell suld leir thame ane lessoun.
There suld na man desyre sic dignities,
Without he be abill for that office.

BISHOP.

Friend, whar find ye that we suld preichours be?

COUNSELL.

Look what Sanct Paul wrytis unto Timothie,
Tak thare the buke—let see gif ye can spell.

BISHOP.

I never red that, thairfore reid it yoursell.
Na, sir, by him that our Lord Jesus sauld,
I red never the New Testament nor Auld,
Nor evir thinkis to do, sir, be the rude
I heir freiris say that reiding does na gude.

MERCHAND.

——How can ye be excusit,
To haif ane office, and wats not how to usit.
Wharefore war gifin you all the temporal lands,
And all thir teinds, ye haif among your hands,

* The "Three Estates."

Thay war given you for uther causes I wein,
 Than mummil matins and hald your clayis clein.
 Ye say till the apostils that ye succeed,
 But ye shaw nocht that in word nor deid.
 The silly souls that be Christis sheep,
 Suld nocht be given to gormand wolves to keep-
 Thay will correct, and will nocht be correctit,
 Thinkand to na prince they will be subjectit.
 Wherefor I can find no better remeid,
 But that the kingis man tak it in their heid
 That thair be given to na man bishopries,
 Except they preach out through their diosies,
 And ilk parson preach in his parochoun,
 And this I say for finall conclusion.
 Alace! alace! what gars thir temporal kings,
 Intill the kirk of Christ admit sic doings.
 My lordis, for love of Christis passion,
 Of thir ignorants, mak deprivation,
 Who in the court can do but flatter and fleich,
 And put into thir places that can preich,
 Send forth and seek sum devout cunning clarkis,
 That can stir up the pepill to gude warkis.*

THE CONFESSIONAL.

He schew me nocht of Goddis word,
 Whilk sharper is than ony sword,
 And deep into our heart dois prent,
 Our sin quharethrow we do repent—
 He put me na thing into feir,
 Quharethrow my sin I suld forbeir,

* The "Three Estates."

He schew me nocht—the maledictioun,
 Of God for sin, nor the afflictioun,
 Nor schew he me of hellis pane,
 That I micht feir and vice refrane,
 He counceilit me nocht till abstene,
 And leid ane haly lyfe and clene,
 Of Christis blude na thing he knew,
 Nor of his promises full trew,
 That safs all that will beleive,
 That Sathan sall us never greve.
 He taught me nothing, for till traist,
 The comfort of the Holy Ghaist.
 He bad me nocht to Christ be kind,
 To keep his law with heart and mind;
 And luve and thank his great mercie,
 Frae sin and hell that savit me,
 And luve my neighbour as mysell.
 Of this, na thing he could me tell,
 But gave me penance ilk ane day,
 An Ave Marie for to say.

HIS PLEA FOR THE WORD OF GOD TO BE TRANSLATED AND
 TAUGHT IN THE VULGAR TONGUE.

Sanct Jerome in his proper tounge—Romane,
 The law of God he treuly did translait
 Out of Hebrew and Greik, in Latyne plane,
 Whilk hes been hid from us, long time, God wait,
 Untill this tyme, but after my consait
 Had St Jerome been born intill Argyle
 Into Irische tounge his bukis had been compyle.

Prudent Sanct Paul doth mak narratioun
 Touching the divers touns of every land,

Saying there be mair edificatioun
 In fyve words that folk do understand,
 Than to pronounce of words fyve thousand
 In strange language and wit not what it menis.
 I think sic pattering is not worth twa prenis.

Unlernit pepill on the haly day
 Solemnly they heir the Evangel sung,
 Nocht knowing what the preist does sing or say,
 But as ane hell, when that they heir it rung,
 Yet would the priestis into their mother tung
 Pass to the pulpit, and that doctrine declare
 To folk unlernit, it were mair necessare.

The prophet David, king of Israel,
 Compyled the plesand psalms of the Psaltair,
 In his awn proper toung, as I heir tell;
 And Solomon, who was his son and heir,
 Did mak his hukis intill his toung vulgair.
 Why suld not their sayings be till us schawin
 In our language—I would the cause were knawin.

Let doctors write their curious questionis
 And arguments, sa full of sophistrie,
 Their logick and their heich opinionis,
 Their dark judgments of astronomie,
 Their medicine, and their philosophie,
 Let poets schaw their glorious ingyne
 As ever they pleis, in Greek and Latyne.

But let us have the huikis necessare
 To common weil and our salvatioun
 Justly translait in our toung vulgare.
 And sa I mak the supplicatioun,
 O, gentle reider, haif na indignation,

Thinkand I meddle with sa hie matair,
Now to my purpose forward will I fair.*

That Sir David Lindsay knew the truth savingly for which, in these rough and genuine strains of poetry he contended, from the character of his writings generally may be doubted. Be that as it may, he did much to promote the Reformation, for which his country owes him a debt. What his contemporaries thought of him and his labours, may be learned from an old painting, in which he is drawn "with a hammer of steel in his hand, breaking asunder the cross keys of Rome, forged by Anti-christ."

HOW ANDREW SIMSON, A SCHOOLMASTER IN PERTH, WAS CONVERTED FROM POPERY, BY READING SIR DAVID LINDSAY'S POEM OF THE FOUR MONARCHIES.

As for the more particular means, says Row, whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's truth in the time of great darkness, there were some books set out, such as Sir David Lindsay, his posie upon the Four Monarchies, opening up the abuses among

* From the "Monarchie," written in 1553, seven yers before the Reformation was completed in Scotland.

the clergy at that time, and Wedderburn's Psalms and Godly Ballads. Sir David Lindsay, his satyre, was acted in the amphitheatre of St Johnstoun before King James the V., and a great part of the nobility and gentry from morn till even, which made the people sensible of the darkness wherein they lay, of the wickedness of their kirkmen, and did let them see how God's kirk should have been otherwise guided than it was, all which did much good for that time. As an example, that book of Sir David Lindsay's being printed came to sundry men's hands. A craftsman in St Johnstoun reading it, taught his children the matter therein contained, and they taught their schoolfellows, whereby it came to pass that a friar teaching in that kirk on a Sabbath day, and beginning in the end of his sermon to relate some miracles, the scholars, to the number of three hundred and above, gave out such an hissing and crying that the friar in great fear ran out of the pulpit and went away. The master of the school, Mr Andrew Simson, was ordered by the magistrates to find out the authors of the hissing that they might be punished. The master being at that time a zealous Papist, used all diligence, and found that one of the scholars had that book penned by Sir David Lindsay, which was enough to have condemned him, but the youth being of a quick spirit, said to the

master when he was about to punish him, "that the book was not heretical, which he would let him see, and that if after he had read it he found it to be so, he should be content to be punished at his pleasure." This made the master desirous to read the book, and he, by the reading of it, was persuaded that all it contained was true, which made him declare to the friars, that if they would leave off their invectives against the new preachers, the boys would be quiet enough. The friar who preached next day said, "I will speak nothing against these new preachers, but I will speak against ourselves. If we had done our duty, and made you God's people to know God's truth, these new teachers had not done as they do ; for what shall poor sillie sheep do that are in a fold where there is no meat, but break the dyke and seek for meat where they can find it, so we cannot find fault with you that are God's people to run and hear God's word taught you wherever ye may get it ;" which speeches made the people glad, and confirmed the master of the school, and all those who had any knowledge of the truth greatly.* The following is a specimen of the "Gude Godly Ballets of the Wedburn's," to which Row refers.

* Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland.

THE NIGHT IS NERE GONE.

Hey now the day dallis,
 Now Christ on us callis,
 Now welth on our wallis
 Appearis anone.
 Now the word of God rings,
 Whilk is King of kings,
 Now Christis flock sings
 The night is nere gone.

Woe be to you Paip and Cardinal,
 I trust to you God, ye shall get ane fall,
 With monkis, priestis, and friars all,
 That trust not in God alone.
 For all your great pomp and pride,
 The Word of God ye sall not hide,
 Nor yet nae mair till us be guide,
 The night is nere gone !

THE TRAGEDY OF ST GILES'S PROCESSION.

As a proof of the light that was breaking in on the nation, the images of the saints that were formerly held in the greatest veneration, began now to be mocked and despised. In Edinburgh, an image of St Giles, the patron saint of the town, was thrown into the North Loch and then burned. Imputing this outrage to the preachers, the Queen Regent, at the instance of the bishops, summoned them to appear in Edinburgh, and answer for their conduct. "The preachers," says Knox, "neither offended nor

afraid, prepared to obey the summons, and were on their way to the capital, attended by a great number of gentlemen, chiefly from the west country, when the prelates and priests seeing this, and judging how unsafe it would be to proceed against them in the presence of so many friends and followers, procured a proclamation to be made, that all persons about to enter the town, without the Queen's commandment, should repair for fifteen days to the Borders." This injunction the friends of the preachers refused to obey. They entered the town, and proceeding to the palace, sought and obtained an audience. To the remonstrances of the Queen Regent, Chalmers of Gadgirth, a zealous and a bold man, in the name of the rest, said—"Madam, we know that this is the device of the bishops, and of that man in particular, the bishop of St Andrews, who stands beside you. We avow to God it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves, they trouble our ministers and seek to undo them and us all. Shall we suffer this any longer? No madam, we will not." When he had said this he looked around to his companions, who, as if to justify his words, put on their steel caps, and laid their hands on their swords. The Regent saw how impolitic it would be to proceed to extremity with men in this temper—she dismissed them with

fair words, and declared that the proceedings against the preachers should be suspended.

It so happened that St Giles's day was now at hand. The bishops, profiting nothing by what had lately fallen out, resolved to keep it with unusual splendour, and gave charge to the Town Council either to recover the old image of the saint, or to make a new one at the public expense. The Council answered "that it appeared to them the charge was very unjust, for they understood that God had commanded idols and images to be destroyed, but where he had commanded them to be set up they had not read." How the council and the bishops settled this matter we know not, but St Giles's day came, and preparations for keeping it were duly made. An image borrowed for the occasion from grey friars was fixed on a wooden barrow, and certain individuals were employed to carry it on their shoulders through the streets. The cavalcade, consisting of priests, friars, and canons, and a great concourse of the laity, with the Queen Regent at their head, was formed, and with tabors, trumpets, and bagpipes, and displayed banners, proceeded through the city. The Protestants, as you may easily believe, were not well-pleased with the spectacle. They gathered together in groups, and asked one another if such things were to be endured, and

parting without having come to any definite resolution, they came up to where the idolatrous procession was dragging itself along. By this time the Queen Dowager had retired. This was so far favourable to the Protestants, some of whom, under pretence of assisting the bearers, caught hold of the barrow, others cried out, "Down with the idol—down with it," and almost instantly it was brought to the ground. The barrow was broken in pieces, and one of the crowd taking hold of the image by the heels, and dashing it against the causeway, Dagon was left without head or hands. "Now," says Knox, "when they saw this priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkey-cleuch, off went the crosses, off went with the surplices, round caps and cornets with the crowns. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist within this realm before." "It chanced," continues Knox, "that while this was going on, there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman, who seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he might add to the merriment of the occasion, so he called out "Fie upon you—why have you broken order—cowards! why do ye fly in this manner? Turn and strike every man for the honour of his

God.' But such exhortations were then unprofitable. Bel had been broken in pieces, and there was small comfort for his routed army." Thus ended the tragedy of St Giles's procession, in which it was well that, saving what befel the idol, there was more of dread than danger.

THE COVENANT.

(1557.)

The Reformers were satisfied that these were things which their enemies would never forgive, and which they would soon seek in some fearful way to revenge. This led them to think of new and more active measures for their defence. For this purpose they drew up and subscribed a common bond, in which they declared that to overturn the superstition, idolatry, and tyranny of the Papal Church, and to set forth and establish the true faith, they would use all diligence, and apply their whole power, substance, and their very lives, which, for the attainment of these great ends, they would regard as nothing; and, in fine, that henceforth all should stand for each, and each for all, and that as brethren they would hold together in difficulty and in death. This bond was called the COVENANT, and for the first time we meet this "world renowned" word in Scottish history.

From this time the Reformers were called the Congregation. Thus they, who had only lately been re-organized as a party, presented now the appearance of a force. The number of those who signed the bond at first, it is true, was not great, but it continued daily to increase, and to so great a degree, that the Congregation in a short time included nearly half the kingdom. At these things fear and terror seized the whole body of the Romish clergy. They called upon the Queen Regent to put down the Congregation as an illegal society, and to bring its leaders to trial for treason. Finding that the queen was afraid to proceed to such extremities, the archbishop of St Andrews resolved to carry into effect the laws in the statute-book against heresy, and to array once more against the enemies of the church the terrors of fire and faggot.

WALTER MILL, THE LAST MARTYR TO POPEY IN SCOTLAND.

At this juncture Walter Mill, who had been condemned for heresy in the days of the crafty Cardinal, fell into his hands. This Walter Mill was now an old man and well stricken in years. When brought before the court, he appeared so old, feeble, and worn out with age, it was not expected that he would be able to say much in his defence; but no sooner had

the old man began to speak than his accusers were convinced of their mistake. "Thou sayest," said Sir Andrew Oliphant, who conducted the trial, "that there are *not* seven sacraments." "Give me," replied Mill, "Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and take you all the rest." "Thou deniest that in the mass there is an actual sacrifice?" "Christ was once offered on the cross for sin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all sacrifice." "You preach privately in houses and sometimes in the field?" "Yes," said Mill, "and on the sea also when sailing in a ship." "If you will not recant," said Oliphant, "I must pronounce sentence against you." To this the fearless old man answered, "I know I must die once; and, therefore, what Christ said to Judas say I to thee, 'What thou doest do quickly.' I will not recant the truth. I am corn and not chaff. I will neither be blown away by the wind nor burst by the flail, but will abide both." Oliphant then pronounced him guilty, and delivered him over to the temporal power to be adjudged to death; but such was the pity felt for his grey hairs, and so deeply moved were all who heard him by his courageous defence, that no secular judge could be found willing to stain his soul with the guilt of passing sentence. At last the odious task was performed by one of the archbishop's own servants, a man

of desperate character, and the venerable martyr was led to the stake amid the tears and lamentations of the spectators. As he drew near the place of execution his courage and joy increased. Mounting the steps that led to the stake he said, "I will go unto the altar of God." Many were the brave words that he now uttered—words that his country and church will not willingly let die. Among others, he said, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who so cruelly pursue the servants of God. As for myself, I am fourscore and two years old, and could not live long by the course of nature, but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones ; and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." His predictions were realized. His blood quenched the fires of Popish persecution ; and of the noble army of martyrs that Popery sent to the stake in Scotland, Walter Mill was the last.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW THE DEATH OF WALTER MILL AFFECTED THE PEOPLE—
THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION—POPISH LEAGUE—THE
TOWN OF PERTH MAKES CONFESSION OF THE REFORMED RE-
LIGION—ERSKINE OF DUN—ARRIVAL OF JOHN KNOX—GOOD
SERVICES OF THE EARL OF GLENCAIRN—THE TREATY VIO-
LATED—PREACHING OF KNOX AT ST ANDREWS—THE QUEEN
MARCHES TO ST ANDREWS—PALACE AND ABBEY OF SCONE
DESTROYED.

1588—1589.

HOW THE DEATH OF WALTER MILL AFFECTED THE PEOPLE.

It is impossible to describe the feelings of rage and sorrow which the martyrdom of Walter Mill awakened throughout the country. As it was supposed to have been the deed, not so much of the Regent as of the clergy, the indignation of the people was chiefly directed against them. "How long," said they, as they met in the streets of the towns and in their places of public resort in the landward parts of the country, "How long are these things to be? The priests have deceived us. The Word of God, which would have made us and our fathers wise unto salvation, they have forbidden us to read. Instead of God's truth, they have been teaching us and our children idle tales, and lying fables. The shepherds should feed the flock, but they have fed themselves. They have eaten the fat, and clothed them-

selves with the wool. And little wonder; for they are not Christ's shepherds, as our fathers and we ourselves not long ago believed, but the hirelings of Antichrist; and when God has raised up for us at last pastors according to his own heart, lo, these cruel priests put them to death. Are these things to be endured for ever? Shall we stand by and look on in silence, while the servants of God are thus cruelly slain? What are we good for if we do? Nay, we will not endure it." Thus spoke they among themselves, and thus were they prepared on the first occasion to adopt the course, and join the ranks of the Congregation.

THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

Meantime the Lords of the Congregation were not idle. They employed persons of prudence and courage to go through the kingdom, carrying with them copies of the bond or covenant, and exhorting their countrymen to subscribe, which in all places they were forward to do. They presented a remonstrance to the Regent, in which they claimed redress at her hands of the tyranny and oppression used against them by those called the "estate ecclesiastical." "Your Grace," said they, "cannot be ignorant how the clergy, as they will be termed,

usurp to themselves such dominion over the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid avoided, without respect to God's Word, and that whosoever will not submit to this dominion, for them there abideth^g nothing but faggot, fire, and sword, by which many of our brethren within this realm, of late years, most cruelly have perished." They then proceeded to say, "that although at the time they had neither defended these brethren from their cruel murderers, nor made common cause with them in the confession of their faith, it was their duty to have done so, and so would they act in all time to come." To this remonstrance they appended certain requests, which, says a historian, "if granted, involved a complete reformation;" and when this paper was presented by Sir James Sandilands to the Regent, she was deeply offended with its contents; but the time not being yet come when she could dispense with the assistance of the Protestant Lords, she judged it best to conceal her displeasure, and said "she would consider it." With these and many fair words she dismissed the Lord of St John. Parliament meeting soon after, the Lords of the Congregation laid before it a singularly solemn and powerful memorial, which they termed a protestation. In this remarkable paper they protested, First

That, seeing they could not obtain a just reformation according to God's Word, it should be lawful for them to use themselves, in matters of religion, as they must answer to God. Secondly, That neither they, nor any other who might join with them in the true faith, should incur any danger in life or lands for not observing such acts as heretofore were passed in favour of their adversaries, or for neglecting such rites as men, without any authority from the Word of God, had assigned. Thirdly, That if any tumult should arise in the kingdom, on this head, and if abuses should be violently reformed, no fault should attach to them, who sought to have them reformed peaceably."

"It is obvious," says a historian, not remarkable for his leanings to the Reformers, "from the terms of this excellent paper, that the Congregation felt their own strength, and did not shut their eyes to those calamitous results in which a continuance of religious persecutions might involve the country. They were anxious for a quiet reform, but they saw the probability of resistance, and were prepared to meet it; nor were they to be terrified into a renunciation of their faith by the prospect of any sufferings which awaited themselves or their country. They had prepared themselves for the worst, and it was well that they had done so." What rea-

son the historian had for this opinion, will be seen from what follows.

A POPISH LEAGUE.

Mary, the daughter of James V., so famous afterwards for her beauty and her calamities, when a child, had been sent to France, where she had remained ever since. On her marriage with the Dauphin, it was the wish of her mother, the Queen Regent, that Parliament should confer on her son-in-law the title of King of Scotland. With this object she sought to reconcile the Protestant Lords, without whose consent her wishes could not have been gratified. No sooner had she gained this end, than her countenance and conduct towards the Reformers visibly changed; "and from that day forward," says Knox, "by both did she declare the rancour of her double and deceitful heart."

At this time, moreover, one of those wicked leagues which almost every age since the Reformation has witnessed, was formed at Rome for the destruction of the Protestants, and the re-establishment of Popery in Europe. The chief parties in that bloody league were the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the House of Guise, and the King of Spain. One of its main objects was to dethrone

Elizabeth, place the crown of England on the head of Mary, the young Queen of Scotland, and, under her, to unite the two kingdoms in the bond of what they were pleased to call the "the ancient Catholic faith." To complete the scheme, it was necessary that the Regent of Scotland should join the league, put the Lords of the Congregation to death, and crush the cause of the Reformation in this country. For this purpose, a French mission, headed by one De Bellancourt, was sent to Scotland. Whatever may have been the misgivings of Mary of Guise, as to the principle or the policy of the league, she joined it, and resigned herself to the direction of its leaders. In March 1559, an assembly of the heads of the Romish Church was summoned by royal authority. At its rising a proclamation was issued in the Queen's name, in which all classes of her subjects were commanded to conform to the established religion, to resort daily to mass, and to make confession to the priests." Several of the most distinguished preachers of the Congregation were at the same time summoned to defend themselves before Parliament, for the views they held and publicly taught. To the remonstrance of the Earl of Glencairn, and other Protestant lords, and to their entreaty, that the preachers might not be put on their defence, the Queen haughtily and passionately re-

piled, "That in spite of all they could do, their ministers should be banished Scotland, even if they preached as soundly as did St Paul himself." Though hurt at her irreverence, the lords did not forget the respect due to her high station, and contented themselves by calmly reminding her of the promises she had often and recently made of toleration to her Protestant subjects. This soft answer, instead of turning away her wrath, seemed only to increase it. "Princes," she replied, "ought not to be too carefully reminded of their promises, nor ought they to be asked to perform them, unless it suited their own convenience." This bad sentiment is one which princes are usually more ready to act upon than to avow. Its avowal on this occasion filled these honest Scottish lords with surprise and indignation, which they were not careful to conceal. "If then, madam," said they, "you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance to you, and it will be for your Grace to consider the calamities which such a state of things must bring on the country." At these words, and the calm but determined manner in which they were spoken, the Queen, it is said, appeared astonished. She spoke more mildly, and said she would give the matter her serious consideration. With this answer the lords departed.

THE TOWN OF PERTH MAKES PROFESSION OF THE REFORMED RELIGION.

Searcely had the lords left the Queen's presence, when she was told that the town of Perth had made profession of the reformed religion. Hereupon, in great rage, she sent to Lord Ruthven, Provost of Perth, commanding him to take instant measures to suppress it. His answer was, that he could bring the bodies of the citizens to her Grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her till she was fully satiate of their blood, but that over their consciences he had no power." At this answer the Queen was more displeased than ever, and said, "the Lord Ruthven was too malapert, to give her such an answer, but that both he and they should repent it." She sent also to Dundee, Montrose, and other towns which had embraced the true religion, commanding them to observe mass and other ceremonies of the Romish idolatry; and as if to shew her determination to proceed to the utmost extremities against all who refused to comply with her will, she summoned all the Protestant preachers in the kingdom to appear before Parliament at Stirling. The preachers, nothing daunted, resolved to obey the summons. Agreeably, moreover, to the terms of the Covenant, the chief men of the Congregation through-

out the kingdom resolved to appear at Stirling with them. Attended with the Lords of the Congregation and great numbers of lesser note from all parts of the country, but especially from Dundee and the shires of Angus and Mearns, the preachers arrived at Perth.

ERSKINE OF DUN SEEKS AN INTERVIEW WITH THE QUEEN.

Lest the approach of such a multitude should alarm the Queen Regent, and lest their object should be misunderstood, Erskine of Dun, a man distinguished for his attachment to the reformed doctrines, and for his prudence and love of peace, leaving his brethren, with their consent, at Perth, proceeded to Stirling and sought an interview with the Queen. This being granted, he assured her Majesty that the cause of their coming thither was openly to make confession of their faith with the preachers, and to assist them in their just defence—that, as a proof of their regard for the laws of their country, and of their peaceable intentions, they came without armour, but that they would on no account abandon their ministers, and should abide by them to the last extremity. Foresceing in these circumstances how dangerous it would be to proceed at present against the preachers, the Queen had recourse to her usual dissimulation. “Nothing,” she said,

“ was farther from her intention than to deal rigorously in the matter, and that if the people who had assembled at Perth would disperse, the diet against the preachers would be deserted.” Erskine wrote to his brethren, conveying to them the Queen’s promise, and entreating them to comply with her request. This they immediately and cheerfully did. In a few days Parliament met, but, notwithstanding the Queen’s promise to the contrary, the preachers were summoned to take their trial, were outlawed for not appearing, and all persons forbidden, under pain of high treason, to hear or harbour them. Indignant at this act of royal perfidy, and at having been made the instrument of deceiving his brethren, Erskine left Stirling, and, arriving at Perth, assembled his friends and told them how he had been deceived, and called upon them to prepare for the worst.

ARRIVAL OF JOHN KNOX.

Seven days before what is above related, on the 3d of May 1559, a small ship might have been seen making its way into Leith harbour. Except that it came from a foreign port, its arrival created no more stir than is usual on such occasions, yet that vessel bore on its deck the greatest Scotchman of his own, and, I may say, of all other times—a man of whom history

has to say much, and of whom, says a modern writer, "it will have something to say till time be no more." This man was John Knox. When it is considered how critical at this period was the state of the Reformation in Scotland, how Popes and principalities had combined to put it down, and how, though the Congregation had many true and brave men in its ranks, it had no one man to whom it could look as its commander and chief, it will be seen that Knox's coming at this moment was most providential. No sooner was it known that he had landed than the friends of the Reformation were filled with joy, and its enemies with fear. Making arrangements for the trial of the preachers, it appears that a provincial meeting of the clergy had been held for several days in the monastery of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh. On the morning after Knox had landed, they had assembled and had resumed their deliberations, when suddenly the doors were thrown open, and a grey friar, breathless and agitated, walking in exclaimed—"John Knox is come." Had a thunderbolt fallen in the midst of the Council they could not have been more panic-struck. Deliberation was at an end. They despatched a messenger to the Queen with the intelligence, after which they broke up in haste and confusion. Remaining only a single day in Edinburgh, Knox hastened to Dun-

dee, and from thence to Perth, where he was on Erskine's return from Stirling. On that day, with that impassioned eloquence for which he was so remarkable, he preached a sermon against the idolatry of the mass and of image worship. Though Knox certainly held it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to put down idolatry, it does not appear that he said any thing to urge the people to take the work into their hands. What was not done by the counsels of the preacher was brought about by the imprudence and infatuation of a priest. The sermon being ended, with the exception of a few who still lingered in the church, the people had returned home. To shew his contempt of the doctrine which had been taught, a priest unveiled a rich shrine which stood above one of the altars, and disclosing to the view certain images of the Virgin and other saints, proceeded to celebrate mass. A boy standing by said—"This is intolerable, that when God by his word has plainly condemned idolatry, we should stand by and see it used in despite." "This youth," says an old historian, "one would think, was wiser than what fell to his share, but sure the priest was not so." Enraged at the boy's remark, he struck him a blow. In return the boy threw a stone at the priest, which, falling on the altar, broke one of the images. Immediately all was uproar. The people

proceeded to complete the work of destruction which the boy had so unintentionally begun, nor was it many minutes till the altar, images, windows, paintings, and every thing in the church bearing the mark of idolatry, were demolished. The noise soon collected a mob, who, finding nothing left for them to destroy, rushed to the monasteries of the grey and black friars, which in like manner they quickly despoiled. By this time the mob had been joined by numbers of the baser sort of the people, or, as Knox designates them, "the rascal multitude." The next object of attack was the convent of the Carthusians, a building of remarkable strength and grandeur. After allowing the monks to carry off their gold and silver and other valuables, of which there was great store, they not only swept it of its images, but, continuing their assaults on the building itself for two days, they levelled it with the ground. When tidings of these doings came to the Queen, she swore that she would "turn the town of Perth into a field, and sow it with salt, as a monument of her displeasure." This threat she instantly prepared to carry into effect. She collected her French troops, who exclaimed—"Forward upon the heretics; let us rid the country of them at once." On the 18th of May she advanced to Perth, thinking to take it by surprise. But in this happily she was disappointed.

The Congregation, apprised of her intentions, had put the town in a state of defence, and, having invoked the name and aid of God, calmly awaited the assault. Anxious, however, to prevent war, they addressed a letter to the Queen, in which they assured her of their loyalty, and their desire to yield to their sovereign all due obedience, which none would render more willingly than they, on condition they should have liberty to worship God according to his Word, unless they obtained which, they would not be subject to mortal man, it being better rather than deny Christ that they should die a thousand deaths. They went also to D'Osell, the French commander, requesting him to use his influence with the Queen and the priests "to appease their rage and turn them from their evil designs, otherwise the fire which had already begun to burn might so increase that men, even if they would, should not be able to extinguish it." They also said, "that if they were forced into war it should last longer than their lives, even as long as Scotsmen should have power to revenge the wrongs intended against them." In an admonition which they addressed to the Romish clergy, and which bore this extraordinary superscription, "To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings in Scotland," they used these remarkable words, of which it may

be said as of Luther's, that they are "half-battles"—"Thus we notify and declare unto you, that if ye proceed in this your malicious cruelty, ye shall be treated as murderers and open enemies to God and mankind. Cease, therefore, betimes from this blind rage. Remove from you your bands of bloody men of war, and return to a quiet life, and mitigate the authority which, without crime, ye have enflamed against us; if not, be assured that as ye intend to destroy, not only to destroy our bodies but our souls, so shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, inflict just vengeance upon you; take this for advertisement and be not deceived." Much as they may admire the force of these words, it is possible some may not altogether approve of their spirit. Stern, however, as was the spirit of Knox and the Reformers, there was nothing in it either sanguinary or savage. To those who think there was, it is sufficient to say, the Reformation in Scotland was unstained by blood. As is admitted by an enemy, "they banished few on account of religion, doomed still fewer to imprisonment, and put none to death." This fact may suffice for their defence. It does not appear that this remonstrance was followed by any good effect. The Queen, it is true, did not make the threatened attack, but this was owing rather to her own fears than to any fa-

your she bore to them. As if wishing to intimidate the fearful, she sent a herald commanding all who were not inhabitants instantly, under pain of treason, to leave the town. This threat had no effect on men who regarded the object for which they were struggling dearer than life itself.

GOOD SERVICES OF THE EARL OF GLENCAIRN.

Word being sent to the Earl of Glencairn, in Ayrshire, of the danger to which his brethern were exposed, he assembled the Protestants of that county at the kirk of Craigie, where, says Knox, he burst forth in those words, "Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St Johnston. Yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me, I will go, and if it were but with a pick upon my shoulder; for I would rather die with that company than live after them." These words so encouraged the rest that all decreed to go forward, which they did so stoutly, that when the lion herald in coat armour commanded all men, under the pain of treason, to return to their houses, by public sound of trumpet, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward." Putting himself along with the Earls of Boyd and Ochiltree, the lairds of Craigie-Wallace, Cessnock, Gadgirth, and others, at their

head, Glencairn made his way over the moors and mountains that lay betwixt them and Perth, with such rapidity that he was within six miles of the town before his brethren there knew of his coming. As they drew near the town great was the joy of the besieged, and as great was the terror of the enemy. The conduct of the good Earl of Glencairn on this occasion was greatly admired. "Indeed," says Knox, "all who professed Christ had just cause to praise God for his fidelity and stout courage in that need, for by his presence was the tyranny of the enemy bridled, so that they could not execute their designs against us." Seeing this the Queen sent the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James to the town with proposals of peace, "to which," continues Knox, "the Congregation—notwithstanding they consisted of seven thousand, beside the burgesses, all armed and resolute men—were so well-minded that with one voice they cried out, 'Cursed be they that seek the shedding of blood. Let us but possess the liberty of the gospel and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we.' " A treaty highly favourable to the Reformers was concluded. Next day Knox preached to the Congregation, whom he exhorted to give God thanks for having stayed the rage of the enemy without loss of life. "Yet think not," said he, "that the work is ended. For I am

assured that this treaty will be kept only till the Queen and her Frenchmen get the upper hand."

THE TREATY VIOLATED.

After having renewed the bond or covenant for their mutual defence and the defence of the gospel, the Congregation left Perth on the 29th of May. No sooner had they done so than the Queen, in violation of an express condition in the treaty, the ink of which was yet scarcely dry, entered the town accompanied by D'Osell and a body of French troops. As she passed the house of Patrick Murray, a professor of the reformed religion, who with his family stood at a balcony to witness the procession, several shots were fired at them by the Queen's soldiers, one of which killed his son, a boy twelve years of age. Taking up his beautiful boy, bathed in blood, the distracted parent carried him to the Queen's lodgings, and there laying him down, called aloud for vengeance on the murderer. The Queen, adding insult to injury, said, "it was an accident which she could not help, which was to be regretted, and so much the more that it had lighted on the son and not on the father." Nor was this all. Three days had not elapsed when the Queen violated every article of the treaty. Some of the citizens she fined,

others she sent or forced to go into exile. She expelled the magistrates from their office, and placed creatures of her own in their room, and leaving a garrison, with orders to permit no worship to be performed but that of the Romish Church, she left the town. When reminded by some about her of her engagements, she said, "She was not bound to keep faith with heretics." But let no one, not princes themselves, imagine they may break faith with even the meanest of their subjects with impunity. Such conduct sooner or later will carry with it its own punishment. This found the Queen Regent, "who after this," says an old historian, "never had a good day."

ARGYLE AND THE LORD JAMES STEWART JOIN THE CONGREGATION.

When Argyle and the Lord James heard of her violation of the treaty they withdrew from the Court, and along with Lords Ruthven and Menteith, and Murray of Tullibarden, departed secretly to St Andrews. The Queen summoned them, on pain of her highest displeasure, to return. They refused, resolving to cast in their lot for good or evil with the Congregation, whose faith they had for some time professed. Satisfied that the reformers had nothing to

hope from the Queen, and every thing to fear, they sent letters to the lairds of Dun and Pitarrow, and others of the Reformed in Angus, to meet them in St Andrews, to devise measures for carrying on the work of Reformation. They also sent for Knox, who, on his way thither, preached at Crail and Anstruther, two small sea-port towns on the coast of Fife. At the former of these places he reminded his hearers of what he had foretold them at Perth, exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be deceived any longer with fair promises, to cast off at once the yoke of the Roman antichrist, and to work out the freedom of their fatherland or perish in the attempt.

PREACHING OF KNOX AT ST ANDREWS.

On the day following, Saturday the 9th of June, Knox arrived at St Andrews, where he intended to preach on the Sabbath. The archbishop hearing that this was his intention, entered the town the same evening with a hundred spears, and sent him word "that if he appeared in the pulpit he should be saluted with a dozen culverins." The Lords of the Congregation having met to consult what should be done, were of opinion that to prevent the loss of life and injury to the cause, it would be prudent in Knox

not to attempt preaching in St Andrews that day. Such was not the opinion of Knox. He had entered the town with the intention to preach, and neither argument nor entreaty could turn him from his purpose. "To delay to preach to-morrow," he said, "I cannot of conscience. In this town and church God first called me to the dignity of a preacher, from which by procurement of the bishops I was torn away by the tyranny of France, as ye all know. How long I was kept a prisoner, what sufferings I endured in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, it is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal, which more than one heard me say, that my assured hope was in open audience to preach in St Andrews before I departed this life. And therefore, my Lords, seeing that God, above the expectation of many, has brought me to this place, I beseech you not to prevent me from appearing in public before my brethren. As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be troubled, for my life is in the keeping of Him whose glory I seek, and therefore I cannot so fear their boast nor tyranny that I will cease from doing my duty when God offers the occasion. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to desend me, only I crave audience, which, if it be denied me here at this time, I must seek farther where I may have it." These power-

ful and pathetic words had their desired effect. The Lords of the Congregation could no longer resist, but were content that he should preach in the Cathedral Church to-morrow, which he accordingly did, to a numerous assembly, including many of the clergy, and such was the restraint God put upon his enemies, notwithstanding their proud boasts on the day previous, they offered him no interruption. He preached, also, on the three following days, and with such effect that the magistrates and inhabitants, following the example of Perth, Dundee, and the neighbouring towns, agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town, and to remove all the monuments of idolatry, which they immediately did. Not content with stripping the churches of their images and vain ornaments, they proceeded to attack the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans, which they levelled with the ground.

THE QUEEN MARCHES ON ST ANDREWS.

While the work of destruction was going on, the archbishop fled to the Queen at Falkland. Inflamed by his report of what had taken place, she ordered her troops to march instantly on St Andrews, hoping to take the Protestants by surprise; but Argyle and the Lord James, as prudent as they

were brave, had foreseen the possibility of this sudden movement, and were neither surprised nor dismayed. They dispatched messages to their friends, urging them to hasten to their aid. They then left St Andrews, resolving not to wait to be attacked in the town, but to abide rather the issue of a battle in the open field. Hearing that the Queen intended to muster her forces on Cupar Moor, they marched thither, and, being beforehand, selected a favourable position. Their numbers that night amounted only to a hundred horsemen and as many foot, but so readily did their brethren flock to their assistance, next day before noon they mustered three thousand fighting men. So suddenly was this army created, "it appeared," says Knox, who was present, "as if men had been rained from the clouds." The command of the army was given to Halyburton, the chief magistrate of Dundee, who made the following disposition of battle. The cannon he placed upon a range of heights which commanded the whole country. Lord Ruthven with the cavalry were placed in the van; Argyle, the Lord James, with the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, with their followers to the number of a thousand spears, formed the centre; the towns of Dundee and St Andrews brought up the rear. The army of the Regent, consisting of two thousand, who were chiefly

French, in utter ignorance that such a force was in their front, came on in full assurance of an easy victory. Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, on leaving Falkland, made a vow in the presence of the Regent "that he would never return till he had brought the traitors Argyle and Lord James Stewart to her Grace, dead or alive." When the fog, which was that morning very thick, dispersed, and the Regent's troops beheld the great and goodly array of the Protestant army, they were filled with astonishment, and certain as had been their expectations of victory, they were filled now with apprehensions of defeat. Afraid to risk an engagement, the Queen had recourse to negotiation, the result of which was a truce for eight days, before the expiry of which she was to send commissioners to St Andrews to conclude a final peace. But the commissioners were never sent, which fresh instance of the Regent's perfidy, alienated from her the hearts of many hitherto on her side, and forced on the most pacific of the Reformed the painful conviction, that henceforth they must look not to treaties but to their swords.

THE PALACE AND ABBEY OF SCONE DESTROYED.

The Lord James and Argyle once more summoned their brethren to their standard, and being joined by

Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a renowned soldier, they marched upon Perth, which they stormed and entered on the 25th of June. In the neighbourhood of Perth was the Abbey Church of Scone, famous in Scottish history, for its having been the place where our ancient kings were crowned. Here the bishop of Murray had his palace, in which he lived in great splendour and profligacy. This bishop, it was remembered, had been a chief instrument in the martyrdom of Walter Mill. Now the men of Dundee who loved Walter Mill when living, and who had not yet ceased to lament him when dead, thought that "some order" should be taken with the bishop for his share in that cruel deed. The lords therefore sent him word that unless he came over to their side, they could not promise to save either his abbey or his palace. He replied, "that he would join them with all his forces, and that he would vote with them against the clergy in Parliament." His answer, however, was long delayed, and ere its arrival the townsmen of Dundee had seized their weapons, and were on their way to Scone. Through the influence of Knox and Halyburton, who hastened after them, they were persuaded to spare the abbey and palace, but the images, pictures, and other monuments of idolatry they destroyed. So anxious was Knox that the abbey and palace should not be in-

jured, he actually kept armed watch for their defence all night. His anxiety and efforts were destined to prove unavailing. Next morning a quarrel took place between the servants of the bishop and some of the people from Dundee. In the course of the affray, one of the Dundee people was slain, having been thrust through with a rapier by a young man, who is said to have been the bishop's son. All now was tumult, and nothing was heard but wild cries for revenge. The alarm spread to Perth, the Dundee men putting themselves in armour, and calling on their brethren to espouse their quarrel, flew to avenge the death of their townsman. Infuriated as they were, it does not appear that they took away the lives of any, or committed any acts of personal violence. No power, however, could save the abbey and palace from their fury; they set fire to both, which were soon wrapped in flames, and in the course of a few hours nothing was left of these magnificent structures, but the bare and blackened walls. Knox and the chief men of the Congregation beheld this work of destruction with the deepest regret, and with the townsmen of Perth and Dundee were sore displeased. As they stood by giving vent to their feelings of grief and indignation, an aged woman of the place beheld the scene with exultation. "Now," said she, "I see that the judgments of God are just,

and that none can save where he will punish. Since I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else than a den of profligates, where the friars have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that wicked man the bishop. If all knew what I know, they would praise God, and no man would be offended." At these words, many were satisfied, and whatever may have been the guilt of the doers, looked upon the deed itself as the judgment of God.

CHAPTER XV.

LETTER OF SIR THOMAS KIRKALDY OF GRANGE TO SIR HENRY PERCY—KNOX DEFENDED—SIEGE OF LEITH—KNOX'S SERMON AT STIRLING—DEFEAT OF ARGYLE AND LORD JAMES STEWART—ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND—DEATH OF THE QUEEN REGENT—TREATY FOR PEACE—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—POPERY ABOLISHED—THE REFORMATION COMPLETED.

(1560.)

LETTER OF SIR THOMAS KIRKALDY OF GRANGE TO SIR
HENRY PERCY.

THE objects which the Reformers were now fully resolved to seek, and short of which nothing would satisfy them, are thus set forth by Kirkaldy of Grange, in a letter to an English knight, Sir Henry

Percy by name. “ I received your letter this last of June, perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the Congregation, whom I assure you you need not have in suspicion, for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly through the realm they will bring to pass. The manner of their proceeding in the work is this, they pull down all manner of priories and some abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them. In place thereof the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches, they have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept, and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure Word of God, and that the Frenchmen be sent away. If her Grace will do so they will obey her and serve her, and annex whole revenues of the abbeys to the Crown ; if her Grace will not be con-

tent with this they are determined to hear of no agreement."

KNOX DEFENDED.

It appears from this letter that while Knox and the chief men among the Reformers approved of pulling down the abbeys and monasteries, with the cells and lodgings of the monks, they did not desire nor design the destruction of the churches. So far from this, we have seen that Knox stood guard upon the church of Scone, and defended it at the peril of his life. His maxim, it is true, was, "Pull down their nests, and you will banish the rooks;" but this maxim applies not to the churches but the convents, and the policy of it has been approved by persons who bore no love to Knox or the Reformation. The destruction of the churches then, over the ruins of which so many lamentations have been poured, was not the work of Knox. For the Reformation he is answerable, not for its excesses. This has long ago indeed been proved, but the malice which has pursued the name and memory of Knox, seems to be of that kind which can neither be softened nor subdued. As if he had been the chief actor in these scenes, his defamers continue to pour upon his head the vials of their indignation to this day. "They

blame him," says one of his latest and most eloquent defenders, "for pulling down cathedrals and so forth, as if he were a seditious rioting demagogue; precisely the reverse is seen to be the fact in regard to cathedrals and the rest of it if we examine. Knox wanted no pulling down of churches—he wanted leprosy and darkness to be thrown out of the souls of men. Tumult was not his element—it was his grief that he had to dwell so much in that. He was the enemy of disorder, and hated to be in it." And if he was frequently in scenes of strife and contention, it was because, more than his own ease, he loved truth, and faith, and freedom; and because, to bring these out of their opposing elements, he counted not dear to him even life itself. Let this suffice for putting "to silence" on this matter "the ignorance of foolish men."

THE SIEGE OF LEITH.

In August 1559, the Queen Regent received a reinforcement of troops from France a thousand strong. Sensible that her forces were not yet sufficiently numerous to enable her to succeed in her designs, she sent its leader back to France with an earnest request to the king for another thousand foot soldiers, a hundred barbed horse, and four ships of

war, and to assure him that with these supplies she would undertake to reduce the kingdom to entire subjection. On the 21st of October she sent a herald, charging the Congregation, on pain of treason, to leave Edinburgh. In return, they deposed her from the Regency, and desired her to withdraw from the kingdom. After this, an appeal to arms was inevitable. While the Regent, waiting for the expected reinforcement, remained within the fortifications of Leith, the Lords prepared to storm them. The scaling ladders and other instruments of assault, strange to say, were made in the aisles of the High Church, which, instead of the voice of psalms, resounded with the din of forges and anvils. "This," says Knox, "did not a little grieve the hearts of the godly, who spared not to say openly that an enterprise which began with contempt of God and the profaning of the Word could not end well, and that God would not suffer such contempt long to pass unpunished." As they foretold, it came to pass. In their first assault, the soldiers of the Congregation were driven from their guns, and pursued into the very streets of Edinburgh. The Abbot of Kilwinning, as he followed the fugitives, cried out, "Drink now as ye have brewed." As the French returned to Leith, and were entering the gate, laden with spoil, the Queen, who sat upon the ramparts, laughed

and said, "Where bought ye your wares?" A second attack was made on the 5th of November, but with no better success. In this encounter Captain Alexander Haliburton, a youth of great military skill, and eminent for his piety, was mortally wounded. He was carried into Leith, where he lived long enough to give confession of his faith, testifying with his latest breath "that he was assured of the mercy of God through the merits of Christ; that he repented, not because of what had befallen him, but rejoiced rather that it had pleased God that he should lay down his life in so good a cause." Thus, like another Jonah, did this young soldier die in battle, yet end his days in peace. At this second defeat, the hearts of the Congregation were depressed to the uttermost. Despairing of success, on the 6th of November they abandoned the city, and, amid the derisive shouts of the enemy, retreated to Stirling.

JOHN KNOX'S SERMON AT STIRLING.

The day after their arrival at Stirling, Knox preached to the Lords from these words,—“O Lord God of Hosts! how long wilt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people? Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink in

great measure. Thou hast made us a strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laugh among themselves. Turn us again, O God of Hosts, and cause thy face to shine, and so we shall be saved." In his sermon, he said, "The felicity of God's people was not to be measured by outward appearances, for oftentimes it has happened that they to whom he has become not only Creator, but Pastor and Protector, have been more severely dealt with than his open and avowed enemies; that one reason why he suffered them to be exposed to mockery, danger, and apparent destruction, was, that they might know their own weakness, and be a monument to posterity at once of the malice of the devil, in seeking their destruction, and of God's mercy in their preservation; that what had befallen them was a just punishment for having boasted in an arm of flesh, and having made man their stay." "When," said he, "we began this battle with Antichrist, and were few in number—when we had neither earl nor lord to comfort us—we called upon God, and took him for our Defender and only Refuge. Amongst us then there was heard no boasting of our numbers, of our strength, or policy. We did only cry to God to have respect to the equity of our cause, and to the cruel pursuit of the enemy. But that since our number has been multiplied, and

chiefly since my Lord Duke with his friends have joined us, there has been nothing heard but—‘ this lord will bring these many hundred spears—this man has influence to cause the country to rise in our favour—if this earl be ours, no man in such bounds will trouble us.’ Thus have we made flesh our arm, and as we have boasted in them, it may be that they have had too much confidence in their own strength, and therefore God hath justly permitted both them and us to fall into this fearful confusion. What remains, then, to be done, but that both they and we turn to the eternal God, who beats down to death that he may raise up again to life, which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our grief and confusion shall be turned into joy and boldness, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjaminites, after that twice they had been ignominiously repulsed and turned back. Yea, whatsoever shall become of us and of our mortal carcases, I doubt not but this cause, in despite of Satan, shall prevail in this realm of Scotland. For it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, it shall at last prevail, how long soever it is opposed. Some who delight not in the truth, although from worldly motives they seem to favour it, may fall, yea God may remove some of his own people before their eyes see greater troubles, but nothing shall

fall out to affect this cause, but that in the end it shall triumph." Such were the words with which Knox rebuked the false confidence of the Congregation, and infused divine courage into their fainting hearts. Though their cause was apparently hopeless, they were filled with the full assurance that ere long God would give them an out-gate from all their troubles, and with this assurance they retired to their different quarters in the town.

DEFEAT OF ARGYLE AND THE LORD JAMES.

Hearing that the French had overrun the shire of Fife, destroying houses, and laying the country waste, Argyle and the Lord James left Stirling with a small company to seek them. In an engagement, brought on by the rashness of some of the common people, these two leaders were again worsted, with the loss of six or seven of their men. Two of their number, Paul Lambert, a Dutchman, and a young Frenchman who had embraced the truth, having fallen into the enemy's hands, were hanged over the steeple of Kinghorn. When the Regent heard of this third victory, she could not repress her delight. "Where now," she said, "is John Knox's God? My God is stronger than his, even in Fife!" She sent messengers to France with the news that thousands of the heretics were slain, and that

the rest were dispersed, but requesting more troops to enable her to complete her triumph. Notwithstanding these repeated defeats, Lord James Stewart and Argyle kept the field, and often with good success, till assistance came from England, when the French were finally expelled.

ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND.

Elizabeth, who was a wise queen, though she bore no great good will to Scotland, and least of all to Knox, saw that if she would preserve her own kingdom and the Protestant cause, for the destruction of which so many powers were combined, it was absolutely necessary that the French should be driven out of Scotland; and, at the request of the Lords of the Congregation, she agreed to send an army to their assistance. It was on the 2d of April 1560, that the English army, commanded by Lord Grey, entered Scotland. About the same time an English fleet, under Admiral Winter, appeared in the Firth. The Congregation having joined the English, the united armies advanced to Leith, and renewed the siege. "Yet would not God," says Knox, "give the victory suddenly, lest that man should glory in his own strength." In their first assault they were repulsed with considerable loss of

men. During the assault, which was long and terrible, the Queen sat upon the fore-wall of the Castle of Edinburgh. When she beheld the banners of France displayed in triumph over the walls, she said, "Now will I go to mass, and praise God for what I have this day seen."

DEATH OF THE QUEEN REGENT.

The Queen Regent's rejoicing was of short duration. A few days after she was seized with a mortal illness. Feeling that she was dying, she sent for the Lords of the Congregation. She received them with many tokens of kindness. She declared in pathetic terms her love for the country and people of Scotland, and lamented that she had carried matters to such extremities, but ascribed it to bad counsels. Bursting into tears she entreated their forgiveness for the evils she had done them, and declared that "she most freely forgave her worst enemies, as she herself hoped to find forgiveness at the bar of God." At these words the Scottish lords were deeply affected. Giving her what counsel and comfort they could, and promising to send one of their learned and godly ministers, who would tender to her such instruction and consolation as she needed, they bade

the dying queen farewell. Mary of Guise died the next day, ending her troubled life in something, it rejoices us to say, of a Christian manner. Her mortal remains were enclosed in a coffin of lead, and conveyed to France.

TREATY FOR PEACE.

Satisfied that their efforts to crush the Reformation in Britain, for the present at least, were hopeless, Francis and Mary, with the consent of the House of Guise, resolved to treat for peace. On the 16th of June ambassadors from France, with commissioners from England, arrived in Edinburgh, when a treaty was concluded which led almost immediately to the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. Among other things it was agreed "that a Parliament should be held in August, by which the subject of religion should be disposed of as they in their wisdom should determine." Peace being thus restored, and on terms so advantageous, the hearts of all men in the kingdom were filled with joy. A day was appointed by the Congregation for public thanksgiving to God, to whose mercy they ascribed, as was most due, this wonderful deliverance. Knox was the preacher. In his concluding prayer he employed these striking words, "We cannot for-

get, O Lord, in how miserable a state stood this poor country not many days past, when idolatry was maintained, when cruel strangers had rule over us, when the blood of innocents was shed without mercy, and when the unjust commands of proud tyrants was obeyed as a law. Out of these miseries could neither our evil policy nor strength deliver us. In our anguish we cried unto thee for help, for thy truth's sake. Mercifully hast thou heard us, in mercy thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty, thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel ; thou hast removed from over our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, and set this perishing realm at liberty. And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy sight than ingratitude, and being false in thy covenant, let us not fall into unthoughtfulness, and let not the memory of thy wondrous works slip out of our wavering minds. For thy Son's sake, suffer us not to forsake or deny this thy truth, which we now profess." "The Romish worship," a historian observes, "was now almost universally deserted throughout the kingdom. The firm hold which it once had of the opinions and affections of the people was completely loosened. Of late it had been supported by force alone, and the moment the French troops embarked, that fabric which had stood for ages in Scotland fell to the ground. Its feeble and dismayed

priests ceased of their own accord from the celebration of its rites, and the Reformed service was set wherever ministers could be found to perform it. For the Parliament there was thus little else to do but to sanction what the nation had previously done, by legally abolishing the Popish and establishing the Protestant religion. This sanction, however, was of the greatest importance, and to the approaching Parliament the eyes of every man in the kingdom were turned with the greatest anxiety."

PARLIAMENT MEETS.

On the 1st of August 1560, this important Parliament, from which so much was expected, and on which so much depended, met at Edinburgh. The attendance was unusually great, and it was opened with great solemnity. An eye-witness relates "that the town was filled with men in armour; that when the Lords entered or departed the Parliament House, they were accompanied with the sounding of trumpets, and all other kinds of music such as they had." Certain preliminaries being settled, the great business in which they had met—the state of religion—was brought before them by a petition from the "Barons, Gentlemen Burgesses, and other true subjects of this Realm,

professing the true religion within the same." Among other things, the petitioners craved in particular the three following :—

First, That the doctrine of the Roman Church, which God had shewn to so many within the kingdom, by the light of his Word, to be false and ruinous to the souls of men, and which the tyranny of the clergy had so long upheld by fire and sword, should, by act of this present Parliament, be condemned.

Secondly, That the superstitious and idolatrous worship of the Church of Rome should be prevented, and the worship and discipline of the primitive Church restored.

Thirdly, That the Pope's usurped authority, as head of the Church, should be abolished, and that the patrimony of the Church hitherto applied to support a false and corrupt priesthood, should henceforth be devoted to the maintenance of the true ministers of Christ, the provision of schools, and the support of poor.

The last clause in this third petition, says the historian Spottiswood, "was not very pleasing to several of the nobles, who, though they liked well to have the Pope's authority and doctrine condemned, had no wish to surrender that portion of the Church's patrimony, whereof in that troubled time they had

possessed themselves." Maitland of Lethington, the Speaker in this Parliament, when he heard it, in allusion to a sermon preached by Knox, from Haggai, in which he pointed out the duty of the nobles to build the Lord's house, exclaimed in mockery, "So then we must now forget ourselves, and bear the burrow to build the house of God." The rest, however, desirous of waiving the consideration of this subject for the present, having called on the barons, ministers, and chief burgesses, who had presented the petition, desired them to draw up, under so many distinct heads, the sum and form of doctrine which they held, and which they wished the Parliament to establish. This solemn and arduous task the ministers cheerfully undertook to perform, and within four days presented to the Estates that memorable document which they entitled "The Confession of Faith, professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland."

POPERY ABOLISHED AND THE TRUE RELIGION ESTABLISHED.

1560.

The Confession was read in the hearing of the whole Parliament, including not only such as were favourable to the Reformed religion, but its adversaries—such as the Bishops, and several of the lords temporal, who were asked, if they had any objec-

tions, to state them. The Protestant ministers who had penned it were present to defend any point of doctrine that might be attacked, and explain any that might not be understood. No objections having been made, a day was appointed for taking the votes of members for its ratification and approval. Of the temporal peers, three only, the Earl of Athol, and the Lords Somerville and Borthwick, voted in the negative, assigning this reason only, "We will believe as our forefathers believit."

As for the bishops, we are informed by Knox, "they spak nathing." The Confession was approved by almost the unanimous voice of Parliament, and was registered in their books forthwith as the only authorized standard of doctrine in the realm of Scotland. "The consent of Parliament," says a modern historian, "was given almost by acclamation; some of the Lords, in the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would sooner end their lives than think contrary to the doctrines which that day their ears had heard. Many offered to shed their blood in the cause. The Earl Marischal, with indignant sarcasm, called upon the bishops, as the pillars of the Papal Church, to defend the tenets of their master; and the venerable Lord Lindsay, rising up in his place, and alluding to his great age, declared that, since God had spared him to see

that day, and the accomplishment of so great a work, he was ready, like Simeon, to say, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Two acts were at the same time passed for rescinding all the laws that had ever been made in favour of the Romish, and against the Reformed religion. By the first, the celebration of the mass was forbidden under pain of death; and by the second, the Papal jurisdiction was for ever abolished in this country, which on that day became a Protestant kingdom. Thus fell Babylon the Great in Scotland, or rather, in the words of Holy Writ, "thus with violence was it thrown down."

This overthrow of the Papacy, as a modern writer quaintly but pointedly remarks, "was not a smooth business." That it was not, let the martyrs who were consumed in fires—let the confessors, who were laid fast in stone dungeons, or were driven into exile, or wandered up and down the land in weariness and painfulness—in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness—let the people, who were forced to exchange the implements of peace for the "weapons of war," and leaving their families without a protector, for their own defence and that of the gospel, had to bear their breasts to the battle—let these, I say, testify. Above all, "it

was no smooth business" to Knox. We have seen how he was shut up in the Castle of St Andrews while suffering the horrors of a siege—how he was taken prisoner, carried to France, and had to row on board the French galleys as a slave—how, on his return from captivity, he was of all his coadjutors in labours more abundant—in journeyings often, in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, in deaths. But what were his secret prayers and wrestlings with God for his country, and with what anguish his heart was pierced, as he beheld it groaning under the bondage of the Roman Antichrist, are things, to use his own words, "known only to God, and which he shall one day declare." "These men indeed had a fight, but though their adversaries were Popes and principalities, 'the rulers of the darkness of this world,' they won it!" And at the distance nearly of three hundred years, we, as a Church, are to this day reaping the victory. Honour to their memories; and God grant that we may never suffer that faith to be corrupted, or that freedom to be impaired, which these our brave and good forefathers secured by their labours, and sealed with their blood.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE—CONVENTION OF ESTATES—
 FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—A CONTRAST—QUEEN MARY'S
 RETURN—THE MASS RESTORED—JOHN KNOX PREACHES
 AGAINST IDOLATRY—INTERVIEW OF KNOX WITH THE QUEEN
 —SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
 RESPECTING THE SUPPORT OF MINISTERS—KNOX'S SECOND
 CONFERENCE WITH THE QUEEN—BATTLE OF CORRICHIE—
 PARLIAMENT OF 1563, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE DURING ITS
 SITTING—PULPIT ELOQUENCE OF KNOX.

(1560, 1563.)

THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

A. D. 1560.

FROM the history of the preceding period, it may be seen why the Church of Scotland, in common with the other churches of the Reformation, is called a Protestant Church—its Confession of Faith being at once a pillar of Christian truth, and a protest against Antichristian error. This pillar of doctrine being set up, "consultation," says Knox, "was next had how the Church might be established in a good and godly policy, a government which by the Papists had been altogether defaced." A commission was accordingly given to Knox, Winram, and others, to draw up the government and discipline of

the Church, as they had done the doctrine. This important task they cheerfully undertook, and speedily completed. The document which contains the result of their labours on this subject, is that now known as the First Book of Discipline. The form of church government contained in the Book of Discipline is the Presbyterian. It has been said that Knox brought this form of church government from Geneva. "But," says Row, one of its framers, "they took not their example from any kirk in the world—no, not from Geneva, but drew their plan from the sacred Scriptures." As Moses built the tabernacle after the pattern shewn him on the mount, they framed the constitution of the Church of Scotland after the pattern shewn them in the Word of God. Thus were the great principles of Presbytery, as they had been acted on during the days of the Culdees, reconstructed, and in the words of Knox, "the reverend face of the primitive and apostolic kirk reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men." When they had drawn up the Book of Discipline, they submitted it to the Lords of the Privy Council, "who," says Knox, "did peruse it many days." It did not meet that ready and almost universal approbation which had been given to the Confession or Form of Doctrine. While some of the more upright of the

nobles approved it, and wished it to be sanctioned by law, "others, perceiving how much their carnal liberty and worldly advantage would be impaired thereby, refused. Everything in it that opposed their corrupt desires they mocked and pronounced to be devout imaginations. "The cause," continues the historian, "we have before declared. Some were licentious—some had greedily gripped the possessions of the Kirk, and others thought that they too should have part of Christ's coat. The chief great man that professed Christ, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine. And no wonder ; for, besides he had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesses." From such unworthy motives did some of the Scottish nobles engage in the work of the Reformation. It was the desire of Knox and the Reformers, who were the first in Europe to send the schoolmaster abroad, that every parish should have its church and school—that religion and education should grow up together—and that out of the patrimony of the Church, for the minister and the schoolmaster there should be made "honest provision." If that provision, when at last made, was scant and stinted, this was not the fault of Knox and the ministers, but of the

nobles who, mocking the schemes they could not comprehend, pronounced them to be "devout imaginations." While the Council refused to ratify the Book of Discipline, Sir James Sandilands, commonly called the Lord of St John, who had been sent to France to obtain the assent of the King and Queen to the late act of Parliament, returned with the intelligence that they refused to give it. At this the hearts of many were troubled, but the ministers exhorted them to be strong and of good courage; "for," said they, "notwithstanding the indifference of nobles and the hostility of kings, be assured that God will perform, in all perfection, the work in our hands, the beginning whereof he has so mightily maintained, because it is not ours, but his. Let us therefore constantly proceed to reform remaining abuses, and to plant the ministry of the Kirk, as God's Word requires, and leave all to God, in whose power the disposal of events and of kingdoms stands." Thus encouraged, the Reformers resolved to put their trust in God, and to go forward. Scarcely had they done so when the news arrived of the king's death. Francis, it appears, had resolved not only to overturn all that had been done in favour of the truth in Scotland, but had matured plans for the destruction of his own Protestant subjects in France. "When all things," says Knox,

“were in readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal God, who ever watches for the preservation of his own, began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution; for as the king sat at mass, he was struck with a deadly disease in that deaf ear, that would never hear the truth of God. He lingered from the 12th to the 15th of December, when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart evanished in smoke. And thus was the snare broken, the tyrants disappointed of their cruelty—they that were appointed to death were raised as it were out of their graves; and we who, by our foolishness, had made ourselves slaves to strangers, were restored again to freedom and liberty of a free realm.”

CONVENTION OF ESTATES.

Soon after the king's death, a Convention of Estates met in Edinburgh, at which commissioners from the Kirk appeared, and, among other things, craved that the Book of Discipline should be ratified. It was publicly read in the hearing of Parliament, who, though they objected nothing against it, refused to sanction it. In some things, however, they shewed a becoming zeal for religion. They summoned several who held public offices of trust and learning, and who still adhered to the Romish

faith, to appear before them, and to state why they had not embraced the Reformed doctrines. Four persons appeared from the University of Aberdeen, between one of whom, Mr Alexander Anderson, Professor of Theology, and Knox, a public disputation was held, which ended in the friends of both the disputants claiming the victory. With what truth the Papists asserted the advantage to be on the side of Anderson, let the reader judge. When Knox demanded of him to shew why they held there was an oblation or sacrifice in the sacrament of the supper, seeing the command is "*Take, eat,*" and "*Take, drink,*" and there is no command about offering? the said Alexander was confused, and sought to evade the question by giving it no answer. But the Lords would not permit this, and desired him to give a direct answer, which he gave in these words, "that he was better seen in philosophy than in theology." This answer not being satisfactory to the Lords, whatever it may have been to the Papists, they commanded Lesly, abbot of Lindores, to try what answer he could give. Lesly, with great gravity, replied, "If our master have nothing to say, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the common law." The Lords of Parliament seeing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, "We have been miserably deceived heretofore,

for if the mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and dead, wherefore were all the abbacies so richly endowed with our lands?"

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers. Having constituted themselves as a court in the name of Christ, the great King and Head of the Church, they passed many important acts and made many wise regulations respecting the "weal of the Kirk in this realm." They confirmed the appointment of the following ministers to their respective charges:—Mr John Knox to Edinburgh, Mr Goodman to St Andrews, Mr John Row to Perth, Mr Adam Heriot to Aberdeen, Mr David Ferguson to Dunfermline, and Mr David Lindsay to Leith. They appointed qualified persons as readers of the Scriptures, for such was the ignorance of the times, few of the common people could read. They ordained others to the ministry of the word and sacraments, among whom were Erskine of Dun, Patrick Adamson, and Robert Pont. The election of elders and deacons they appointed to be made in the Congregation, and to be made by members of the Church. They agreed

to petition Parliament that no person should be allowed to hold an office of trust in Scotland except he were of the reformed religion; that laws should be made in favour of orphans and young persons under guardians and tutors; and that all who had held office in the Pope's Kirk, provided they were of good behaviour, should be supported along with the poor from the alms of the Church. A provision this of a humane and merciful kind, and one very different truly from what a conclave of Papists would have made for Protestant ministers in the same circumstances. It may be worth observing that in this and several subsequent Assemblies there was no moderator, so jealous were the first Reformers of the great principles of Presbyterian parity. It is still more worthy of notice that this first General Assembly, and more than thirty subsequent ones, met and decided, not by the authority of the civil magistrate, but in the name and by the authority of Christ, and in virtue of that intrinsic power which the Church has received from Him, her sole King and Head.

A CONTRAST.

"What a wonderful change," says a Scottish historian,* "had now come over the face of Scotland!

* M'Crie.

A few years before this, idolatry was rampant, and, to use the words of Patrick Hamilton, ‘darkness covered this realm.’ Now superstition has vanished, and the light of truth has risen on the mountains and vallies of our native land. A year ago it was blasphemy to say a word against the mass, now the mass itself is denounced as blasphemy. Not a cross, nor an image, nor a cowl, nor a mitre is to be seen, and, were it not for the smoking ruins of some monastery, or the vacant niches of a cathedral, it could hardly have been known by a stranger that Popery had ever existed in the country.” In language still more exulting does Knox describe this change, of which he was not only an eye-witness, but in the hand of God the chief instrument. “What,” says he, “was our force—what was our number—yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us to have brought to a good end so great an enterprise—our very enemies can bear witness! And yet in how great purity has God established among us his true religion as well in doctrine as in discipline, as touching both of which I am bold to affirm that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth that hath them in greater purity; yea—we must speak the truth whomsoever we offend—there is none that hath them in such purity. For all others, how sincere soever the doctrine be, retain in their kirks

some footsteps of Antichrist and dregs of Papistry ; but we, all praise to God alone, have nothing within our kirks that ever flowed from that man of sin. And this we acknowledge to be the strength given us of God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but, knowing our own wisdom to be foolishness, we laid it aside and followed only that which we found appeared in the word of God." A great victory had been gained, and of all whom God had called to the battle he had allowed none to perish, though in the affecting words of Knox they had walked in the very "shadow of death." Still, however, the victory was not absolutely secured. Beaten and driven from the field, the enemy was yet lurking in every part of the country, and waiting for an opportunity to appear again in force, and to renew the struggle. That opportunity at last came.

QUEEN MARY'S RETURN.

On the 19th of August 1561, the galley that bore Mary from France arrived at Leith, and on the evening of the same day that beautiful and accomplished, but unprincipled and unfortunate princess entered the ancient palace of her fathers. The day on which she landed was one of unusual darkness.

“For two days before,” says Knox, “and two days after, the sun was not seen to shine,” which, with a superstition from which the greatest men of those times were not free, he declares was portentous of the evils that were to follow.

THE MASS RESTORED.

On the first Sabbath after her arrival she celebrated mass with great solemnity and splendour in the chapel of Holyrood Palace, though the law declared this to be an offence worthy of death. When the people heard of what was intended, they came together in crowds to consult what should be done. “Shall that idol,” they exclaimed, “be suffered again to be set up in this realm? It shall not.” The Lord Lindsay, buckling on his armour and putting himself at the head of the populace, rushed into the Palace-court, shouting aloud “that the idolatrous priests should desist from their purpose or die the death.” It was now thought that the people would have burst into the chapel, but this the Lord James, by guarding the door, prevented. When they saw this they returned home, lamenting that the land which God had purged from idolatry should thus again be polluted by its presence, and that too in the very face of day. On the day following an

act of Council was passed, by which liberty to observe mass was granted to the Queen and her attendants, and all persons were forbidden to disturb or prevent it under pain of death. This act was proclaimed at the Cross, nor did any man reclaim against it except the earl of Arran, who did so in the presence of the herald and the people. When the Lords of the Congregation, as they arrived in the capital, heard how mass had been restored, they professed to be grieved and offended. After a few visits, however, from certain of the Lords of Council and a few fair speeches, their indignation subsided, and they found it prudent to connive at what in their consciences they condemned. The game which these Protestant Lords thought, or, perhaps, pretended only to play against the Queen, she with better reason and with greater effect was playing against them. She had not been many days in Scotland, but she had seen enough during this short period to convince her that the great object on which she and her uncles, the Princes of Guise, had in view—the re-establishment of Popery—was neither soon nor easily to be accomplished, and that, if ever effected, it was more likely to be the work of flattery and deception, than of force and violence. Of these arts, young as she was, Mary was already the mistress. With what effect she practised her flat-

teries on the simple Scottish barons, the following incident, told with that rough but rich humour for which Knox was remarkable, will shew. "At their first coming, the Lords were wondrously offended that the mass was permitted, so that every man as he came accused them that were before him. But after they had remained a certain space, they were as quiet as were the former, which thing perceiving, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell of Kineanclench, said unto the Lord Ochiltree, 'My Lord, now ye are come, and almost the last of all the rest, and I perceive by your anger that the fire-edge is not yet off you. But I fear that after the holy water of the Court be sprinkled upon you, you shall become as temperate here as the rest. For I have been here now five days, and at the first I heard every man say, 'Let us hang the priests,' but after they had been twice or thrice in the Palace, all that fervency passed—I think there be some enchantment whereby men are bewitched.' " Who the enchantriss was by whose spells these simple lords were bound, I dare say the young reader will be at no loss to discover.

JOHN KNOX PREACHES AGAINST IDOLATRY.

Happily for the Reformation there was one man in Scotland on whom the air of a court or the arts

of the Queen had no such effect. That man was John Knox. The next Sabbath, in a sermon against idolatry, after shewing what terrible plagues God had inflicted upon nations for the same, he declared "that he was more afraid of one mass than of ten thousand armed men; for," said he, "in God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we rely upon him, whereof we heretofore have had experience. But if we join hands with idolatry, without doubt God will withdraw from us his presence and defence, and what then shall become of us."

INTERVIEW OF JOHN KNOX AND THE QUEEN.

Whether it was from the report of the freedom he had used in this sermon in denouncing the mass, or from curiosity to see a man of whom she had heard so much, or from the desire to try the effect of those personal charms on the Reformer which had proved so irresistible to the Protestant Lords, we know not; certain it is, that soon after this, and greatly to the surprise of both parties, Romish and Reformed, Knox was invited by the Queen to a private interview. This was one of the most trying moments in the life of the Reformer. We have the authority of the Queen herself for saying, that on this occasion "she sought his favour by all possible

means." But whatever those poor "half-and-half" personages the Lords might do, Knox was not the man to make himself agreeable even to a Queen at the expense of the truth and cause of God. As for her flatteries, they had not the least effect on him. His attachment to the principles and interests of the Reformation never wavered. It's cause and claims he stated as plainly—defended as boldly—and his determination to support them, he declared as firmly in the chamber of the Queen as ever he had done in the congregations of the people. Whatever hope, previous to this interview, Mary may have cherished of influencing the views or conduct of Knox, now at least she must have felt that there was none. It was at this colloquy with the Queen that Knox, the champion of civil as well as religious liberty, uttered these memorable words :—"If princes exceed their bounds, they may be resisted even by power, for there is no greater honour or obedience to be given to princes than to parents. But so it is that a father may be stricken with frenzy, in which he would slay his own children ; now, Madam, if the children rise and join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword and other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison till that his frenzy be over-past, think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrong, or think ye that God

will be offended with them because they have stayed their father's hands from committing wickedness? It is even so, Madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subjects unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but frenzy, and, therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and cast them into prison till they be brought to a more sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it is agreeable to the word of God." At these words, so terrible to tyrants, so strange and startling to one who had been brought up at the court of an absolute monarch, and who had been taught from her infancy to believe that whatever kings might command or do, subjects were bound to obey and submit, and perhaps from a presentiment of what was one day to be her own unhappy fate, the Queen, it is said, stood still for more than a quarter of an hour as one amazed, her heart sunk within her, and her countenance changed. She now knew, did she attempt to re-establish Popery, what manner of men she had to deal with, and what opposition she was likely to encounter. From that moment, historians say, she regarded Knox with the mixed, but not inconsistent feelings of respect, fear, and hatred. The opinions which Knox hitherto had entertained of Mary were of the most unfavourable kind. Unfavourable as they were, the result of this

interview was to convince him that they were just and true. Being asked by his friends what he now thought of the Queen, he replied, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(1561.)

In the December of this year 1561 the General Assembly again met, and now it became manifest to what an extent the Queen had succeeded in altering the views of many of the Protestant nobles, and in alienating their affections from the cause of the Reformation. When the ministers and commissioners enquired of them why they withheld their countenance from the Assembly, they replied by calling in question the lawfulness of such conventions without the Queen's authority. To this Knox answered—"Take from us the liberty of assemblies, and take from us the gospel. If the liberty of the Church stand upon her allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only assemblies, but the preaching of the gospel." At this the Lords mocked. "Well," replied Knox, "time will try." Attempts were made to have the Book of Discipline ratified by the Queen's Majesty, but it was not likely that the Lords who objected to one of its provisions—the

lawfulness and liberty of General Assemblies—would use their influence with the Queen in this matter. “How many, think ye,” said Lethington scoffingly, “of those who subscribed that book will be subject to it?” It was answered—“All the godly.” “Will the Duke?”* asked Lethington. “If he will not,” replied Lord Ochiltree, “I would that his name were erased not only out of that book, but also out of our number, for to what end shall men subscribe if they never mean to keep a word of that which they promise?” Lethington answered “that many subscribed it as children are baptised, on the faith of their parents.” “Sir,” said Knox, “although you think that scoff proper, it is as untrue as it is unbecoming. The Book was read in public audience, and for the space of several days the heads thereof were reasoned, as all that sit here know well enough, and you yourself cannot deny, so that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not.” “Stand content,” said one of the courtiers, “that Book will not be ratified.” “Let God,” replied Knox, “require the loss which the commonwealth shall sustain at the hands of those who hinder it.”

* The Duke of Chastelherault, who, on the death of James V., had been made Regent of the kingdom.

ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL RESPECTING THE SUPPORT OF
THE MINISTERS.

Though the reformed religion was now the established religion of the country, no legal provision had yet been made for its support. The Lords, though they refused to co-operate in obtaining the legal ratification of the Book of Discipline, were satisfied that this was neither just nor expedient. They applied to the Privy Council in urgent terms that "some convenient order should be taken on this head." An act was accordingly passed to this effect, "that an annual return of the whole rentals of the Church should be made to the Queen and Council, that of the gross sum the Romish clergy should receive two-thirds, that the remaining third should be set apart for the maintenance of the reformed ministers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenues of the Crown." Admitting all that can be said in favour of this act, it is impossible to regard it in any other light than as most unworthy of the Council, and unjust to the Church. When Knox heard of it he said—"If the end of this order pretended to be taken for the support of the ministers be happy, I am deceived. I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third part must be divided betwixt

God and the devil." It is not to be supposed that in passing this act the Lords of Council were actuated by any considerations of kindness or tenderness towards the ejected Popish clergy. The truth is, by forcible seizures, or fraudulent purchases, most of the churches properly had already passed into their own hands, so that the act in reality was passed in favour of themselves. This they did not even affect to conceal. Hence, when the measure was proposed in Council, the Earl of Huntly, a Popish nobleman, addressed the Protestant Lords jestingly in this manner—"Good morrow, my Lords of the two parts." Small as the pittance allowed to the reformed ministers was, it was not paid without a grudge. "If the ministers," said Lethington, "are to be sustained, the Queen will not get at the year's end to buy her a pair of new shoes." The conduct of the Scottish nobles wrung from the lips of Knox these bitter reflections: "To those dumb dogs the bishops ten thousand was not enough, but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the gospel, an hundred merks must suffice. Who would have thought that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren should have travelled for victuals and returned with empty sacks to their families? Oh, happy servants of the Devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there were not hell and heaven!"

KNOX'S SECOND CONFERENCE WITH THE QUEEN.

About this time, information having reached Knox of the persecutions to which the Protestants in France were exposed from the Queen's uncles, the Guises, he adverted in a sermon in strong language to the hatred which princes and rulers have generally shewn to the cause and Church of God. An exaggerated account of his sermon was carried to the Queen, by whom he was summoned to the Palace to answer for his alleged abuse of the liberty of the pulpit. Looking round on the courtiers, among whom were the individuals who had reported his words to the Queen, Knox thus addressed her Majesty:—"Madam, had the reporters of my words been honest men, they would have reported them as I delivered them. But, because they would have credit at Court, they must have something to please your Majesty, if it were but flattery and falsehood." He then rehearsed his sermon as at the time he delivered it. Upon which the Queen said—"Your words are sharp enough as you have spoken them, but yet they were told to me in another manner." She then asked, "why, if he had any fault to find with her, instead of attacking her in public, he did not come and tell her in private?" He replied that "if her Grace would appoint a time when it should

please her to hear the doctrine he taught in public, he would gladly wait upon her, but to wait at her chamber door, and then to have no farther liberty than to whisper his mind in her Grace's ear, neither his conscience nor his vocation would permit." He was then suffered to withdraw, which, to use his own words, he did "with a reasonably merry countenance." Some of the courtiers observing this, said, "He is not afraid." "Why," replied Knox, "should the fair face of a gentlewoman make me afraid? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet not have been afraid above measure."

THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE.

This year (1562) was fought between the Lord James Stewart, now Earl of Murray, and the Earl of Huntly, the great leader of the Popish faction, the battle of Corrichie. When about to join battle, Huntly fell upon his knees, and offered this singular prayer:—"O Lord, I have been a bloody man, and have shed much innocent blood, but give me the victory this day, and I will serve thee all the days of my life." But God heareth not sinners. The Gordons were completely routed. The Earl, borne from the field by the throng of fugitives, fell from his horse, and was trodden to death. His body, being brought to Aberdeen, was thrown carelessly into

the tolbooth. Seeing him lying upon the floor, stripped of his armour and gay clothing, and meanly clad in a doublet of coarse canvass, the Lady Forbes said, "What stability shall we judge to be in this world? There lies one who yesterday was held to be the richest, wisest, and a man of the greatest power that was within Scotland." "And in very deed," says Knox, "she spoke the truth, for under the king, so powerful a noble this realm had not seen for many years; but prosperity and worldly wisdom so blinded him, that in the end he perished in them, as shall all who despise God, and trust in themselves."

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1563, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE DURING ITS SITTING.

On the 19th of May 1563, the Parliament met, and was opened with unusual splendour by the Queen in person. She rode in procession from the Palace to the Parliament, captivating the hearts of the people by her winning manners and dazzling beauty. Her opening address to the Estates called forth bursts of admiration and applause from the assembled lords and ladies, some of whom exclaimed, "God save that sweet face, she speaks as properly as the best orator among them." While the giddy populace could thus be amused, and the worldly nobles flattered and deceived, it was neither vain

shows nor vain words that could satisfy the ministers, whose hearts "trembled for the ark of God." They drew up certain articles respecting the good of the Church and commonwealth, intending that they should be presented to Parliament. This none of the Protestant Lords would consent to do. Even Murray himself declared that, in seeking to present such articles at the present juncture, the ministers were acting rashly and imprudently. "The Queen," he said, "was not seeking to disturb the established religion. Her attachment to the Romish superstition would abate with time; many laws of great importance were to be proposed in Parliament; if they carried things too high, she would hold no Parliament at all. Let this Parliament," he continued, "pass over, and when the Queen shall ask any favour of the Estates, as she must do before her marriage, then shall the interests of the Church be first cared for." This temporizing policy on the part of the Earl of Murray was warmly resented by Knox, who hesitated not to accuse him of sacrificing the cause of his country and Church to the interests of his ambition. The consequence was, that they who had hitherto lived in friendship parted in anger. In a letter to Murray, not long after, in which he referred to the time when they first met, Knox concluded with these words :

“ Now that I perceive my expectations disappointed, which were that you would always have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your own advantage, I commit you to your own wit, and to the advice of those who better can please you. I praise God I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour ; if so you long continue, none within the realm shall be more glad than I shall be. But if after this you shall decay, as I fear you shall, call to mind by what means God exalted you, which was neither by bearing with impiety nor by maintaining of Papists.” What effect this letter had on the mind of Murray we are not told. It appears to have widened the estrangement, which unhappily lasted for nearly two years. At the declining zeal of the nobles, and the defection of Murray, Knox was neither disheartened nor dismayed. During the sitting of Parliament, he preached a sermon, at which most of the Protestant Lords were present. The following passages from that sermon, as preserved in his *History of the Reformation*, may give the young reader some idea of the eloquence of this wonderful man.

PULPIT ELOQUENCE OF KNOX.

“ And now, my Lords,” said he, “ I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that in your own pre-

sence I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart ; yea, yourselves shall be witnesses if that I state not truly the things that are past, from the beginnings of God's mighty working within this realm. I have been with you in your most desperate temptations. Ask your own consciences, and let them answer before God, if that I (yet not I, but God's Spirit within me), in your greatest extremities, encouraged you not ever to depend upon God, and in his name promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies, so that ye would only make him your defence, and prefer his glory to your own lives and worldly advantage—yes, in your most extreme dangers, I have been with you." " Here," says one, " getting animated in his subject, and suddenly stretching out his hands as if he would leap from the pulpit and arrest the vision passing before him, and raising his voice, he exclaimed, " I see before me the beleaguered camp at St Johnston—I see your meeting on Coupar Moor—I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged in the streets of Edinburgh, and most of all is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my Lords, left this town—and God forbid that I should forget it ; what was then my exhortation unto you ? And what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth ?

Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And is this to be the thankfulness that ye shall render to God, to betray his cause when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as you please?"

CHAPTER XVII.

KNOX'S ALLUSION IN HIS SERMON TO THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE, AND HOW THE QUEEN RESENTED IT—KNOX SUMMONS A CONVOCATION OF MINISTERS, AND IS THEREBY BROUGHT INTO TROUBLE—THE CONVOCATION—CORRUPT COURT OF QUEEN MARY—POPIISH LEAGUE—A PROTESTANT BAND—FIRST NATIONAL FAST—DEATH OF RIZZIO—LETTER TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—JOHN CRAIG'S REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL—REFLECTIONS ON THE FATE OF MARY.

(1563—1566.)

KNOX'S ALLUSION IN HIS SERMON TO THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE, AND HOW THE QUEEN RESENTED IT.

IN the conclusion of the sermon referred to in the preceding chapter, Knox alluded to the rumour of the Queen's marriage with a Papist. "Respecting

this marriage," said he, "of which I hear so much, this only will I say, note the day and bear witness hereafter whenever the nobility of Scotland who profess the Lord Jesus Christ shall consent that an infidel or a papist shall be head to our Sovereign, they do as far as in them lies to banish Christ from this realm and bring the wrath of God on the country." These words gave great offence, and to answer for them, Knox was summoned to appear before the Queen. The Lord Ochiltree and several other Lords bore him company to the palace, but none of them were permitted to enter with him but Erskine of Dun. No sooner had Knox been ushered into the room where the Queen was sitting with her ladies, than she broke forth into a violent fit of passion. "Never," she exclaimed, "had prince been treated as she had been; she had borne with his attacks both against herself and her uncles. She had stooped even to seek his friendship—she had offered him audience whenever he pleased, but all would not satisfy—all would not silence him; yet, think not," she exclaimed, "that I will endure this treatment always. I vow to God that I shall have my revenge." She then burst into tears. Knox, who meanwhile stood calmly looking on, as soon as he could be heard, answered her Majesty to this effect, "that when not in the pulpit, few had occasion

to be offended with his words, but when there he was not his own master, but the servant of Him who had commanded him to speak plain and flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth; that her Grace had indeed shewn him more favour than ever he required, but his answer was then what it was now, that God had not sent him to wait in the courts of princes or in the chambers of ladies, but to preach the gospel." "Grant it to be so," replied the Queen, "but what have you to do with my marriage, or what are you in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," said the dauntless Reformer, "and though I be neither lord, earl, nor baron within it, yet hath God made me, how abject soever I be in your eyes, a useful and profitable member within the same. As such, it belongs to me as much as to any one of the nobility, to forewarn my country of danger, and, therefore, what I have said in public I here repeat to your own face,—whenever the nobility of this realm shall consent that you be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lies to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of the realm, and perhaps, in the end, may do small comfort to yourself." At these words, she broke forth anew into bitter and passionate exclamations, "and tears," says Knox, "might have been seen in greater

abundance than the occasion required." About these "tears" much has been said, and they have been the occasion of much needless indignation against Knox and as needless sympathy for Mary. Whatever some persons may continue to think about Knox and "his coarseness," and whatever others may continue to think of his "cruelty," the number is every day increasing of those who think "that these speeches of his were not so coarse after all, that they were about as fine as the circumstances would permit," and who, knowing how much real misery there is in the world, are not disposed to waste their feelings unnecessarily, and are of opinion "that as there is little to reprobate in the conduct of the Reformer, there is just as little to commiserate in the case of the Queen."

I must now tell you how this strange interview of John Knox with the Queen ended. John Erskine of Dun, a man, as I have said, of a meek and gentle spirit, attempted to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty and excellence, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour. All this, however, had no effect. Knox himself then attempted to speak, but this only served to enrage the Queen the more, who commanded him to leave her presence, and abide her pleasure in the adjoining

apartment. Here Knox found some of the nobles of the court, but they seemed anxious to shun his presence, so that, in his own affecting words, he stood there "as one whom men had never seen." Here also sat the ladies of the court, clad in their richest attire. Entering into conversation with them, he said, between jest and earnest, "Ah, fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and if, in the end, you might enter heaven with all this gay gear. But fie upon that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not, and when he has laid on his arrest, the worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender. And the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones." While Knox thus conversed with the "Queen's Maries,"* Erskine, who had remained with her nearly an hour, came and told him he was permitted to return home until her Majesty should take the judgment of her Lords of Council in the matter. "And so," says Knox, "that storm quieted in appearance, but never in heart."

* "Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night she'll hae but three;
There was Mary Seton and Mary Beaton,
And Mary Carmichael and me."

KNOX SUMMONS A CONVOCATION OF MINISTERS, FOR WHICH HE
IS BROUGHT INTO TROUBLE.

Two Protestants, Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston, were about this time summoned "to underly the law," as it was called, for interrupting the Queen's servants at mass. Knox, who had been authorized by his brethren to call a General Assembly whenever it might appear to him that the interests of the Church and safety of its members required it, thought good to summons one on this occasion. The brethren prepared to obey the summons and keep the day appointed. In the meantime, however, it brought Knox into trouble as you shall now hear. There was at this time one Mr Henry Sinclair, President of the College of Justice, who was a great enemy to all who professed the true religion, and especially to John Knox. It so happened that a copy of Knox's letter to his brethren fell into this Mr Henry's hands, by whom it was straight conveyed to the Queen, with his counsel that it amounted to treason. The Queen thinking that she had at last John Knox in her power, summoned a council of her nobility, and cited Knox to appear before it. On the day appointed for his trial, Knox, accompanied by a multitude of his brethren, appeared before the Council. The Queen,

surrounded by her nobles and chief officers of state, occupied a chair at the head of the table. Knox stood at its foot. When the Queen observed him standing there bareheaded and alone, she first smiled and then laughed aloud. Turning to the Secretary who stood at her side, she said, "This is a good beginning; but wist you wherefore it was I laughed?—that man," pointing to Knox, "once made me weep; I will see if I now can make him weep." The Secretary addressed Knox in these words:—"The Queen's Majesty is informed that you have travelled to stir up her subjects against her, and for certification thereof, there has been presented to her your own letter; yet, because her Grace would do nothing without good advice, she has cited you to appear before the nobles here assembled, that they may witness betwixt you and her." "Let him acknowledge," said the Queen, "his own handwriting, and then shall we judge of the contents of the letter." The letter being handed to Knox, he said, "I cheerfully acknowledge this to be my handwriting." Here the Queen's advocate read the letter aloud, after which the Queen, looking round the table, said, "Heard ye ever, my Lords, a more treasonable letter?" But the nobles gave her no answer. Lethington then, addressing himself to Knox, said, "Master Knox, are you not heartily

sorry that you have written this letter?" "Before I can be sorry for what I have done," replied Knox, "I must know what is my offence." "Offence," said the Secretary, "if it were no more but the convocation of the Queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied." "Remember yourself, my Lord Secretary," replied Knox, "there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation, and an unlawful one. If I have been guilty in this, I have offended often since I last came to Scotland, for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour unto the which my pen served not. And before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime." "Then was then," said Lethington, "and now is now; we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had." Knox answered, "The time that has been is even now before my eyes. I see the poor flock in no less danger now than it ever was at any time before, except that Satan has a visor upon his face. Before, he came in by open tyranny, now 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, my Lord Secretary, you do but trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges; is not that treason?" "No, Madam," said the Lord Ruthven, "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon

almost daily, and, whatever your Grace or others will think of it, we think it no treason." "Peace, my Lord," said the Queen, "and let him answer for himself." "I began, Madam," said Knox, "to reason with the Secretary (whom I take to be a better logician than your Grace is), that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my Lord Ruthven has given an instance, which, if your Grace deny, I shall address myself to the proof." "I will say nothing," said the Queen, "against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment." "Madam," replied Knox, "what I did in writing that letter was at the commandment of the general Kirk of this realm; and, therefore, I think I have done no wrong." "You shall not escape so," said the Queen; "is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be acts of Parliament against this." Several lords admitted it was so. "But wherein," said Knox, "does that affect me?" "Read," said the Queen, "this part of your own letter, 'This fearful summons is directed against them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude.' Now," said the Queen triumphantly, "what say you to that?" While many wondered what reply Knox

would make, he said, "Is it lawful, Madam, to answer for myself; or shall I be condemned before I be heard?" "Say what you can," replied the Queen, "I think you have enough to do." "I ask first, then," said Knox, "of your Grace, and of this honourable audience, whether it be not well known that Papists are deadly enemies to all who profess the gospel of Christ, and that they most earnestly desire their extermination, and of the true doctrine now taught within this realm?" So satisfied was the Queen that this was the case, she answered not; but all the lords, with one voice, said, "God forbid that either the lives of the faithful or the preaching of the gospel stood in the power of the Papists, for experience has taught us what cruelty is in their hearts." "Seeing, then," continued Knox, "you admit this, if they are permitted to proceed against Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused, can any one think their cruelty will end here? No man of judgment can think so, but rather the direct contrary, that is, that by these proceedings against a few, they intend preparing a way, under colour of law, for a bloody enterprize against all." Here one of the councillors said, "You forget yourself, you are not in the pulpit." To this Knox made the memorable reply, "I am in the place where I am

demande of conscience to speak the Truth ; and therefore, the Truth I speak, impugn it whoso list."

After having spoken at greater length, showing "that princes of meek and gentle natures may be perverted by evil counsellors, giving among other examples that of the Queen's mother, the Queen said, "Well, you speak fair enough here before my lords, but the last time that I spake with you privately, you made me weep many salt tears, and said to me, 'that you set not by my weeping.'"

To this Knox shortly replied, after which, having conferred privately with the Queen, the Secretary told him he might return to his house for that night.

Whereupon Knox said, "I thank God and the Queen's Majesty," and withdrew. The Queen also retired to her cabinet. The nobles were then asked, "if John Knox had not offended the Queen's Majesty?" When the vote was taken, they all answered "that they could find no offence."

At this decision the Secretary was displeased, the Queen was brought back, and the vote was ordered to be taken again. But the lords were not to be overborne in this way. They refused to vote again, and indignantly said, "What, shall the Laird of Lethington have power to control us, or shall the presence of the Queen cause us to offend God, and condemn an innocent man against our consciences!" Thus the

whole of the assembled nobles declared Knox to be innocent, and in the presence of the Queen herself praised God for his modest demeanour and for his plain and sensible answers. Even Sinclair, his bitter enemy, voted for his acquittal, and when challenged by the Queen for his vote, said, "Your Grace may be assured it is neither affection to the man, nor yet love to his principles, that moved me to absolve him, but the simple truth which plainly appears in his defence." The council now broke up. "That night," says the historian, "there was neither music nor dancing in the Court, so disappointed was the Queen of her hope, which was to have had John Knox in her will by the vote of the nobility."

THE CONVOCATION.

On the 26th December 1563, the Assembly convened by Knox met. In his address to the Assembly, after stating the circumstances in which they met, and alluding to his late trial, Knox said, "the danger that appeared to me in my accusation was not so fearful, as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, 'What can the Pope do more than send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed.' Right honourable

and beloved brethren, let me have your judgment therefore, whether I have usurped any power to myself, or if I have in this matter but obeyed your commandment." Knox being removed, the whole Assembly found "that a charge had been given him to convene the brethren from all parts of the country as often as danger appeared to the Church, and that what he had done was to be considered not as his deed only, but the deed of them all." Many noblemen were present. Complaints being made that the ministers' stipends were not regularly paid, the Secretary said, "Seeing ministers will not follow our counsels, so will we suffer ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come." His words, however, had as little influence with the nobles in the Assembly, as they had in the council. "If the Queen," said they, "will not provide for our ministers, we must." "If you would follow my counsel," said one, "the Queen's guard and the Papists should complain as long as our ministers have done." At these words the Secretary said, "that he meant not all ministers, but those to whom the Queen was no debtor, for what 'third' received she of the boroughs?" "My Lord Secretary," replied Christopher Goodman, an Englishman, "if you can shew me what just title either the Queen has to the 'third,' or the Papists to the 'two parts,' then I

think I should resolve you whether she were debtor to ministers within boroughs or not." Let not a stranger," said the Secretary, quoting a Latin proverb, "be curious in a strange commonwealth." "Although I be a stranger in your country," replied Goodman, "yet I am not so in the Church of God, the care of which belongs no less to me in Scotland than if I were in the midst of England."

CORRUPT COURT OF QUEEN MARY.

At this period the immorality of the Court attracted general notice, and was the common complaint of all wise and good men. "What report," says Knox, "the Queen's Maries had, and the rest of the danciers and singers of the Court, the ballads of that age will witness, but we for modesty's sake omit. God, from heaven and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that he was offended at the iniquity that was committed within the realm. The rain fell in torrents, and in the falling freezed so vehemently that the earth was one sheet of ice. Battles were seen in the firmament, spears and weapons of war, and as it had been the joining of two armies. But the Queen and the Court made merry, there was banqueting upon banqueting, the Queen would banquet the lords, and they behoved to

banquet her in return; and so did banqueting continue till Fastron even. But the poor ministers were mocked, and their stipends could not be had, notwithstanding all the fair promises made to the contrary. But how these, or any other promises made by the Queen, or in her name, unto the kirk of God, were observed, the world can witness." "And thus," he adds, "had the servants of God a double battle, fighting upon the one side against the idolatry and the rest of the evil practices maintained by the Queen, and on the other against the ingratitude of such as at one time would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the church within the realm."

POPISH LEAGUE.

(1564.)

At this period, two of the most powerful persons in France and Spain, were Catherine of Medicis, the mother of Francis the First, husband of Queen Mary, and the Duke of Alva. They had beheld with regret the growth of the reformed religion in their respective kingdoms. In the summer of 1564, along with her youthful son, Charles IX., Catherine had made a progress through the South of France. By appointment, the Duke of Alva came to meet her at Bayonne. Here, after several conferences, they came,

says a historian, "to the resolution that toleration must be at an end, and that the only safety for the Roman Catholic faith was the extermination of its enemies." With this object, they drew up a *bond* or league, which they signed in the name of their respective sovereigns, and agreed that it should be sent to all the Popish princes of Europe. Among the rest, it was sent to Queen Mary. The persons who brought this bloody bond to the Scottish court, were Oleman, a Frenchman, and Thomson, a Scotchman. When informed of the league, and urged to join it, Mary, it is said, at first hesitated, at last the persuasions of the two envoys prevailed, and in an evil hour she signed the fatal scroll. "This may, I think," says Tytler, "be regarded as one of the most fatal errors of her life, and it proved the source of all her future misfortunes."

A PROTESTANT BOND.

No sooner did the Protestant lords discover the existence of the league, and that their own sovereign was actually a member of it, than they saw the necessity of making common cause for the safety of their lives and their religion. Sometime previous to this, there had come to Scotland in the train of the Savoy Ambassador, one David Rizzio. This

person, at first employed as a singer in the Queen's band, was not long till he so commended himself to the favour of the Queen, by his skill in music and literary attainments, that she raised him to the office of her private secretary. This gave great offence to the Scottish nobles at the time, but they said nothing. It was not long, however, till they began to suspect that he was an agent of the league, which it is now generally believed he was. Certain it is, no man was in greater favour, or had more influence with the Queen, than Rizzio, on which account he was not more obnoxious to the Protestant lords than to the King himself, who sent for Lord Ruthven to assist him against "the villian David;" in other words, to contrive how they might take away his life. Lord Ruthven called to his assistance the Earl of Morton. To these two lords it seemed that a way was now opened up for countervailing the designs of the Queen, for restoring the banished lords, and placing the reformed religion out of danger. They formed a Protestant "band," in which they promised to seize Rizzio, and, if need be, to put him to death—to support the King in all his just quarrels—to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, and to give him the crown matrimonial. On his part the King promised to restore the banished lords, to maintain the Pro-

testant religion, to put down its enemies, and uphold every reform founded on the Word of God.

FIRST NATIONAL FAST OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND.

(1566.)

While this plot was in progress, a meeting of the General Assembly took place in Edinburgh, at which, to use the words of the act, "The hail Assembly, in respect of the perils and dangers wherewith the Kirk is assaulted, and that by mighty enemies, considered a general fast to be published throughout this realm in all kirks reformed." This was the first National Fast appointed by the reformed Church of Scotland. "Upon Sabbath the third day of March," says Knox, "began the fasting at Edinburgh. On the seventh day, the Queen came from the palace of Holyrood to the town in wondrous gorgeous apparel, albeit the number of lords and train was not very great."

MURDER OF RIZZIO.

On this day (March 7th), the Parliament met, with what object it had been summoned, the Queen's own words in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, then in Paris, will shew, "We, accompanied with our

nobility, past to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for holding of our Parliament, and elected the lords of articles, the spiritual lords being placed therein in the ancient manner tending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion, and to have proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits." The proceedings of Parliament, however, were suddenly and fearfully ended. On Saturday evening, the ninth of March, while the Queen was at supper, attended by the Countess of Argyle, Beaton, Master of the Household, Arthur Erskine, Captain of the Guard, and Rizzio, her chamber was violently entered by Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, Car of Fawdonside, and others, who, calling out that their business was with Rizzio, ordered him to retire. Instead, however, of leaving the room, the wretched Italian, springing behind the Queen, laid hold of her dress, and, in his broken language, called out piteously "that she would save his life." This was not in the Queen's power to do. While clinging to her for safety, he was stabbed over her shoulder. His bleeding body was then dragged to the chamber-door, where, having received fifty-six wounds, he was miserably slain. When the Queen, who during the perpetration of this savage murder wept sore, heard that he was dead, she said "Is it so, then farewell tears; we must now think of re-

venge." How truly she kept her word, following events will declare. Next day a proclamation was issued in the Queen's name, commanding all bishops, abbots, and other Papists, to depart the town, which they were glad to do. On the evening of the same day, Murray and the banished lords entered the capital, and having obtained an interview with the Queen, were restored to favour. "Thus," says Knox, "were all who professed the evangell religion within this realm delivered from the dangers which were likely to have fallen upon them; for if Parliament had been suffered to proceed, it was thought by all men of the best judgment that the Protestant religion would have been wrecked, and Popery restored." The young reader will no doubt be pleased to hear of an issue so favourable to the true religion, but he can scarcely fail to regret that so desirable an end had not been brought about by worthier means.

LETTER TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

While the Church of Scotland was exposed to these dangers from without, the Church of England was afflicted by dissensions within. The cause of these dissensions was this. When the English Reformers left the Church of Rome, they

retained many of its ceremonies, such as the use of organs in churches, crossing at baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling at the communion. They sanctioned the use also of the dress which had been worn by the Romish priests—the square cap, the gown, tippet, and surplice. This was occasion of remonstrance and regret to many of their brethren, who, regarding these ceremonies as superstitious, refused to submit to them; and who, regarding these vestures as unsuitable to the simple ministry of Christ, and as the “livery of Antichrist,” refused to wear them. This gave rise to a controversy, which is known to the readers of English history as the *vesture controversy*. The individuals objecting to the ceremonies and vestures were called *Puritans*. Such was the origin of this term, and of the party who, under this designation, fill so important a place in the history of the English Church and nation. Having indulged their conscientious scruples for a time, Elizabeth at last resolved to put an end to this irregularity by an Act of Uniformity. On the 24th March 1564, an ecclesiastical commission met at London, before which the non-conforming ministers were summoned, and required to submit to the use of the ceremonies and vestures, on pain of deposition from the ministry. On entering the court, they saw Robert Cole, for-

merly an antivesturist, standing before them, arrayed in "cap and surplice." Pointing to Cole, the Bishop's Chancellor thus addressed them:—"My masters and the ministers of London, the Council's pleasure is, that ye speedily keep unity of apparel, like this man. In the church ye must wear a surplice; the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and the Articles, ye must inviolably observe. Ye that will subscribe, write *volo*—ye that will not, write *nolo*. Be brief; no words." "Mouths," says an English historian, "were opened immediately; but it was abruptly added, 'Peace, peace Apparitor, call the churches.'" Some, though they complained that they were killed in their inmost souls, and unable to minister any longer in singleness of heart, conformed. Others, who could not be induced to put on vestures which they loathed, and which they termed "the livery of Antichrist," "relics of the Amorites," "brought in by Papists, the enemies of God," and preferring, as they said, "a pattern from Reformed brethren to one from Popish enemies"—refused to comply, and were on this account subjected to suspension and sequestration at first, and afterwards to deposition. Fox, the martyrologist, was among the Nonconformists. Being asked to subscribe, he produced a Greek Testament, saying, "to

this will I subscribe." The deposed ministers now met, like the early Christians, in secret, for fear of the authorities. An aged man, named John Smith, along with some others, being brought before the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and other members of the ecclesiastical commission, for attending a private meeting, was asked to assign the cause of his disobedience. "So long," he replied, "as the Word was freely preached, and the sacraments were administered without *idolatrous gear*, there was no assembling in private houses." The bishop, observing that he had said mass himself, but was sorry for it—"Why, you go," said one of the prisoners, "like a mass-priest still." The ministers of the Reformed Churches abroad hearing of the suffering to which their brethren in England were thus exposed, interfered on their behalf, and "entreating the bishops to pray the Lord of the harvest to thrust more labourers into his vineyard rather than thrust any out of it for such traditions and relics of Popery." The General Assembly, also, at their meeting in December 1566, ordered a letter to be directed to their brethren, "the bishops and pastors of England, that they would be content gently to handle those whose conscience would not permit them to wear such garments as idolaters in time of blindness used in their idolatry." "If,"

said they, "surplice, corner-cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolaters, what hath the preacher of Christian liberty and the rebuker of superstition to do with these dregs of that Roman Antichrist? Our brethren who of conscience refuse that apparel do not molest you that use such vain trifles. If ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but ye shall please God and comfort the hearts of many who are wounded by the extremities used against these godly and well-beloved brethren. Colour of rhetoric or human persuasion we will use none, but this we entreat, that our brethren who among you refuse the Romish rags may find of you such favour as our Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to shew one to another. But we expect to receive of your courtesy not only, but because ye fear to offend God's majesty in troubling your brethren for such vanities." This letter they sent by the hands of Knox, who received permission from the Assembly to pass into England to visit his two sons, whom he had sent to be educated in that kingdom. What effect the interference of the Reformed Churches on the continent, and of the Church of Scotland, had in restraining the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commission against their non-conforming brethren, we cannot say. Certain it is, as no persecution could induce the Puritans to submit to the yoke of the

ceremonies, no persuasions could induce the bishops to break it; which led one of our Scottish ministers to say—"The Reformation of the Church of England resembled the raising of Lazarus, who came forth bound hand and foot in his grave-clothes; whereas the Reformation of the Church of Scotland resembled the resurrection of Christ, who, when he came forth, left his grave-clothes behind."

JOHN CRAIG'S REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE
WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

The death of Rizzio was soon followed by a still more awful tragedy—the murder of Darnley. The principal agent in this bloody deed was James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. Placards were posted at night on the streets accusing him of the murder, nor was the Queen herself spared. One of the placards bore this inscription—"Farewell, gentle Henry, but a vengeance of Mary." As the Queen rode through the streets, the market-women cried out, "God save your Grace, if you be saikless of the King's death." The pulpits rang with denunciations against the murderers, and the ministers in their prayers called upon God in these striking words—"Reveal and revenge." Notwithstanding the popular indignation against him, Bothwell rose higher than ever in the

Queen's favour. He was created Duke of Orkney, and, to crown her infatuation and to leave no room for doubting her participation in the murder of her late husband, she consented to marry the man whose hands were stained with his blood. This announcement filled the nation with horror. To render the marriage legal, it was necessary that the banns should be publicly proclaimed. This, John Craig, in the absence of Knox, was ordered to do. Craig refused, and was summoned before the Council. Being asked why he had refused, he replied, "the General Assembly had forbidden the marriage of persons divorced for adultery, which Bothwell had been. Moreover, he was universally suspected of the late King's murder, which his marriage with the Queen would confirm." These objections Bothwell attempted to answer, but without success. Whereupon Craig admonished him to "lay aside all thoughts of this marriage, if he wished to avoid the wrath of Almighty God." Having thus exonerated his own conscience, and being persuaded it was his duty to make known the Queen's intention of marriage to her subjects, leaving them to take what steps they thought fit in the matter, he proclaimed the banns in the presence of the Congregation, adding these solemn words,—“I take heaven and earth to witness that I abhor and detest this marriage, as

odious and slanderous to the world, and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled for the good of the Church and the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Notwithstanding this faithful dealing, the General Assembly, which met soon after, saw it their duty to call upon Craig to vindicate his conduct publicly, for having published the banns. Having heard his defence, the Assembly decided it to be good, and to show to all persons hereafter his good judgment and proceedings in that business, they ordered it to be inserted in their minutes, under the title of "Mr Craig's expurgation." The conduct of Craig must be admitted to reflect on him the greatest credit, especially when contrasted with that of the Bishop of Orkney, who solemnized that evil marriage; nor was it without reason that Knox uttered this severe sarcasm upon the time-serving order to which he belonged, "A bishop must bless the marriage; if there be a good work to be done, a bishop must do it. Here mark the difference between this base bishop and this worthy minister, Mr Craig."

REFLECTIONS ON THE FATE OF MARY.

The marriage of Mary with Bothwell was fatal to her character and happiness. It was the last

drop in the cup of her iniquity. Her guilty career, with that of her profligate paramour, came now speedily to a close. In less than four weeks from the day of his marriage, Bothwell was a fugitive beyond seas, and Mary was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle.

Thus were the projects against the Reformation, which her uncles the Guises contrived, and which she hoped to execute, brought to nothing; God, in his mercy, preventing her from effecting the ruin of his cause, by leaving her in his anger to effect her own. For the terrible reverses which now befell this unfortunate Queen, her past life was a poor preparation. How impressively by her history are we taught the truth of these passages of God's holy Word, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." "The turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them." "These things doth the Lord hate, a proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood." "Evil pursueth sinners, but to the righteous good shall be repaid."—Ah! young people, think not that to be great is to be happy. They only are happy who are good. To be wicked is to be miserable. Seek then to be good; seek the good Spirit of God. He will lead you in the ways of uprightness here, and to the land of uprightness

hereafter. "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things, prudent, and he shall know them; for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them, but the transgressors shall fall therein."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GOOD REGENT—KNOX FORETELS THE DEATH OF A MOCKER
—THE TULCHAN BISHOPS—BEZA'S LETTER TO KNOX—KNOX'S
OLD AGE, SICKNESS, AND DEATH.

(1567—1572.)

THE GOOD REGENT.

On the 22d day of August 1567, the Earl of Murray was proclaimed Regent, amidst the general rejoicings of the people. No sooner had Murray accepted this important office, than, in the words of the English ambassador, "he went stoutly to work, resolving rather to imitate those who had led the people of Israel than any captains of that age."

How well this great Christian magistrate understood the nature and ends of magistracy, in relation to the Church, and how, as a "nursing father," he sought to protect, nourish, extend, and prosper

it, the following extracts from a letter addressed by him to the Assembly of July 1569, will shew : —“ Seeing we cannot be present at this Assembly, as our intention was, we thought it convenient briefly to give you in writing signification of our meaning, of the which we pray you to take good consideration, and accordingly give your judgment. Ye are not ignorant what was the state of the Church of God within this realm, before we accepted the burden of government, and what it hath been since. Now, the first thing whereof we were careful was, that the true religion might be established, and the ministers properly provided for. Ye know, at the Parliament, we were most willing that the Church should have been put in full possession of its proper patrimony. Whereunto, although we were earnestly bent, yet the Estates delayed, and would not agree thereunto. And since that time unto this hour, we trust ye will affirm that we have left nothing undone that could advance the Reformed religion, and put the professors thereof in security. This now moveth us to write unto you in this form. At our coming to Aberdeen, one Porterfield, minister, provided before to the parish of Ardrossan, came and required of us that he might also have the parish of Stevenston, seeing both were little enough to sustain him, and the churches were

near, and he was well able to discharge the duties of both. But we thought it good to ask your judgment in this matter, lest it might have led to corruption, and been drawn unto an ill example. Concerning chaplainries also that shall happen to become vacant, we would be resolved by your wisdoms how to proceed, that ignorantly we do nothing wherewith the Kirk may justly find fault hereafter. We have been very willing to do justice on profane persons, but that expedition may be made in such matters, we pray you appoint and prescribe how the judgment of the Church may be executed against such offenders. We have thought good to give you this advertisement, and so remitting these all to your care and diligence, we commend you to the protection of the Eternal God. —Your assured friend, James, Regent."

The reader may here perceive in what an extended and exalted sense the magistrate may and ought to be "the minister of God for good," and how, while it neither belongs to him to constitute or controul the church, he yet may and ought to countenance and cherish it. Here also he may see how much the political and moral well-being of a country depends on the character of its rulers. Under the short administration of Murray, abuses were reformed, wrongs were redressed, justice was admi-

nistered, peace and public order were so perfectly restored, and so watchfully kept, that, according to an old writer, in those parts of the kingdom formerly most troublesome, "a man was as safe on the road, or at an inn, as in his own house." It is the lot of great men to be envied by the base, and of good men to be hated by the bad. This great and good Regent had his enemies among both. Among these were certain persons of the house of Hamilton, who, envying the rising greatness of the Regent, and hating him for holding an office which they thought should have been filled by the chief of their ducal house, resolved to terminate his life and his greatness together. The individual whom they selected to commit this wicked deed was Hamilton of Bothwell Haugh, a man of fierce temper and of broken fortunes. What measures were taken by the assassin to effect his purpose, and how fatally he succeeded, are well known to all who have read the history of their country. On the 23d day of January 1570, the Regent was shot as he slowly rode through the town of Linlithgow. He was carried to his lodgings, where it soon became evident that his wound was mortal. While all bewailed him, some who stood by said, "that this was the fruit of his lenity in sparing so many of his enemies, and, among the rest, his murderer." The

dying Regent replied, "Your importunity shall not make me repent my clemency." He died during the course of the evening, leaving behind him the reputation of a "skilful warrior, a wise statesman, an upright judge, and an impartial ruler," and, above all, "of a good man." "His death," says one of his great contemporaries, the celebrated George Buchanan, "was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the common father of his country, even his enemies confessed his merit when dead. They admired his valour in war, his ready disposition for peace, his activity in business. The divine favour seemed to shine on all his actions; he was merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his decisions. When the field did not call for his presence, he was busied in the administration of justice, by which means the poor were not oppressed, and the terms of lawsuits were shortened. His house was like a temple; after meals, he caused a chapter of the Bible to be read, and asked the opinions of such learned men as were present upon it, not out of vain curiosity, but from a desire to learn, and to reduce to practice what it contained." "Above all his virtues," says Spottiswood, "which were not a few, he shone in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a way as did more resemble a church than a court; for therein, besides the exer-

cise of devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, and not an unseemly word to be heard. He was a man truly good, and worthy to be ranked among the best rulers that this kingdom has enjoyed, and therefore to this day is honoured with the title of THE GOOD REGENT. "So he was," says Sir James Melville, "and will ever be deservedly called."

KNOX FORETELS THE DEATH OF A MOCKER.

The day after the murder of the Good Regent, John Knox being in the pulpit at Edinburgh, a paper was handed up to him, containing these words—"Take up the man whom you accounted another God." Having read it, he laid it aside, and, without shewing the least discomposure, he proceeded with the services of the day. At the close, he spoke to the congregation of the Regent's death, and of the great calamity which, by his removal, had befallen both the church and kingdom; and he at last said, "There is one in this congregation who maketh that horrible murder, at which all good men have occasion to be sorrowful, the subject of his mirth. I tell him he shall die in a strange land, where he shall not have a friend to hold up his head." On returning home, Thomas Maitland,

the Secretary's brother, confessed to his sister that he had given up the paper. He told her, moreover, of what Knox had said, but turned it into ridicule, remarking, "that the minister must be mad to speak as he did of one of whom he knew nothing." His sister hearing this, burst into tears, replying, "that none of that man's sayings fell to the ground." Maitland, soon after this, went abroad, and died in Italy, on his way to Rome, having no one to assist him.

THE TULCHAN BISHOPS.

At a convocation of ministers, held at Leith on the 13th January 1571, and called by historians the Leith Convention, it was agreed, "that in consideration of the present time, the titles of bishops should be restored, but that the bishops should have no more authority than was already possessed by the superintendents, and that they should be elected by the ministers of their respective dioceses." This resolution was come to in an evil hour, and though it was adopted for the sake of peace, was afterwards the cause of much trouble. The Regent Morton and the rapacious Scottish nobles, now obtained what they had long desired — a plausible pretext for appropriating to themselves the property

of the Church; for while the titles of the ancient and abolished orders were to be restored to the ministers, the revenues belonging to these orders were to remain in their hands, and were to be subject to their disposal, as the legal patrons. The selfish ends of the nobles in bringing about this change the people were shrewd enough to discover. Hence the bishops made after this fashion were called by them in jest, Tulchan Bishops, a tulchan being a calf's skin, stuffed with straw, which at that time it was customary to place before cows, to cause them to give milk. "For thus," says Calderwood, "the bishop had the title but my lord got the milk or commodity." Though by the articles of the Convention, the title only, and not the order of bishop, were restored, even this to many, both of the ministers and members of the Church, was a cause of sorrow and alarm. It was the beginning of evil, and no man could say to what it might lead. In a sermon preached at St Andrews about this time, Mr Patrick Adamson divided bishops into three kinds—My Lord Bishop, My Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. "My Lord Bishop," he said, "was the bishop in the time of Popery; My Lord's Bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefit, and the bishop serves for a portion to make my lord's sure; the Lord's Bishop is every true minister

of the gospel." The Earl of Morton having presented Mr John Douglas, Rector of the University, to the titular office of archbishop of St Andrews, requested Knox to ordain him. This the aged Presbyter positively and indignantly refused to do, denouncing in the hearing of the Earl and many others, *anathema* to the giver and to the receiver. It having been reported to Knox that Mr John Rutherford, Provost of the Old College, had said that his refusal proceeded from disappointment that he himself was not raised to the office, the next Lord's day, he alluded to this report in his sermon, saying, "I have refused a greater bishoprick than ever it was, and might have had it with the favour of greater men than he hath this; but I did and do refuse, for the sake of my conscience."

BEZA'S LETTER TO KNOX.

About this time, the celebrated Beza, hearing how there was a design on the part of the court and nobles of Scotland to bring in bishops, directed to Knox an epistle, in which, after congratulating him on the results of his long labours and sore travail for the Kirk of Christ in Scotland, he added—"But I would have you, my dear Knox, and the rest of the brethren, to remember, that which is before

your eyes. As bishops brought forth the Papacy, so these false bishops, the reliques of Popery, shall bring in infidelity. Let them be wary of this plague, whosoever wish the safety and good of the church. And seeing ye have once banished it out of Scotland, I heartily pray you, never admit it again, albeit it seem plausible, with the pretence of keeping unity, which pretence deceived the ancient fathers of the Church—yea, even many of the best of them.”

KNOX'S OLD AGE, SICKNESS, AND DEATH.

(1571.)

During his stay at St Andrews, though unable to walk to the church without assistance, Knox continued to preach every Sabbath. His appearance on these occasions is thus described by James Melville, then a student at St Andrews. “Of all the benefits that I had that year (1571), the coming in of that most notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr John Knox, was the greatest. I heard him teach there the prophecies of Daniel; I had my pen and my little book, and took away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderate, the space of an half hour, but when he entered to application, he made me so grew and tremble, that I could not hold a pen to write. He

was very weak; I saw him every day go hooly and fear, with a furring of masticks about his neck, a staffe in his hand, and gude, godly Richard Balanden, his servant, holding up the other oxters, from the Abbey to the Parish Kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant, was lifted up to the pulpit, where he behoved to lean at his first entry, but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous, that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads, and flee out of it." In the end of August 1572, he returned to Edinburgh, where it soon became evident that the end of his labours and life was at hand. Aware that the hand of death was upon him, he wrote to Mr James Lawson, who had been appointed his successor, in which, among other things, he said, "Make haste, my brother, otherwise you will come too late." On the 9th day of November 1572, John Knox preached, at the admission of his successor, his last sermon; and at no time (says the historian Petrie) was he heard to speak with greater fervency, and more content of the hearers. In the end of his sermon, he took God to witness that he had walked in a good conscience among them—not seeking to please men—not serving his own or other men's affections—but in all sincerity and truth preaching the gospel of Christ. Then praising God

who had given them one in his room, he exhorted them to stand fast in the faith they had received; and, having prayed fervently for pastor and people, he gave them his last farewell,—at which the congregation were much affected, “sorrowing most of all for the words that he spake, that they should see his face no more.” Being carried home, he was that day laid on the bed from which he came down no more. During his sickness he was much visited by persons of all ranks, and spoke unto them comfortably. Two days before his death, he sent for two ministers, David Lindsay and James Lawson, and the elders of the church, to whom, when they were come, he thus spake: “The time approaches for which I have long thirsted, when 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 preached nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel, and that the end I aimed at in all my preaching was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and beat down with the threatenings of God’s judgments such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great severity; but God

knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I threatened God's judgments. I did only hate their sin, and laboured to gain them to Christ : That if I did not forbear to rebuke any, of whatever condition, it was out of the fear of God, who had placed me in the ministry, and who I knew would bring me to an account." Having, after sundry other sayings, dismissed the elders, and calling the two ministers to come near to him, he said, "There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly. Ye have sometime seen the courage and forwardness of the Laird of Grange in God's cause; and now, unhappy man, he hath cast himself away. I pray you two, take the pains to go unto him, and say from me, that, unless he forsake that wicked course whereon he hath entered, neither shall that work (meaning the castle which he kept out against the king) in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a god (this was Lethington) make him keep; but he shall be pulled out of that nest, and be hung on a gallows against the sun." The two went and conferred with Grange, who, when he heard the message from the dying lips of his old friend and minister, was much moved; but it prevailed not,—which being reported to Knox, he took it heavily, saying, "Well, I have been

earnest with God for that man. I am sorry that it should so befall his body—yet God assureth me there is mercy for his soul; but for the other (Lethington), I have no warrant to say it shall be well with him.”

All which shortly came to pass, as he foretold. After a brave defence, the castle was taken. Lethington, despairing alike of mercy from God and man, died by his own hands; and Grange, whom his enemies hated and feared (for he was one of the greatest captains of his age), was ordered to be executed. “Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, came,” says Calderwood, “to visit Grange before his execution. He employed him to go to the Earl of Morton, and to offer him his whole heritage and to pass off the country during his will. Mr David did as he was directed. The Regent, after he had consulted with the Commendator of Dunfermline and the Clerk Register, answered that the people could not be satisfied, nor the cause cleared nor crowned but by the exemplary punishment of that man. Mr David returned with this answer. ‘O then,’ saith he, ‘Mr David, for our old friendship and for Christ’s sake, leave me not.’ When he saw the scaffold prepared at the cross, the day fair, and the sun shining clear, his countenance changed. Mr David asked him what he was doing. ‘Mr David,’

saith he, 'I perceive well now that Mr Knox was the true servant of God, and his threatenings to be accomplished.' When on his way to the scaffold, he caused Lindsay to repeat Knox's words concerning him, and was much comforted by them. 'I hope,' said he, 'when men shall think I am gone, I shall be able to give a token of the assurance of God's mercy to my soul, according to the saying of that man of God.' When he was cast over the ladder, with his face towards the east, when all present thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, and let them fall softly down again, as if praising God for his great mercy towards him." But to return to the dying Reformer. The last night of his life on earth, he slept some hours together, during which he uttered many deep and heavy moans. Being asked why he moaned so deeply, he replied, "I have during my life sustained many assaults of Satan; but at present he has assaulted me most fearfully, and put forth all his strength to make an end of me at once. The cunning Serpent has laboured to persuade me, that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God, who has enabled me to quench this fiery dart, by suggesting to me such passages as these: 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' and, 'By the grace of God I

am what I am.'” Touching three of his fingers, he said, “I cominend my soul, body, and spirit into thy hand, O Lord.” His last words were, “Now it is come!” “Have you hope?” said one of the attendants. He lifted his finger in token that he had, and so died.

His funeral was attended by the Regent Morton and many of the nobility, and a vast concourse of the people. At the grave, his character was drawn by the Regent in these few but fit words, which his country will never willingly let die: “There lies he who never feared the face of man.” Great was the grief, not only in Scotland, but throughout the whole Protestant world, when the news came that “John Knox was dead.” Tributes were paid by the most eminent writers to his memory. Among the poets who celebrated his deeds, his countryman, John Davison, deserves to be numbered; and a few of his verses here may be quoted. The poem from which they are taken is entitled:

ANE SHORT DISCOURSE OF THE ESTAITIS QUHA HES CAUSE
TO DEPLOIR THE DETHE OF THAT EXCELLENT SERVAND
OF GOD.

Lament, Assemblie Generall,
At thy Conventions ane and all;
For thou wilt miss ane Moderatour
Quhas presence muvit great and small,

And terrified baith thief and traitour,
With each unruly Rubiatour.

But chiefly mourne and mak thy mane,
Thou Kirk of Edinburgh allane;
For thou may rue, by all the rest,
That this day thou wants sickin ane,
Thy special pastor, and the best
That ony kirk had, east or west.

Ye lords also, that do frequent
The loft in Sanct Geil's Kirk, lament:
That bugle thair that ye heard blaw—
With whom quhiles ye were small content
For the scharp threatenings he did shaw,
Yet they made you stand somequhat in awe,
Though not so much as need requirit—
This day in grave he lies full low,
Quhilk lang tyme was of him desyrit.

Sa shall All Ages aye reeoir
JOHN KNOX'S name, with great decoir.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENCROACHMENTS OF PRELACY—ANDREW MELVILLE—MELVILLE'S FIRST SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ACT RESPECTING MINISTERS' DRESS—MR PATRICK ADAMSON—THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW'S REASON FOR NOT PREACHING—INTERVIEW OF MORTON AND MELVILLE—THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE—THE DUKE OF LENNOX—ROBERT MONTGOMERY—THE KING'S COMPLAINT AGAINST MR WALTER BALINGALL—ROBERT MONTGOMERY ATTEMPTS TO THRUST HIMSELF INTO THE HIGH CHURCH OF GLASGOW—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY AGAINST HIM—JOHN DURIE BANNISHED.

ENCROACHMENTS OF PRELACY.

(1572.)

THE evils which Knox foresaw would flow from the changes made on the constitution of the Church by the Convention of Leith, and against which he protested with his "dead hand," soon began to appear. The bishops in general were the creatures of the patrons, who, having secured the fleece, cared nothing for the flock. Hence, the General Assemblies of this period were chiefly occupied with proceedings against them for non-residence, neglecting to preach, and to visit their flocks. By the General Assembly of 1754, Mr John Douglas, Bishop of

St Andrews, was summoned to answer at its bar for holding a plurality of offices, for neglecting to visit his diocese and to preach. These last two offences he attempted to excuse by pleading bodily infirmity, saying "that ever since he had taken on the bishopric he had never been well disposed," which made several members of the Assembly smile. The Bishop of Dunkeld, for disobeying the orders of a preceding Assembly to inflict the censures of the Church on the Earl of Atholl and his lady, both of whom were Papists, was enjoined to confess his fault in the church of Dunkeld on the Lord's-day, during the hours of divine service. The Bishop of Murray was cited for immorality, but he not appearing, his case was remitted to the inferior church courts to proceed against him according to the rules of the Church. "Here we may see," says Calderwood, "what manner of men these new bishops, brought in by the Court, were, and what was the fruit of the policy agreed upon at Leith." Respecting the jurisdiction of bishops, this Assembly declared that it should not exceed the power hitherto allowed to superintendents, and that in matters ecclesiastical they should be subject to the discipline of the Assembly. Before breaking up, they appointed four of their number, two ministers and two elders, to request the Regent to countenance the Assembly by his presence, and

legally to ratify its proceedings. Instead of complying with their request, the Regent demanded of them "by what authority they had met, and convened the King's lieges without his advice?" Being thus sternly and unexpectedly questioned, the commissioners were silent, till at last it pleased God to strengthen one of their number with courage, who answered—"We are convened by the authority of our Master, Christ Jesus, the Head of the Kirk, who hath so given us commandment." Thus ended this conference, at which the Regent shewed, for the first time, openly his determination to claim for the State that supremacy over the Church in things spiritual that it had in things temporal, a claim which he continued to assert during the whole of his regency, and which he left no means unemployed to make good. Such was the state of things, and such were the prospects of the Church in 1574. In these prospects there was much that was dark and discouraging. In the late Assembly there was, it is true, no lack of men of the right stamp, men of counsel and of courage also, but there was no man pre-eminent for both. He who in her past contendings had led the Church to victory, was now resting from his labours. Knox was in his grave. A new conflict was approaching, for in the wars of the Church "there is no discharge," and as yet no man

had appeared in all respects qualified to fill his place. None were more sensible of this than were the ministers themselves. In a poem composed by Mr John Davison, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, the loss of Knox is thus deplored :—

“ Had gude John Knox not yet been deid,
It ne’er had cam unto this heid,
Had they but mintit sic ane steir,
He had made heaven and earth to heir.”

For this poem Davison incurred the displeasure of Morton, who threatened him with a prosecution. Its author threw himself for protection on the Assembly. But they stood too much in awe of the Regent to interfere. Campbell of Kinzeancleuch, now an old man, perceiving this, said to Davison, “ Brother, look for no answer here. God hath taken away the hearts from men, that they dare not justify the truth, lest they displease the world. Therefore cast you for the next best.” “ What’s that?” said Davison. “ Go home with me,” replied Kinzeancleuch. Davison consented. On the way thither, the aged reformer was seized with a fatal illness. In his last moments he wept over the state of the Church, uttering loud sobs and lamentations. A short while before he expired, he called Davison to his side and said, “ Take my best horse, and ride

away with my blessing : the Lord bless you. Gird up your loins and make to your journey, for you have a battle to fight, and few to take your part but the Lord only." But they do not sleep whom the Lord calls, nor do they tarry whom he sends. A leader suited to the crisis was at hand.

ANDREW MELVILLE.

In July 1574, after an absence of ten years, ANDREW MELVILLE returned to his native country, bringing with him the highest testimonials for learning and piety from some of the greatest scholars and divines on the Continent. Beza, in a letter to the General Assembly, spoke of him in these terms: "He was equally distinguished," he said, "for his piety and his erudition; and the Church of Geneva could not give a stronger proof of affection to her sister Church of Scotland, than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him that his native country might be enriched with his gifts." A pleasant story is told of Melville and his two Scottish friends on their way home. On entering the town of Orleans in France, the soldier at the gate stopped Melville with the question, "Whence are you?" Melville replied, "from Scotland." "O!" said the soldier, "You Scots are all Hugonots." "Hugonots,"

said Melville in affected surprise, "What's that?" "You have no mass," continued the soldier. "No *mess*, man," replied Melville merrily, "our children in Scotland go to mess every day." On hearing which, the soldier, wishing him a good journey, allowed him to proceed.

On his arrival in Scotland, Melville found that his reputation had preceded him. Scarcely had he entered Edinburgh, when he was waited on by a deputation of learned men, with an offer on the part of the Regent to receive him into his house as his domestic instructor, and a promise that he should be advanced to a worthier situation as soon as a vacancy occurred. The design of the crafty Regent by this flattering offer, was doubtless to win Melville over to his side, and to obtain the aid of his name and talents in promoting his designs upon the purity and freedom of the Church. Whether Melville suspected this or not, we have no means of knowing. Certain it is, favourable and even flattering as the offer was, he at once declined it. Melville was not born to breathe the air of courts, nor "to wear the soft clothing of kings' houses." Retiring into Angus, he took up his residence with his elder brother at Baldovv, where he had spent his boyhood. Having spent a short time here in the society of his brother Richard Melville, and in superintending the

education of his nephew, James Melville, then a youth of great promise, he received an invitation to become Principal of the University of Glasgow, which he accepted.

MELVILLE'S FIRST SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

In 1575, the twenty-ninth General Assembly met at Edinburgh. At this Assembly the Bishop of Dunkeld requested permission to employ an advocate to plead for him. The Assembly would not grant this, but told him that "he should answer for himself or chuse a minister to argue for him." Hitherto the practice of employing lawyers to plead in the church courts was unknown in the Church of Scotland. During the usual trial of the bishops and superintendents, John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, protested "that the examination of the bishops should not pre-judge what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their name and office." Melville addressed the Assembly in a speech of considerable length, in which he stated his own sentiments respecting Episcopacy. This speech, we are told, was listened to with much attention, and made a deep impression. The question was now proposed, "whether bishops, as they now are in Scotland, have their function in the Word of

God, and whether they ought to be tolerated in a Reformed Church?" A committee was appointed, consisting of Craig, Lawson, and Melville, on the one side; with Hay, Row, and Lindsay, on the other—to reason and resolve the matter privately, and to report for the consideration of the Assembly. "This," says Calderwood, "was striking a blow at the root," and was an indication sufficiently plain to all concerned, not only what the sentiments of the Assembly were, but what would be its resolutions. Among other acts of this Assembly, it agreed that articles should be presented to the Regent, craving, among other things, "that means should be taken for planting the Word throughout the realm; that such impediments should be removed as hinder the progress of the gospel; that a portion of the tithes should be set apart for the support of the poor; that because the schools are the fountains of the ministry, provision should be made for them, not only for scholars within the realm, but for such as would pass to the universities of other countries; that saints' days and holy days should be abolished; and that ministers and readers, who by infirmity and age have become unable, should have their stipends during their life."

ACT RESPECTING MINISTERS' DRESS.

The following act respecting the dress of ministers may be quoted to shew the simplicity and the gravity of those times—"Because comely and devout apparel," it says, "in all men, especially in those who have functions in the Church, therefore all ministers and preachers are forbidden to have any broidery on coat or cloak, or to have any cutting out of their clothes, stitching with silk, variegated colours on shirts, rings, bracelets, buttons of silver, or any metal; to wear even velvet, satin, taffety, or any light colour, but that all their habit be of grave colour, to the end that the good Word of God be not evil spoken of by their immoderateness, and that their wives be subject to the same ordinance."

MR PATRICK ADAMSON.

In 1576, Mr Patrick Adamson, minister of Paisley, and at one time strongly opposed to Prelacy, became Archbishop of St Andrews. To his brethren Adamson's apostacy was a source of painful regret; to the profane and to those about court it proved a rich source of amusement. He had a favourite phrase in preaching, "the prophet would mean here," which led Montgomery, a poet of the court, on hearing of

his elevation to the primacy, to say—"For as often as I have been told what the prophet would mean, I never knew what he really meant till now."

THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW'S REASON FOR NOT PREACHING.

The Bishop of Glasgow having been summoned to appear before the General Assembly, to answer for his neglect of preaching, made this singular defence, "Preaching," he said, "was a gift, which was not equally bestowed upon all; that he was not very able, nor so liberally doted with understanding as some others." This defence was more singular than sufficient, for the Assembly requested him to give in his resignation, to which he replied, "that he would do reason."

INTERVIEW OF MORTON AND MELVILLE.

In 1577, Mr Patrick Adamson was interdicted by the General Assembly from the exercise of his prelatie authority, and a commission was appointed with full power to summon him before them, and to give judgment in his case. Enraged at this measure, the Regent sent for Melville to his chamber, where the following characteristic conversation

took place. After discoursing for some time on the desirableness of peace and on the efforts he had made to obtain it, the Regent began to complain of the attempts made to thwart him in his endeavours by persons who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points touching the ecclesiastical government of the Scottish Church and kingdom. Melville was at no loss to discover to whom it was that the Regent alluded, for it was not the first time he had been accused of troubling the Church by "his new opinions and over-sea dreams," in other words, of seeking to introduce "into the Church of Scotland the Presbyterian discipline of Geneva;" and he accordingly replied, "that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies, or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended." "This General Assembly of yours," said Morton, "is a convocation of the King's lieges, and it is treason for them to meet without his permission." "If such it be," replied Melville, "then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convoked hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and yet they were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cæsar."

Happening to mention the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Regent, in his sarcastic manner, asked, "Read ye ever of such an *act* as ours at St Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the Queen Regent at Perth, in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you."

Perceiving that he was no match for Melville in argument, Morton put an end to it by exclaiming, in a tone which indicated that he would not fail to be as good as his word, "There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the country." "Tush, Sir," replied Melville, "threaten your courtiers after this manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's; my country is wherever goodness is. I have been ready to give my life, where it would not have been half so well wared, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified, it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth." Such were our Presbyterian forefathers. Thus did they "stop the mouths of lions." The man of the world quailed before the man of God.

This singular interview having thus ended, Mel-

ville returned to his brethren, leaving the Regent to reflect on what manner of men he had to deal with, and to contrive how he might countervail their policy, and stay the work of God, "which," says Calderwood, "had not God stirred up at this time the nobility against him, without question he had done." Finding that his power was departing from him, and that, through his avarice and tyranny, he had not only alienated the affections of the people, but those among the nobles who hitherto had been his friends, he resigned his authority, in the presence of the people, at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 12th day of March 1578; and King James, though only in his twelfth year, took the reins of Government into his own hands.

THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

In April 1578, the General Assembly met in Edinburgh. Melville was Moderator. The great work of this Assembly was the completion of what was then called the "Book of Policy," but now the Second Book of Discipline. In the composition of this work, which was not intended to supersede, but to perfect the First Book of Discipline, the ablest divines of the Church had been engaged for several

years. Its different articles having been read over, one by one, after much reasoning and grave deliberation, the whole was finally approved, and formally declared to be—what to the present time it remains—the Standard of the Government and Discipline of the Church of Scotland. Of the manner in which this important work was carried on, James Melville, who was an eye-witness, thus writes:—

“It was a most pleasant and comfortable thing to be present at these assemblies, there was sic reverence, and holiness, and zeal. Matters were gravely and clearly propounded, overtures were made by the wisest, doubts were reasoned by the learnedest and most quick, and finally all with one voice concluding upon matters resolved and clear, and referring things intricate and uncleared to further advisement. Particularly this is to be noted, that in all those assemblies anent the Policy there was not sic a thing as a carrying away of any point by a number of votes, but matters were freely proponed, and after begging light of God, and searching the Scriptures, by conference and reasoning, discussed with large and sufficient time taken, and diligently employed for that effect, and all with one voice, in one consent and unity of mind, determined and concluded.” Thus was Presbytery, after the changes it had undergone since the days of Knox, restored

to its primitive form, and this mainly through the labours and influence of Melville. By the same Assembly which completed the Second Book of Discipline, it was agreed that the bishops should for the future be addressed simply as ministers, and that no new bishops should be made in the Church of Scotland. Several bishops were present when these acts were passed, but none of them offered defence or opposition.

Among other good and wholesome acts passed by this Assembly, the following are worthy of notice :—1. All handywork on the Sabbath, all gaming, playing, passing to taverns and ale-houses, and wilful remaining from church was forbidden, and a fine ordered to be laid on those who contravened the act, to be paid for the benefit of the poor of the parish. 2. Parents were forbidden to send their children to be educated in Popish countries, especially to Paris, and other towns professing Papistry. 3. Every householder having lands or goods worth five hundred pounds Scots, was obliged to have a bible and a psalm book in his house, for the better instruction of themselves and their families in the knowledge of God. 4. The office of "Reader," that had been in the church since the Reformation, was ordered to be suppressed, there being now a sufficient number of ministers to supply the churches

through the kingdom, and the people now, it may be hoped, being able to read the Word of God for themselves. For the purging of the Church from scandal, the Assembly required, in the name of God, all men, whether gentle or others, at that time convened, if they knew any within the ministry scandalous in life, negligent in preaching, non-residents, holding more offices than one, or mixed offices, dissolute in manners, to give in their names in writing to the moderator, that due order might be taken with them. So careful were the ministers of Christ in those times that both they themselves and their people should "follow after righteousness." They appointed also a solemn fast, to be kept in all the churches throughout the land, to begin on the first Sabbath of June, and to continue till the next Sabbath, with the usual exercise of doctrine and prayer. Among the causes of the fast, they mention "the bloody conclusions of that Roman Beast tending to raze from the face of Europe the true light of the blessed word of salvation." To crush the reviving hopes of the Church of Rome, and to defeat its designs, they drew up the NATIONAL COVENANT, which was signed by the King and his household on the second day of March 1581, and immediately afterwards by all ranks in the land. This celebrated bond, which a modern writer has pronounced to be the "most nervous protestation

against Popery ever penned," was frequently in after times lifted up as a standard to the people of Scotland, around which, in the hour of danger, they never failed to rally for the faith and freedom of their native land.

THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

Whatever dislike the king and his nobles might have to Popery, it soon became evident that they had no love to Presbytery. On the death of Boyd, nominal Archbishop of Glasgow, it was suggested to the Duke of Lennox, that he had a fair occasion of making himself lord of that city, and of the lands and revenues pertaining to its bishopric, provided he could procure a gift of it from the King to any one of the ministers, who, on condition of an annual pension, would make a disposition of it to him and his heirs. The King, thinking it a favourable opportunity to attempt the restoration of Prelacy, confers the gift on the Duke. It was offered by him to several, who refused it; some because they considered Prelacy unscriptural, and because it had been condemned and abolished by the late Assembly, and others because of the condition on which it was offered.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY.

At last a man was found base and bad enough to accept it. This was Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. On receiving the presentation from the Duke, a bond is given by him, in which he promises, on his being formally installed Archbishop of Glasgow, to dispoise the lands, lordship, and all pertaining to the bishopric, to the Duke and his heirs, "for the yearly payment of a thousand pounds Scots, with some horse-corn and poultry." The Assembly hearing of what even an Episcopal historian of these times calls this "vile bargain," meets in October, when this said Robert Montgomery is summoned to appear at its bar. Besides this Simoniacal paction, many other things were laid to his charge, such as, his having sought to bring the original languages of Greek and Hebrew into contempt, and having tauntingly asked in what college Peter and Paul took their degrees—his having taught that it was sufficient to baptize in the name of one Person only of the Trinity—his having asserted that matters of ecclesiastical government and discipline were things of indifference—his having accused his brethren of being guilty of sedition, and having exhorted them not to meddle with high matters, not to put off crowns, or put them on, adding, "What fault can

they find with the Court? as for myself I find none"—and his having neglected to preach and to attend Presbyteries.—These articles Mr Andrew Melville gave in, first in words, and afterwards in writing, offering to prove them by the evidence of the following witnesses: David Weems, minister at Glasgow, John Craig, Patrick Adamson, John Howeson, and others, who undertook to give evidence, and were put upon their oath. Meantime, however, Montgomery had left the Assembly, and departed the town. The Assembly having intimated to the King what they had done, he sent to them interceding for delay. To this the Assembly consented, on these conditions, viz.: "That Montgomery should no ways attempt being introduced to the bishopric of Glasgow—that his Majesty would use no farther means for his admission—and, lastly, that the liberty of the Kirk should not be prejudged, but that they should be at liberty to judge in this matter as they should afterwards see cause." With these conditions the King declared himself satisfied; whereupon the Assembly commissioned the Presbytery of Stirling to summon Montgomery before them, to hear and judge of the accusations to be given against him, and to report their diligence to the next Synod of Lothian. At the same time they charged him to continue in the ministry of the church of Stir-

ling, and not to aspire to the bishopric of Glasgow, against the Word of God and the acts of the Church, under pain of excommunication.

THE KING'S COMPLAINT AGAINST MR WALTER BALINGALL.

At this Assembly Sir James Melvin appeared with a missive from the King, complaining of some words that had been spoken in a sermon by Mr Walter Balingall, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, against the Duke of Lennox, and craving that order should be taken by the Assembly therein. The words alleged to have been used were these: "That within these four years Papistry had entered the country, not only into the Court, but into the King's palace, and was maintained by the tyranny of a great champion, who is called His Grace—who, if he should persist in opposing himself to God's Word, he should have little grace." Mr Walter, in his defence, "praised God that at last He had given that much victory to the Kirk, that, howbeit heretofore it had been called in question to whom the trial of ministers for their doctrine pertained, it was now acknowledged to belong to the spiritual courts, as the only competent and lawful judges: That, for what he had spoken in his

sermon, he was willing to submit himself, with all reverence, to the godly judgment of his brethren. Nevertheless, though not ashamed of his doctrine, yet, not being minded to give his enemies an advantage, he required this condition to be observed, that the canon of the Apostle be kept, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but at the mouth of two or three witnesses." "Let any man," said he, "according to this canon, which ye may in no wise break, stand up and say he hath an accusation against me, and two or three witnesses with him to prove it; then shall I answer him. But, seeing Sir James Melvin heard not my doctrine, and therefore will not take upon him to accuse, I shall supersede farther answer till I see my accuser." The Assembly instructed two of their number, Mr Thomas Smeaton and David Ferguson, to go to the King with this answer, and to crave that an accuser, with two or three witnesses, might be found, and that his Majesty should send commissioners to hear the trial, which the Assembly was most willing to undertake. Next day they reported that they could get no answer from the King and Council, because of the great affairs with which they were engaged. The complaint against Mr Walter Balingall thus fell to the ground.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY ATTEMPTS TO THRUST HIMSELF INTO THE HIGH CHURCH OF GLASGOW—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY AGAINST HIM.

Early in the year following (1582), Mr Robert Montgomery coming to Glasgow, went to the High Church, on the morning of the Lord's-day, attended by a troop of soldiers. The minister appointed by the Presbytery to preach on that day, being already in the pulpit, Montgomery, ascending the stair, and pulling him by the sleeves, said, "Come down, sirrah." The minister refused, saying that "he was placed there by the Kirk, and would give place to no intruder." Montgomery, seeing the determination of the minister, and fearing the congregation would lay violent hands upon himself, withdrew. For this outrage, and for his having disobeyed the injunction of the Assembly, he was suspended by the Presbytery of Stirling from the office of the ministry. The members of the Synod of Lothian, for carrying the decision of the Assembly into effect against Montgomery, were summoned to appear before the Privy Council. They obeyed the summons, but declined the judgment of the court, as incompetent to take cognisance of a cause which was purely ecclesiastical. In April 1582, the Assem-

bly met at St Andrews. Andrew Melville was chosen Moderator. The case of Montgomery was immediately taken up. Montgomery being present, was heard in his own defence. The King's Commissioner presented a letter from his Majesty, in which he said it was his pleasure that Mr Robert Montgomery should not be called to account for his having accepted the bishopric of Glasgow, or for any part of his conduct connected with it. The Assembly answered, "It was impossible for them to comply with his Majesty's pleasure, yet they would touch on nothing belonging to the civil power, and would deal uprightly in the matter, as they should answer to God and his Majesty." Montgomery's defences were now considered, and found to be irrelevant. He was then removed. Scarcely had this taken place, when a messenger-at-arms appeared, and, in the King's name, discharged the Assembly from proceeding in the case, under pain of rebellion, and of being being put to the horn. This prohibition the Assembly regarded not. They sent their officer to call Montgomery in. "But," says the old historian, "the said Robert staid not for their summons. He was gone." The Assembly found him worthy of the highest censure of the Church, and appointed a day when it should be publicly pronounced. Before that day came, the unhappy

man sent a message to the Assembly, entreating them to grant him an interview with some of his brethren. His request was granted. The result of this interview was his unqualified submission. In the presence of the whole Assembly, he confessed the truth of the accusations laid to his charge, and that he had grievously offended, for which he entreated the mercy of God, and declared himself ready to submit to the will of his brethren. Upon this, John Durie, and others who had been most active against him, came of their own accord and embraced him lovingly, professing that they forgave him freely. Thus apparently ended this matter, to the great contentment of the Assembly. Yet had not many months elapsed when, proceeding again to Glasgow as archbishop of the diocese, Montgomery thrust himself violently into the pulpit of that city. The Presbytery having met to take cognizance of his conduct, he entered the hall in which they were sitting, attended by the magistrates and an armed force, and in the King's name commanded them to sist procedure. As a court of Christ, constituted in his name, the Presbytery refused to disperse at the bidding of Cæsar. Irritated at finding their authority set at nought, the magistrates had recourse to violence. The Moderator, Mr John Howeson of Cambuslang, was forcibly pulled from his seat by

the Provost, who struck him on the face, and carried him off a prisoner. The students of the University, hearing of this outrage on the Presbytery, hastened to their rescue, in attempting which several of them were seriously injured. In spite of this assault, and after their Moderator had been committed to prison, the Presbytery continued their sitting, and remitted their report that day to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. As soon as they received it, that Presbytery met, and ordered the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against Montgomery. This was done by Mr John Davison in the parish church of Libberton, in the presence of a great concourse of people. Intimation of the sentence having been pronounced was thereafter made in all the churches throughout the country.

JOHN DURIE BANISHED.

To aggravate the discontent with which these proceedings had filled the minds both of the ministers and people, there arrived at this time a messenger from the Duke of Guise, with a present of a stud of horses to the King. The messenger was Signor Paul, the Duke's master-stabler, and, as was reported, one who had been actively engaged in the massacre of St Bartholomew. "It was scarcely to

be expected," says a historian, "that this should be tamely borne; and John Durie, the minister of Edinburgh, instantly rode to Kinneil Arran's Castle, where the King had determined to receive Guise's envoy. Meeting Signor Paul in the garden, the minister hastily drew his cap over his eyes, declaring he would not pollute them by looking on the devil's ambassador; and, turning to the King, rebuked him sharply for receiving gifts from so odious a quarter. "Is it with the Guise," said he, "that your Grace will interchange presents—with that cruel murderer of the saints? Beware, my liege, I implore you," he continued, "beware with whom you ally yourself in marriage; and remember John Knox's last words unto your Highness,—remember that good man's warning, that so long as you maintained God's holy gospel you would prosper. Listen not then to those ambassadors of the devil, who are sent hither to allure you from your religion." To this indignant remonstrance James, overawed by the vehement tone of the remonstrant, quietly answered, "that he would have no woman for his wife who did not fear God and love the evangell."

Besides thus remonstrating with the King in private, returning to Edinburgh, he denounced from the pulpit in terms still stronger, the conduct of the Duke and Arran, his two chief advisers. In his

prayer he prayed "that God would either convert the Duke or confound him." The sermon, says Sir Henry Haddington, who was present, "was very long, godly, and plain, to the great comfort and re-joice of the most number that heard it, or do hear of it." At the close, he said, "I know I shall be called to account for these words here spoken; but let them do with this carcase of mine what they will, for I know my soul is in the hands of the Lord, and therefore I will speak, and that to your condemnation, unless you speedily repent." As Durie foretold, he was immediately summoned before the King and Council. He adhered to all that he had spoken in the pulpit, and protested that they had no right to judge of his doctrine, which right belonged not to the civil but to the ecclesiastical courts, before whom he was ready to appear. His protest was disregarded. He was forbidden to preach in any part of the kingdom, and ordered to leave the town within the space of twenty-four hours; which sentence the magistrates were directed to carry into effect under pain of treason. Unwilling to incur the odium of carrying this tyrannical sentence into execution, the magistrates sought to persuade Durie to retire from the town privately, and of his own accord; but as this would seem to imply an acknowledgment of the competency of his judges, and of the justice of his

sentence, he refused. At these proceedings the country was filled with alarm and indignation. "The pulpit," says Tytler, "rang with alternate strains of lamentation and defiance. Patrick Simpson, alluding to the fate of Durie, declared that the principal link in the golden chain of the ministry was already broken; Davison, a firmer spirit, exhorted his auditors to take courage, for God would dash the Devil in his own devices." On the 27th of June, an extraordinary assembly of the Church was convened in the capital. Melville, now Principal of the New College of St Andrews, was continued moderator. In his sermon at the opening of the Assembly, after having spoken of the "perilous times," which, as his text stated, should come in the "latter days," he denounced the late proceedings of the King and Council, who had raised against the Church "the bloody gully of absolute authority; yea, who had raised it against Christ himself, from whose head they were attempting to pluck the crown, and to wrench the sceptre from his hand. This he exclaimed will be called meddling with civil affairs, but these things tend to the wreck of religion, and therefore I rehearse them." Mr John Durie appeared before the Assembly, and having explained his case, craved their advice, which he said he was ever willing to follow, as he was bound

in duty to do. Whether he was bound to obey the sentence of the Council was warmly debated, and on this point the opinions of the Assembly were much directed. It was proposed by some that certain of their brethren should go to the King and solicit in his favour a repeal of the sentence. From this Davison indignantly dissented. "Ye talk," said he, "of reponing John Durie,—will ye become suppliants to the King, that he should repone him whom he had no power to displace, albeit his foolish flock have yielded?" At these words Sir James Balfour, an elder of the congregation, but one who was, notwithstanding, a bold, bad man, started to his feet and fixed his eyes sternly on the speaker. But Davison, who was not a man to be daunted by the face of clay, continued: "Tell me what flesh may or can displace the great King's ambassador so long as he keeps within the bounds of his commission." The Assembly at length decided that he should not remove privately, but await the charge of the magistrates, and that he should obey it if they insisted. This the magistrates did, for that night, while Durie was abiding in his own house, they sent their mace and other servants to convey him out of town. About nine o'clock he took his way through the principal street of the city, accompanied by a small band of his brethren, among whom were Balingall,

Lawson, and Davison. When he came to the market-cross he protested that he did not willingly leave his flock, but was compelled to do it; and declared that although he obeyed the sentence of banishment, he would continue to preach the word, wherever it should please God to give him opportunity, and that no mortal power should prevent him. Upon this he placed a piece of money in the hands of a notary, and took instruments, as it was termed. Hereupon Davison, his faithful friend, who was standing at his side, exclaimed, "I too must take instruments: this I protest is the most sorrowful sight these eyes ever rested on. A shepherd removed by his own flock, to please flesh and blood, and because he has spoken the truth. But plague and fearful judgments will yet light on the authors of this deed."

To some of the baser sort of the people who were present, the expulsion of Durie was a pleasant spectacle. A woman in the crowd cried out, "if any would cast stones at him she would help," and a bystander, one of that numerous class, who, having no conscience themselves, cannot comprehend what speaking or suffering for conscience' sake means, said in a whisper to his neighbour, "If I durst I would take instruments that ye are both knaves." What was a joyful sight to a few, however, was a sorrowful sight to the people generally, multitudes of whom

followed him to the city gates, uttering loud lamentations, and weeping as they went.

CHAPTER XX.

GRIEFS OF THE KIRK — ROBERT MONTGOMERY EXPELLED THE CITY OF EDINBURGH—THE RAID OF RUTHVEN—MR JAMES LAWSON INVEIGHS AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUISE FROM THE PULPIT—JOHN DURIE'S RETURN — DEATH OF GEORGE RUCHANAN—THE MINISTERS PROTEST AGAINST THE RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR—THE KING'S ESCAPE—MR PATRICK ADAMSON'S SERMON—INTERVIEW OF PONT, DAVISON, AND OTHERS WITH THE KING.

GRIEFS OF THE KIRK.

(1582-1583.)

THE Assembly drew up and agreed to present to the King a paper containing fourteen articles, which they termed "certain chief and wechty griefs of the Kirk." One of these griefs was "that his Majesty, by advice of some counsellors, had taken upon himself that spiritual power and authority which properly belong to Christ as only King and Head of the Kirk." The presentation of these "griefs" was entrusted to a committee, consisting of the fol-

lowing ministers. The two Melvilles, Pont, Lawson, Smeaton, Lindsay, Ferguson, and Erskine of Dun. As they proceeded on their mission to Perth, where James then held his court, word was sent to Andrew Melville, that his life was in danger, and that it would be prudent for him and his brethren to return.

Such was the opinion of some even of the deputation, but said Andrew Melville, "I am not afraid, thank God, nor feeble spirited in the cause and message of Christ; come what pleases God to send, our commission shall be executed."

At these words the deputation took courage, and went forward. On reaching the palace, and having obtained an audience, they found his Majesty attended by Lennox and Arran, and several other lords, some of whom were English. They presented their remonstrance. Arran lifted it from the table, and glancing over it, he then turned to the ministers, and furiously demanded, "Who dares sign these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE," said Andrew Melville," and will render our lives in the cause." Having thus spoken, he came forward to the table, took the pen, subscribed his name, and was followed by his brethren. Arran and Lennox were confounded; the King looked on in silence, and the nobles in surprise. Thus did our good

forefathers appear before kings, and yet were not ashamed. "The proud had them greatly in derision, yet they declined not from the law of God." Having thus discharged their duty, after a brief conference, the ministers were permitted to depart in peace.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY EXPELLED THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Shortly after this, the following ludicrous scene took place in Edinburgh. Mr Robert Montgomery, who had made himself odious to the whole country, venturing from his seclusion at Dalkeith, showed himself on the streets. This coming to the ears of Mr Lawson, the successor of Knox, he hastened to the magistrates, with whom he expostulated so effectively, that they issued an order for him instantly to leave the city. Montgomery withdrew, but within half an hour he appeared at the cross, with a royal proclamation, which he caused to be read, and in which all men were commanded, on pain of the King's displeasure, to receive him as a true Christian and a good subject. He then proceeded to the Tolbooth, where the Lords of Session were assembled, but they refused to admit him, alleging that, being an excommunicated person, he could not stand and pursue in judgment. In the meantime,

an immense multitude, armed with sticks, stones, and missiles of every description, assembled at the court door, insomuch that the Provost, alarmed for the peace of the city, declared, "he would have given a thousand merks he had never seen his face." To prevent his falling into the people's hands, he was secretly conveyed from the court, through a narrow lane, called the Kirk Heugh. His retreat, however, became known; the people pursued him, with cries of "Aha! false traitor—thief—man-sworne carle." He effected his escape, but not before he received some smart buffets on the neck, as he sprang through the wicket gate of the Potterrow. When King James, who was then at Perth, heard of Montgomery's treatment from the mob, "he lay down," says Calderwood, "on the Inch, and laughed his fill, saying that Montgomery was a seditious loon."

THE RAID OF RUTHVEN.

Having long set their heart on the establishment of Prelacy, Arran and Lennox now resolved to attempt it. They appointed a council, to be held at Edinburgh on the 27th of August, before which they summoned the leading ministers to appear, on a charge of sedition. On this day they intended to take possession of the town, seize the Earls of Gow-

rie, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ochiltree, and other chief Protestant lords ; after a formal trial, banish the ministers, overthrow Presbytery, and associate the name of the Queen in the government of the kingdom with that of her son. This half Popish, half Prelatic plot, was providentially discovered and defeated. Gowrie, Mar, Lindsay, and the other Protestant lords seeing the precipice on which they stood, that there was but a step between them and the scaffold, entered into a bond, the title of which was, "Form of the band made among the noblemen that are enterprised against Dobeny."* In this bond they engage, in the presence of God, not only to stand by one another to the last, but to punish and remove the authors of these intended evils against themselves and the professors of God's true religion, and to re-establish justice and good order as they shall answer to God, and upon their honour, faith, and truth." The result of this engagement was the incident well known in Scottish history as the Raid of Ruthven.

On the 12th of August, as the King was returning from hunting in Atholl, he was met by the Earl of Gowrie, who respectfully invited him to pass the night in his castle at Ruthven. The King accepted

* "D'Aubigne," one of the titles of the Earl of Lennox.

the invitation. Next morning, as he was preparing to depart, he was prevented by the master of Glamis. The King finding himself a prisoner, broke out into passionate exclamations at the indignity done to him, and then burst into tears. Some of the assembled lords, at the sight of their King in tears, began to relent, and requested Glamis to set him at liberty. But the Master of Glamis was not so easily softened. He answered sternly, "Better bairns greet than bearded men." The Lords then presented to the King a memorial in which they declared, "that in consequence of the intrigues and influence of Arran and Lennox, the religion and the liberties of the kingdom were in danger, and entreated that they should be dismissed from his councils." Though indignant at the treatment he had received from the confederated lords, the King affected to conceal his resentment, and granted their request. Lennox and Arran were dismissed accordingly, and the former was commanded to leave the kingdom.

MR JAMES LAWSON INVEIGHS AGAINST LENNOX AND ARRAN
FROM THE PULPIT.

When tidings of these things reached Edinburgh, its inhabitants were filled with joy. On the Lord's day, August 26th, as Mr James Law-

son was entering the church, the Provost of Edinburgh entreated him to be sparing in his sermon. Mr Lawson answered in the words of the prophet Micah, "that what the Lord put in his mouth he would speak." Among other things he said, "It is true that these two barons had subscribed the Confession of Faith, professed the true religion, and communicated with the brethren at their Lord's table; but their deeds testified that they were utter enemies of the truth. Had they not violated discipline, despised the solemn sentence of excommunication, set up *Tulchan* bishops, and traduced the most godly of the nobility and of the ministry! And as for this Duke of Lennox, what had been his practices since the day he came amongst them? With what taxes had he burdened the commonwealth to sustain his intolerable pride? What vanity in apparel—what looseness in manners—what superfluity in banqueting—what fruits and follies of French growth had he not imported into their simple country? Well might they be thankful—well praise God for their delivery from what was to have been executed the next Tuesday. Well did it become Edinburgh to take up the song of the Psalmist, "The snare is broken and we are escaped."

DURIE'S RETURN.

On the petition of the Town Council of Edinburgh, the King consented also to restore Mr John Durie to his charge in that city. On Monday the 3d of September, Mr Durie came to Leith at night, intending to enter Edinburgh privately the next day. When the citizens of Edinburgh heard this they resolved that he who had been so unjustly expelled the city, and with marks of public contempt, should be received on his return with marks of public honour. Next morning Mr Durie left Leith for Edinburgh. When he had come to the Gallowgreen he was met by a public procession, consisting of about two hundred persons. On reaching the Netherbow the procession had increased to four hundred, and in a short time it swelled to several thousands. As they entered the Port, with Mr Durie at their head, they began the 124th Psalm,

"Had not the Lord been on our side,
May Israel now say," &c.,

which they continued to sing till they reached the High Church. As they proceeded along the streets, the citizens, who crowded the doors, windows, stairs, and balconies, with loud shouts testified their joy at Mr Durie's return. The Duke of Lennox, who was still lingering in the country, in the hope that the King would relent, and

recal his banishment, it is said, was among the spectators. He is also said to have confessed that, at that sight he was more afraid than at any thing he had seen in Scotland. "I have heard," says Petrie, "from persons who were there at the time, that after the Psalm was ended, the people added: Now hath God delivered us from the devil, the duke, and all his men."

DEATH OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

In the midst of these rejoicings, the country lost one of its greatest men. This was the celebrated George Buchanan. In a letter to a friend he alluded to his death, which he knew to be near, in these affecting words:—"Having now reached my seventy-fifth year, I have struck upon that rock, beyond which nothing remains for man but labour and sorrow. My only care now must be to remove out of this world with as little noise as possible." "That September," says Mr James Melville, "in the time of the vacation, my uncle Andrew, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, hearing that Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his History under the press, past on to Edinburgh to visit him, and see the work. When we came to his chamber we found him sitting in his chair, teaching his young man that served him the alphabet. After salutation, Mr Andrew says, 'I see,

Sir, ye are not idle.' 'Better this,' quoth he, 'than stealing sheep or sitting idle, which is evil.' Thereafter he shewed us the Epistle Dedicatory to the King, the which, when Mr Andrew had read, he told him it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain words to complete the sentence. Says he, 'I may do no more for thinking on another matter.' 'What is that?' says Mr Andrew. 'To die,' quoth he; 'but I leave that, and many more things, for you to help.' We went then from him to the printer's workhouse, when we found at the end of the 17th Book of his History, at a place which we thought very hard for the time, which might be an occasion for stopping the whole work. Therefore, preventing the printer from proceeding, we came to Mr George again, and found him bed-fast, contrary to his custom; and asking him how he did? 'Even going the way of weelfare,' says he. Mr Thomas, his cousin, spoke to him then of the hardness of that part of his story, that the King might be offended with it, and that it might stop all the work. 'Tell me, man,' says he, 'if I have told the truth?' 'Yes,' says Mr Thomas, 'I think so.' 'I will bide then his feud and all his kin's,' quoth he; 'pray—pray to God for me, and let him direct all.' They then took leave of him. Nor did George Buchanan and Andrew

Melville meet again in this world. In his dying moments Buchanan was visited by Mr John Davison; he declared his sole reliance to be upon the merits of his Redeemer, and departed this life in peace on the 28th September 1582. By his cotemporaries, George Buchanan was declared to be "the ornament of their age, an example of ancient virtue and piety, a miracle of erudition, the father and prince of all the learned and of all kind of learning." Like many other learned men, he died poor, leaving little more than was necessary to defray the expenses of his funeral. He was carried to the grave amid the lamentations of his countrymen, the most illiterate of whom knew "that a great man and a prince had that day fallen in Israel." "But his country," says a historian, "gave him no monument, and at this day the spot is unknown where rest the ashes of one of the greatest of her sons."

THE MINISTERS' PROTEST AGAINST THE RECEPTION OF THE
FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

On the 20th of January 1583, De Menainville, a French ambassador, arrived at the Scottish court. This De Menainville having been concerned in the massacre of St Bartholomew's day, his arrival gave great offence to the ministers, several of whom were

appointed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to wait on the King, and remonstrate with him on the sin and danger of receiving an ambassador from a King who was an idolator, and who had shed the blood of God's people. The King thanked them for their admonition, and said, "he would use common courtesy, but no great familiarity." "The ambassador," he added, "would not meddle with religion, and if he did, he would soon be answered." To this Mr David Lindsay replied, "That their manner was to pretend at first civil and political matters, but that the advancement of their religion was what they had chiefly in view." In the course of the conversation, the King blamed the ministers for the way in which they were accustomed to speak of the French King in their sermons. "As for that," said one of them, "the priests speak worse of your Grace in France, than we of the King of France in Scotland." "And must ye," said the King, "imitate them in evil?" "Not in evil," they replied, "but in liberty. It is as fair for us to speak the truth boldly, as they boldly speak falsehood; and if we were silent, the chronicles would speak and reprove it." "Chronicles!" said the King, "ye write not histories when ye preach." "Preachers," said Davison, "have more authority to declare the truth in preaching than any historian in the world."

The Earl of Gowrie, who was present, took part with the ministers, and said, "that the French ambassador should be dismissed as soon as possible." The ministers then took their leave, but Davison remaining for a moment behind his brethren, said privately to the King, "Sir, I thought good to advertise you, but not before the rest, that ye swore and took God's name in vain in your speeches." The King received the reproof without any token of displeasure, and thanked him for the prudent manner in which it had been given.

THE KING'S ESCAPE.

Since the Raid of Ruthven, the associated lords, called in the language of the times, from their being in the interest of the Kirk, the Lords Reformers, had conducted the government of the kingdom. Although the King submitted to be guided by their counsels, and professed to approve of that action, he was never reconciled in heart to its authors, and he never ceased contriving how he might escape out of their hands. Among others whom he consulted with this view was Sir James Melvil. This Sir James Melvil was a very wise and a good man, and he endeavoured to persuade the King of the imprudence and impropriety of the change he was contemplat-

ing. When he saw that the King was determined, he gave him his best advice, and received from the King a solemn promise that, though he would dismiss the associated lords from his councils, he would carry his displeasure against them no farther, and that no man, because of the part he took in the Raid of Ruthven, should be brought into trouble. How he kept his word we shall see. The opportunity which he had long sought was at last found. On the 27th of June, he withdrew secretly from the Palace of Falkland, and, accompanied by Colonel Stewart, proceeded to St Andrews, and took possession of the castle of that town. Next day the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, and Argyle, who were privy to the plot, entered St Andrews, and were received by the King as his chief councillors. When the associated lords heard of these things, they were thrown into great perplexity. Two of them rode to St Andrews. The King received them coldly, and ordered them to return home and to remain at their houses till he called for them.

MR PATRICK ADAMSON'S SERMON.

Mr Patrick Adamson was at this time confined to his palace at St Andrews with a peculiar malady, the nature of which the physicians of that

period did not understand. Like Saul when forsaken of the Lord, this unhappy man in his illness sought the aid of a woman suspected of witchcraft. No sooner, however, had the King come to St Andrews then he became, says Calderwood, "a whole man, entered the pulpit, and declaimed before the King in a raging manner against the ministers and the lords, and all their proceedings." In one of his sermons, he alluded to the report that the Duke of Lennox had died a Papist. This he denied, affirming that he died a Protestant, in proof whereof he produced a scroll, which he said was the Duke's testament. "A merchant woman," says Calderwood, "sitting before the pulpit, and looking narrowly, affirmed that the scroll was an account of four or five years old debt, which a few days before she had sent to him. The bishop," thus adds the simple but sarcastic historian, "who professed before that he had not the gift of application, now declaimed and inveighed, but with another spirit than that with which faithful ministers are inspired."

INTREVIEW OF PONT, DAVISON, AND OTHERS, WITH THE KING.

Of the changes produced by the King's escape, the ministers of the Kirk were not unconcerned spectators. Pont, Lindsay, Davison, and Ferguson,

were commissioned by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to repair to Dunfermline, where the King held his Court, and to remonstrate against them. After some delay, they were admitted into the King's presence. Pont said, "they had come to warn him against alterations." "What alterations?" said the King; "I see none." "There is," replied Pont, "great appearance." "No king in Europe," said James, "would have suffered the things that I have suffered." Ferguson, who was remarkable for his homely wit, and who, on account of it, was a favourite with the King, answered, "We would not have your Majesty like any other king in Europe. What are they all but murderers of the saints of God, and is not the king of France one in particular? but ye have been otherwise brought up." "I am," his Majesty replied, "Catholic King of Scotland, and may choose my advisers, and I like them best who are with me for the present." At this, and especially at the word Catholic, some of the ministers were offended, and were about to reply in bitter terms, when Ferguson seeing this, and fearing whereunto the altercation might grow, said wittily, "Yes, brethren, his Majesty is a catholic, that is, a universal king, and may choose his own company, as King David did in the hundred and first Psalm." "This," says Tytler, "was a master-stroke, for the King had

recently translated this Psalm into English metre, and Ferguson took occasion to commend his verses in the highest terms." While he commended the King's verses, he at the same time expressed his hope "that, as he had studied David's poetry, he would follow as successfully David's example." Davison also, after professing his attachment to the King, said, "Your Grace's government has been a great blessing of God, which makes us careful of your Grace's welfare, and especially now, when we see evil company drawing about you in your young years. Ye are in greater danger now than when ye were rocked in the cradle." "I see no danger," said the King, "and I know few of the nobility who are to be preferred for their godliness." "It is to be lamented," replied Davison, "that there is so little godliness in any of them as there is. But yet, Sir, there is great difference between them who, notwithstanding their infirmities, have always preferred the truth, and defended your authority, and between them that never loved the truth, and have filled the field to pull the crown off your head." Ferguson, fearing that Davison, who was of a fiery spirit, would go too far, interrupted him, and whispering in the King's ear, said, "There was no great wisdom in keeping his father's murderers or their posterity so near his person." Davison proceeded,

and concluded with these stern and solemn words, "It will appear if your deeds be agreeable to your words. We will look no more to your words, but to your deeds. We must condemn sin in whatever person. Neither is that face upon flesh that we may or will spare, in case we find rebellion to our God, whose message we bear. Nor ought your Grace to make light of our threatenings, for there was never yet one in this realm, not even those in highest authority, who prospered, after the ministers of Christ began to threaten them." At these words the King was observed to smile, but he made no reply. Ferguson then directed his speech to Colonel Stewart, and exhorted him to beware what counsel he gave the King, "for," said he, "be assured, if ye counsel him to place and displace the nobles of the land at your pleasure, they will not bear it at the hands of a man of your low rank." "At this the Colonel," says Calderwood, "stormed at first, but grew calm incontinent." After some fair speeches from the King, the ministers departed.

CHAPTER XXI.

FLIGHT OF ANDREW MELVILLE—THE HOUR OF DARKNESS—
THE BLACKACTS—PONT AND BALCANQUHAL'S PROTEST—JAMES
MELVILLE'S ESCAPE TO BERWICK—JOHN HOWESON PREACHES
AGAINST THE BLACK ACTS—JOHN CRAIG AND THE EARL OF
ARRAN—THE PEOPLE REFUSE TO HEAR THE BISHOP OF ST
ANDREWS PREACH—THE BISHOP ASSAULTED IN THE STREETS
OF AYR—MR DAVID LINDSAY'S VISION—THE BANISHED LORDS
AND MINISTERS RETURN.

(1586.)

Having brought the Earl of Gowrie to the block for the part taken by him in the Raid of Ruthven, and punished more or less severely the rest of the associated lords, the next object of the King and his corrupt favourite was to silence the ministers. This, however, was not so easily done. They continued to justify from the pulpit the Raid of Ruthven, and when summoned before the King and Council, they defended what they had spoken, and refused to acknowledge that the banished lords were guilty of treason. John Durie in one of his sermons said, "When the Pharisees said to the blind man, whose

eyes Christ had opened, 'We know this man to be a sinner,' he replied, 'Whether he be a sinner I know not; one thing I know, that whereas I was blind now I see.' So whatever sort of men these be I know not; but this one thing I know, that when the Church was miserably vexed and oppressed, it was delivered by their means." For these words he was ordered to leave Edinburgh, and confine himself to the town of Montrose. His session, which included several of the principal citizens, advised him to resist, but he judged it better to bend to the blast, so a second time he left his flock, and went into banishment, from which he never returned. The recent proceedings were denounced by Andrew Melville in his usual style of bold and fervid eloquence. In a sermon preached at St Andrews, on the fourth chapter of Daniel, he said, "Daniel here propounds unto Belshazzar the example of his ancestor, Nebuchadnezzar, and so it is the duty of the ministers of Christ to lay before the prince and the people of their time the examples of their ancestors, if need require. But in our day, if any would speak before the court what evil came upon James the Fifth for listening to flatterers, that the King may take heed of that kind of evils, the preacher will be accused of leaving his text, and possibly of treason itself." He was summoned to

appear before the King and Council. He obeyed the summons, but in a long and eloquent paper he denied their authority, being accused of no civil crime—but of doctrine uttered from the pulpit, which should be tried, he contended, in the first instance by the Church courts, at whose bar he was willing and ready to appear. At this declination of the Council, the King and Arran were enraged, and the King expressed himself so violently, that the councillors were filled with fear, “but,” says James Melville, who was present, “Mr Andrew, neither swerving nor abashed a whit, with magnanimous courage, mighty force of spirit, and abundance of reason and language, told them that they were too bold in a properly constituted Kirk of Christ, to pass by and disdain its pastors and doctors, and to take upon them to judge the doctrine and control the ambassadors and messengers of a King and Counsellor greater and far above them. And that (he continued) you may see your weakness and rashness, in taking upon you that which you neither can nor ought do (loosing a little Hebrew Bible from his belt, and clanking it down upon the table before the King and Chancellor), these are my instructions and warrant; let me see which of you can judge therein, or show that I have exceeded my injunctions.” The Chancellor took up the book, and,

finding it Hebrew, gave it to the King, saying, "See, he scorns your Majesty." "No, my Lord," replied Melville, "I scorn not; but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and His Kirk." "Many times," continues James Melville, "they put him out, and as often called him in again—sometimes trying him with threats, and sometimes with fair words to break him; but he grew more and more in wisdom, strength, and courage—telling them his mind mightily anent the truth and weight of the cause of Christ and his Kirk, and the wrong they had done thereto, which He would avenge, and that perhaps at no distant day." At last he was ordered to be confined in the castle of Blackness. But knowing it was kept by a creature of Arran's, and fearing that if he once entered it he would never leave it in life, he escaped that night from Edinburgh, and in four and twenty hours entered Berwick. "Now," says James Melville, "there was nothing but tears and heavy lamentations, partly for the present loss, but much more for what was like to follow, which every one apprehended in greater and greater measure of fearfulness and horror. But above all, that notable and most faithful minister of Christ, Mr James Lawson, who, seeing so terrible a tempest brewing

and coming on the ship of the Kirk, and the wisest and stoutest of the shipmasters and mariners removed, apprehended the danger so highly, and became impressed with so profound a melancholy, that within a few months thereafter it cut the thread of his most useful and comfortable life to the Kirk of Scotland."

THE HOUR OF DARKNESS.

The evils which were at this time feared and foretold by many were not imaginary. The cloud, which to an ordinary observer was only about the bigness of a man's hand, increased till it overspread the whole heavens, insomuch that the year 1584 was called by our fathers the "Hour of Darkness." Not satisfied with the banishment and imprisonment of its most eminent ministers, the King summoned his Parliament, and resolved to change the constitution of the Church itself. Assembling in haste, the ministers in and about Edinburgh sent Mr David Lindsay to the King, to entreat him that nothing should be done in Parliament prejudicial to the liberties of the Kirk before the Assembly could be heard in the matter. Lindsay was seized as he was entering the Palace-gate, and carried prisoner to Blackness Castle. Undismayed by the treatment

of Lindsay, the ministers sent other messengers to make open protestation against any measures that might be passed affecting the rights and privileges of the Church ; but they were denied access. Not doubting but that the ministers would notice and denounce such proceedings from the pulpit, on the next Lord's-day, the magistrates were ordered to prohibit this, but, greatly to their honour, they refused, saying "it would be time enough when they knew what the proceedings in Parliament were." This they soon knew. On Monday they were proclaimed at the Cross, and, says a writer, "carried dismay into the hearts of all who heard them, it being evident that they amounted to the supplanting and overthrow of the government of the Kirk."

THE BLACK ACTS.

These Acts, about which history has had so much to say, were five in number, and were these:—1. "That the authority of the King was supreme in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical." 2. "That no person should impugn or seek to diminish the power and authority of the three estates of Parliament, under pain of being proceeded against for treason." By this Act, to deny the authority of bishops, or to seek their removal out of the Church, was declared

to be a treasonable offence. 3. "That no courts, civil or ecclesiastical, should meet to consult or determine on any matter without the King's sanction." By this Act the right of presbyteries, synods, and General Assemblies, to meet in the name and by the authority of Christ alone was denied, and the liberty of these assemblies was overthrown. 4. "That the government of the Church belongs to the bishops, and such others as the Kirk might appoint." 5. "That no person was to presume to censure or criticise, in private or in public, in sermons or in conversations, the conduct of the King and his Council."

PONT AND BALCANQUHAL PROTEST AGAINST THE BLACK ACTS.

Whatever might be said of these Acts in private, two ministers only, Pont and Balcanquhal, were courageous enough to condemn them in public. No sooner had the King's herald proclaimed them at the Cross, than they proceeded thither, and, taking instruments in the hands of witnesses, in the name of the Kirk of Scotland they protested against them. When Arran heard what they had done, he vowed "it should cost them their heads." He ordered them to be arrested. They fled, and, though pursued all night by the

King's guard, they made good their escape, and entered Berwick about break of day.

JAMES MELVILLE'S ESCAPE.

"Returning from Angus," says James Melville, "all these news were told me, and the report was, that I was away with the rest. Howbeit, as yet it came nowise into my mind to leave the College, but was resolved to be found there whenever it pleased God to visit me. So, the Sabbath after my home-coming, I went to the Kirk, and after noon, my uncle Roger knowing farther than I did, comes over from Dundee, and, finding a friend of his in St Andrews, told him that the bishop was coming with a commission to apprehend me, and besought him not to leave me till I agreed to go over to Dundee with him. So he dealt with Mr Robert Bruce and others, my friends, and importuned me so that it behoved me to go with him, as I did that night, to Dundee. The news that came to me next morning was, that the bishop's men, with the magistrates, had been searching the College and my house for me, and had sought out all my letters and writings, and that my indictment was drawn up for entertaining of intelligence with my uncle, the King's rebel, &c. So, seeking resolution carefully of my God what to do, a cousin of my own name, of his own free motion and accord,

offered, by the assistance of God, to put me safe in Berwick within twenty-four hours by sea. So, after consultation with my God, and finding his warrant in my heart, I concluded to go, though not without great temptations and much heaviness, yet rejoicing that God gave me the heart to leave native country, house, and sweet loving wife, and all for the love of him and his Christ. Thus my cousin being a mariner, decking me up in his sea-attire betimes in the morning, took me in down under Dundee, as a ship-broken seaman. So we came on slowly and timorously until we got within the bounds of Berwick, where we were in greatest danger of being surrounded in the mist by two or three of the cobles of Berwick, which were so swift in rowing, that they went round about us; but we being five within board, and having two pistols, with three swords, and they no armour, they were fain to let us alone. Thus graciously protected, I came to Berwick, where I found Mr Walter Balcanquhal, and my uncle Andrew, with Mr Patrick Forbes and several other gentlemen."

MR JOHN HOWESON PREACHES AGAINST THE BLACK ACTS.

The Black Acts were not allowed to remain a dead letter. A bond was drawn up by Archbishop

Adamson, and was presented to the ministers to be subscribed, in which they were called upon to approve and submit to them. This many refused, for which they were commanded to leave the country within twenty days. To most this was impossible, so they remained at home and continued to preach, with their lives in their hands.

Among those who did so with distinguished boldness, was Mr John Howeson of Cambuslang. Preaching in the Blackfriars, Edinburgh, on these words, which contain the answer of Peter and John to the Pharisees, "We ought to obey God rather than man," he said, "But what shall we say? there is injunction now given by ane wicked and godless Council, to stop the mouths of the ministers from teaching of the truth, and sic a godless order made as the like was never seen before. There is ane heid of the kirk made, there being nae heid but Jesus Christ, nor cannot be. He shall never be acknowledged here. We will acknowledge nae prince, nae magistrate, nor be bounden to nae injunction, nor obey nae acts of Parliament, nor nae other thing that is repugnant to the word of God, but will do as Peter and John said, 'Better obey God nor man.' But it is not the King that does this. It is the godless Council he has, and other godless persons that inform him wrongously, whereof there is

aneuch about him. For my own part I ken I will be noted ; I regard not. What can the King get of me but my heid ? I shall never obey their injunctions, like as I exhort all faithful folks to do the like."

MR JOHN CRAIG AND THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Mr John Craig, now an old man, Mr John Brand, and several other ministers, were summoned to appear before the Council, who demanded of them "how they dared to disobey the Acts?" "We dare," said Craig, "find fault with any thing contrary to the word of God." Here Arran started to his feet, and said, they were too pert; he would give orders to have their heads shaved and their nails pared, to make them an example to all that rebelled against the King and his Council." "Sir," replied Craig, "there have been men as great and as high as you, who have been brought low." "Of a false friar," said Arran, "I shall make you a true prophet," and then kneeling on one knee he said, "Now I am humbled." "Nay," said Craig, "mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but will make thee find it in earnest when thou shalt be cast down from the high horse of thy pride and humbled." These words were remembered when, a few years afterwards, this proud

Earl came to a miserable end. Mr Craig was forbidden to preach any more in Edinburgh, and the bishop of St Andrews was appointed to preach in his place.

THE PEOPLE REFUSE TO HEAR THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS
PREACH.

On the Sabbath following, Adamson came to the High Church, accompanied by the King and his body-guard, to protect him from the people. On entering the church, finding the pulpit occupied by Mr John Cowper, his Majesty said, "Mr John Cowper, I will not have you preach to-day; come down, and let the Bishop of St Andrews preach to me." "Please your Majesty," said Cowper, "I am appointed to preach here to-day, and if it were your Majesty's pleasure, I would fain supply the place myself." "I will not hear you at this time," said the King, "I command you to come down and let Mr Patrick Adamson preach." "I shall obey you, sir," replied Cowper, and came down from the pulpit. The bishop then went up, but no sooner had he done so, than the people with loud cries rose from their seats, and the most part left the church. The King, with his usual profanity, exclaimed, with an oath, "What ails the people that they may not tarry to hear a man preach?" This was not the only instance in which the

popular dislike to the Archbishop manifested itself. At St Andrews, the students, armed with harquebusses, and other weapons, surrounded his palace, and marching round it at midnight, called out to him with loud voices, to "Remember the fate of Beaton."

THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS ASSAULTED IN THE STREETS
OF AYR.

Montgomery, Bishop of Glasgow, was no greater favourite with the people than the Archbishop of St Andrews. He was attacked in the streets of Ayr by a mob of women and boys, who attacked him with cries of "Atheist dog! schismatic, excommunicated beast!" and it was not without difficulty he was delivered out of their hands.

MR DAVID LINDSAY'S VISION.

This year, 1585, Mr David Lindsay, while a prisoner in Blackness, had a remarkable vision, of which the historian Tytler gives the following vivid description. "Suddenly in the firmament there appeared a figure in the likeness of a man, of glorious shape and surpassing brightness; the sun was above his head, the moon beneath his feet, and he seemed to stand in the middle of the stars. As the captive gazed, an angel alighted at

the feet of this transcendent being, bearing in his hand a red naked sword, and in his left a scroll, to whom the glorious shape seemed to give commandment; upon which the avenging angel, for so he now appeared to be, flew rapidly through the heavens, and lighted on the ramparts of a fortress, which Lindsay recognized as the Castle of Edinburgh. Before its gate stood the Earl of Arran and his flagitious consort; the Earl gazing in horror on the destroying minister, who waved his sword above his head, his Countess smiling in derision and mocking his fears. The scene then changed. The captive was carried to an eminence from which he looked down upon the land, with its wide fields, its cities, and palaces. Suddenly the same terrible visitant appeared, a cry of lamentation arose from its inhabitants, fire fell down from heaven on its devoted towns, the sword did its work—the rivers ran with blood, and the fields were covered with the dead. It was a fearful sight, but amidst its horrors a bell was heard, and within a church which had stood uninjured even in the flames, a remnant of the faithful assembled, to whom the angel uttered these words of awful admonition: ‘Let the righteous fear. Shun iniquity. Seek justice and judgment, or I will return quickly, and the last things shall be worse than the first.’ Lindsay asserted that it was

impossible for him to ascertain whether this scene which seemed to shadow out the persecutions and prospects of the Kirk, was a dream or a vision, but it brought to his mind, he said, a prophecy of Knox, who not long before his death had predicted great peril to the faithful in the eighteenth year of the reign of James."

THE BANISHED LORDS AND MINISTERS RETURN.

The banished lords, who were at this time in Newcastle, hearing of Mr James Melville's arrival in Berwick, sent him an earnest invitation to become their minister, which, after some hesitation, he accepted. Such was the presence of God with them during their stay there, they acknowledged it to be the happiest period of their life. "If the conscience of the good cause we have in hand," said the Earl of Augus, "moved me not, and if I had but as much of my own as might in this manner sustain us, I would be heartily content to spend all my life in this condition." Their captivity, however, was near an end. To increase the misery of their native land, the plague broke out, and raged with great violence. The people cried out that it was the hand of the Lord, and that it would not be

stayed till the King's wicked counsellors were removed, and the banished lords and ministers brought home. When the banished lords heard of these things, they drew near the borders, where they concerted their measures. On the 31st October, they assembled their forces at Falkirk, from which, at the head of eight thousand men, they marched towards Stirling, where the Court was at that time sitting. At their approach, Arran fled, and the Court was struck with terror. Entering the town, the lords requested an interview with the King, which, after some delay, was granted. On being admitted into the royal presence, they cleared themselves of all imputations, and professed that they were filled with nothing but the most dutiful respect to his Majesty. The King said "there was no need of words : weapons had spoken well enough, and procured for them audience to clear their own cause." He admitted that he had been abused by evil counsel, and that the hand of God was visible in their restoration. They then requested that he would consent to reform the corruptions which had crept into the Church and Commonwealth, that he would subscribe the declaration they had made of their cause, that the strengths and castles which the authors of the late troubles held in their hands should be delivered unto them, and that these

troublers of the State should themselves be brought to justice. With these demands the King complied. Arran was proclaimed a traitor. The King's guard was altered, and the fortresses were surrendered. Thus, without stroke of battle, was this great change effected. The imprisoned ministers were set at liberty; those who were in exile were restored to their country and congregations; and thus, in this sudden and surprising manner, the "Hour of Darkness" passed away.

CHAPTER XXII.

ATTEMPTS TO RECOVER THE LIBERTIES OF THE CHURCH—MELVILLE'S LECTURES AT ST ANDREWS—THE MINISTERS REFUSE TO PRAY FOR MARY—THE SPANISH ARMADA—MR ROBERT BRUCE—THE KING'S SPEECHES—RECANTATION AND DEATH OF MR PATRICK ADAMSON—MURDER OF THE EARL OF MURRAY—LEGAL ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERY.

(1585-1592.)

ATTEMPTS TO RECOVER THE LIBERTIES OF THE CHURCH.

THE liberties of the Church, which had been destroyed by the Black Acts, the King, at the Con-

vention of Stirling, promised to restore. No sooner, however, had he been delivered from his difficulties, than, with the perfidy characteristic of himself and his race, he refused. The ministers, seeing this, resolved to call a General Assembly. The place fixed upon for the Assembly to meet was Dunfermline, "no other town," says the historian, "being free from the plague." When they came to Dunfermline, they found the gates shut, and were told that the King had forbidden them to enter. Upon this, they went to the fields, where, after seeking the Divine direction, they agreed to meet at Linlithgow, at the opening of Parliament, which they accordingly did. The following picture, which James Melville has left of Linlithgow, gives us a melancholy view of what was at this time the condition of the country; for, if Linlithgow was bad, the rest of the towns were no better. "The throng of the town," says he, "was so great, that we had no comfort of meat, drink, or lodging, but so evil and miserable that we were rather brought from wealth, ease, and liberty, and cast into a wretched, foul prison, than from exile into our native country. Yet the conscience of our cause, and service of Christ, upheld us, and made us keep together in a decayed house that neither held out wind nor wet, the space of ten or fifteen days, till

the Parliament ended." The ministers drew up certain requests which they wished to be presented to Parliament, but they were refused. They obtained an audience of the King, "who, after divers hot, rough, and sharp reasonings with Mr Andrew Melville, desired them to present him in writing what they had to say against the Acts." They did so, in a long and able paper which, says an old historian, "for want of all convenience was penned off hand." The King returned an answer next day, in which he explained and defended the Acts, and said, "that his interpretation of them was as authentic as an Act of Parliament." Thus the attempts of the ministers to have the Black Acts repealed for the present failed. Though unsuccessful, however, they were not silenced. "I thought," said Mr James Gibson, minister of Pentcaitland, "that Captain James Stewart, Lady Isabel, his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it is the King himself. As Jeroboam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true worship of God, so I fear that if the King continue in his present course, he shall be the last of his race." For these words Gibson was imprisoned; nor did the King ever forgive or forget the liberty he had taken with his name.

MELVILLE'S LECTURES AT ST ANDREWS.

This year, the lectures of Andrew Melville at St Andrews were attended with remarkable success. "The students," says a writer of that time, "began to look more narrowly to the truth, both of discipline and doctrine, whilst the bishop's fair shows and shadows evanished as mist before the sun." Adamson, who, during Melville's banishment, had assumed the superintendence of the University, continued to give lectures as before; but they were attended by few, who heard them with little respect. They examined his quotations, and exposed his errors. Not only did the students crowd to the lectures of Melville, but many also of the gentlemen from the neighbourhood, and of the people of the town. One day when they had come in greater numbers than usual, the bishop was told they had assembled to lay violent hands on him. Calling for his jackmen and friends, he fled to the church, and not considering himself safe even there, took refuge in the steeple. By this time the magistrates and his armed retainers had assembled, and having, but with great difficulty, persuaded him to leave the belfry, conducted him to his palace. On their way thither, a poor hare made its appearance on

the street, and continued to run for some time before them. The people said "it was the bishop's witch."

THE MINISTERS REFUSE TO PRAY FOR QUEEN MARY.

After having detained Mary a prisoner for nineteen years, Elizabeth resolved to consummate her cruelty by bringing her unfortunate captive to the block. She was brought to trial, and adjudged to death. When the King heard of the sentence pronounced on his unhappy parent, he caused a form of prayer to be written for her safety, which he ordered to be said in all the churches. This order several of the ministers refused to obey. On the 3d of February, the King, along with Mr Patrick Adamson, came to the High Church of Edinburgh. On entering the church, he found Mr John Cowper in the pulpit. "That place," said the King, addressing Cowper, "was appointed for another; but seeing you are there, if you will obey the charge, and pray for my mother, you may go on." "I shall do," replied Cowper, "what the Spirit of God will direct me." At this answer the King was offended, and ordered him to leave the pulpit. Cowper refusing, the Captain of the Guard sprang forward, and pulled him out. When leaving the church,

Cowper denounced the judgments of God against the King, saying, "the proceedings of that day would rise up in witness against him in the day of the Lord." The ministers have been blamed for not praying for the Queen, but it is to be observed, none of them refused to pray for her soul, and if a few of them did refuse to pray for her life, it was because they were not satisfied that she was innocent of the crimes laid to her account. They had conscientious objections also to forms of prayer, and "had not been accustomed," as has been remarked, "like the English clergy, to pray by book, or to frame their addresses to the Almighty in words which courtiers might dictate." Whether the King himself was really anxious to save his mother's life, has been doubted. Certain it is, his grief for her death was neither deep nor of long duration, as the following incident, recorded by an old historian, may serve to shew.

"A little after the King had put on his mournings for his mother, one day when Mr Andrew Melville came in to wait upon his Majesty, he was laughing heartily, frisking and dancing about the room with no little levity, as was usual with him in his younger years. Melville, observing him a little, turned round to a nobleman who was near, and repeated two lines of poetry, which he composed

at the moment, and which may be thus rendered into English :—

“What means such mirth under a garb so sad?
He mourns his mother as she did his father.”

The nobleman smiled, which, when the King noticed, he came up and asked him the reason. The nobleman waived it, saying it was a merry tale of Mr Andrew. The King requested Melville to repeat it, who excused himself, saying it might be offensive to his Majesty. The King assured him he would not be offended, and so Mr Andrew repeated them. The King said nothing; but the lines contained too much truth, as well as wit, to be easily forgiven.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

The year 1588 was a critical one for the interests of the Reformed religion in Britain. For some time past it had been known that Philip, King of Spain, had formed a league with other Popish powers abroad, for its extermination. For this purpose, they resolved to create a naval armament, with which to invade England, greater than Europe had ever witnessed. In its preparations, the whole

energy of the Spanish nation was employed. Sixtus V., the Roman Pontiff, engaged to pay a million of crowns the moment that news of a descent upon England should arrive at Rome ; and the coffers of the whole Papal world were opened for their assistance. While these gigantic preparations were making abroad, every effort was made to unite and strengthen the Popish party at home. Scotland in particular was filled with Jesuits and Popish emissaries, who sought to seduce the people from their allegiance, and to persuade them to join the Popish lords, who were to rise on the first appearance of a foreign force. The measures adopted at this eventful period by the English for the defence of their country, their liberty, and religion, were worthy of that brave people. On the 5th of June, the Invincible Armada, as it was presumptuously styled, was completed, and in a few weeks afterwards put to sea. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, and when first descried on the Spanish main, extended seven miles from wing to wing. This mighty armament was destined never to reach the English shores. God fought for England. With such courage did he inspire the hearts of its defenders, with a small fleet of not more than thirty ships, they assailed the enemy, and threw them into confusion. The elements completed what man be-

gan. A storm arose ; the sea was covered with wrecks ; and of the whole Armada, three-and-fifty ships only, and these in a miserable condition, returned to Spain. Both in England and Scotland the people went to the churches and offered thanks to God for this great deliverance. Elizabeth caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of the occasion, which bore this inscription from the song of Moses at the Red Sea—"Thou didst blow with thy wind, and they were dispersed."

Though not called upon to take so prominent a part in this great conflict for faith and freedom as the English, the exertions of our fathers at this crisis, especially of the ministers, ought not to be forgotten. The General Assembly met. Addressing them in a strain of fervent eloquence, Melville called upon his brethren, with the barons and burgesses, to devise measures to avert the dangers impending over the Church and Commonwealth. The call was obeyed. As in former times, a bond was drawn up, and in a short time signed by all ranks, in which they engaged to defend the King and the Reformed religion with their lives. While, through the exertions of the ministers, the kingdom was put into a state of force, prayers and intercessions were made in the churches night and day. The following animated

account of the period is given by Mr James Melville :—

“ For a long time the news of a Spanish navy and army had been blazed abroad ; and about the Lammas-tide of 1588, this island had found a fearful effect thereof, to the utter subversion both of Kirk and kingdom, had not God wondrously watched over the same, and mightily fought and defeated that army by his soldiers the elements, which he made most fiercely to afflict them, till almost utter destruction. Terrible was the fear, piercing were the preachings, earnest, zealous, and fervent were the prayers, loud were the sighs, and abundant were the tears, at that Fast and General Assembly, kept at Edinburgh, when the news were credibly told sometimes of their landing at Dunbar, sometimes at St Andrews, and then at Aberdeen. And in very deed, as we knew certainly soon after, the Lord of Armies, who rides upon the wings of the winds, was in the meantime conveying that monstrous navy about our coasts, and directing their hulks and galleys to the islands, rocks, and sands, whereon he had destined their wreck and destruction.” One Jan Gomez De Medina, a Spanish commander, having suffered shipwreck on one of the Orkney islands, found his way to the mainland, and with his famished crew took refuge in Anstruther, where James Mel-

ville was minister. Having been hospitably entertained through the influence of Melville, they were allowed to depart. "This Jan Gomez," says Melville, "on his returning home, shewed great kindness to a ship of our town which he found arrested at Calais. He took the sailors to his own house, and enquired for the Laird of Anstruther and the minister, and sent home many commendations, for which we thanked God in our hearts that we had received them in that form."

MR ROBERT BRUCE.

Mr Robert Bruce, at this time minister of Edinburgh, was the second son of the Laird of Airth, "a baron," says an old writer, "of the best quality in the kingdom." He was educated with a view of becoming a Lord of Session, and in his youth had been sent to France to study civil law. On his return, he obtained his father's permission to attend the theological lectures of Mr Andrew Melville at St Andrews. From this time he resolved to devote himself to the ministry. This was greatly against his mother's will, who would not give her consent till he gave up his title to the estate of Kin-naird, of which he was the rightful heir, which he

willingly did. One day when walking in the fields with Mr James Melville, he said, "before I throw myself again into such torment of conscience as I have had in resisting the call to the ministry, I would rather choose to walk through a fire of brimstone, even though it were half a mile in length." At the recommendation of Mr Andrew Melville, he was chosen to succeed Lawson, the successor of Knox. Bruce was worthy to succeed both. Such was his gift in prayer, one of his hearers remarked, "that every word he uttered was as a bolt shot to heaven." In such a remarkable manner did the spirit of God accompany his preaching, almost every sermon that he delivered was followed by conversions. Perhaps no minister in Scotland has had so many seals of his ministry as Robert Bruce, and none, if we except Knox and Melville, were held in higher estimation. "The godly," says James Melville, "for his powerful and most moving doctrine, loved him ; the worldly, for his birth and connections, respected him ; and the wicked, for both, stood in awe of him." He was revered by the common people, who were accustomed to say, "that since the days of the Apostles there had appeared no preacher equal to Mr Robert Bruce." Such was the estimation in which Bruce was held by the King, on his depar-

ture to Denmark to bring home the Queen, he appointed him a member of the Privy Council, and declared "that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility." This confidence was not misplaced. When he left Scotland, the King intended to remain in Denmark only twenty days. This short period was extended to nearly six months, during which the kingdom was kept in the most profound, and, it may be added, unusual tranquillity. In several letters which the King addressed from Denmark to Bruce, he says "he was worth the quarter of his kingdom, that he would reckon himself beholden to him while he lived, and that he would never forget his services." On the 1st of May 1590, the King, bringing his youthful Queen along with him, landed at Leith. On the 17th of the same month, the Queen was crowned in the chapel of Holyrood. Bruce performed the ceremony of anointing the Queen, "pouring upon her," says an old writer, "a bonny quantity of oil." Assisted by the Chancellor and Mr David Lindsay, he placed the crown on her Majesty's head. Three sermons were preached on the occasion, one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English. A Latin poem, which was greatly admired by the scholars of the age, was

recited by Andrew Melville in celebration of the event. The King acknowledged that he had honoured him and his country that day, and laid him under an obligation which he could not requite, but would never forget.

THE KING ADDRESSES THE PEOPLE IN THE HIGH CHURCH OF
EDINBURGH.

On the Sabbath following, the King and Queen attended worship in the High Church of Edinburgh. The sermon being ended, he rose and addressed the people. "He had come," he said, "to thank God with his people for his safe return—to thank the ministers for the prayers they had offered for his safety—and to thank the people for the good order they had kept in his absence. He confessed that many things hitherto had been ill-managed, partly through the troubles of the times, and partly by reason of his youth and inexperience, but he hoped to amend his former negligence; and concluded by promising that justice would be done to all, without feud or favour, and that the kirks would be better provided."

THE KING'S SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

1590.

The General Assembly met in August. Mr Patrick Galloway was chosen Moderator. The King was present. The Moderator, in the name of the Assembly, made an address to his Majesty, in which he craved "that he would ratify the liberties of the Church; that he would purge the country from Popish priests; and that every church should be provided with a minister and maintenance." The King replied, "That in all Parliaments the liberties of the Church were first ratified, and that it would be his care to see the same observed. For the second thing, they knew what he had done before his going to Denmark, and he would do what lawfully he could do in purging the country of Papists. For the third, it did not concern him alone, and if they would appoint some of their number to wait upon the council, they would confer upon the matter, and the best means of effecting it. He then lamented the barbarous feuds which had long rent the country, and commended unto the Assembly, who should of all others most study to make peace, the removing, as far as in them lay, of such barbarities, wishing them in their sermons to strike often on that point, and to make the people understand

how sinful such things were, and how shameful to the whole nation. For myself, he said, I will employ all the power I have in that way ; and if ye will apply yourselves to the like, the work will be the more easy, and have the better success. He then pronounced the following well-known panegyric on the Church of Scotland. " I praise God," said he, " that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the purest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them ? They have no institution.* As for our neighbour Kirk in England, their service is an ill said mass in English ; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity ; and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." The sincerity of the King in making this speech has been questioned. This it was by some of the members of the Assembly. To those who were sitting near him, John Davison said, " I know well for all these professions the King makes he will not prove sincere, but will bring in the Eng-

* Divine authority or appointment.

lish forms, and will rob us of our privileges." By the greater part, however, it was listened to with unbounded delight. Some even wept for joy, and "there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour but praising God and praying for the King."

DEATH OF JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN.

1591.

Early in the year following, the Church of Scotland lost one of its brightest ornaments. This was John Erskine of Dun, one of the "ancient men" who, with Knox and Murray, laid the foundation of the first house. He died in the faith, full of years and honours, leaving behind him a name which, by that Church which he did so much to establish and extend, shall never be forgotten.

RECANTATION AND DEATH OF MR PATRICK ADAMSON.

Mr Patrick Adamson died not long afterwards in circumstances of great misery. In 1588, he had been tried by the Assembly for falsehood, erroneous doctrine, and contempt of discipline, found guilty, and deposed from the sacred office of the ministry. Soon after this, he lost the favour of the King, who not only dismissed him from the Court, but deprived him of a pension, his only means of support, thus consigning him at once, while sinking under the

infirmities of age, to disgrace and to destitution. To such an extremity was he reduced, he and his family were in danger of perishing of hunger. In a letter to Andrew Melville, he disclosed his destitute conditon, and implored his assistance. This Melville immediately gave. He visited him often in his affliction, for several months supported him out of his own private means, and afterwards procured a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. To add to his misery, Adamson fell into great trouble of conscience, and sent an earnest petition to the Presbytery of St Andrews to be released from the sentence of excommunication. Mr Andrew Moncrieff and Mr James Melville were sent to converse with him. On seeing Mr James Melville he cried out, "Forgive me! forgive me, good Mr James, for I have wronged you many ways." "I forgive you," said Melville, "with all my heart." He then spoke to him of his sin against Christ and his Church, exhorted him to unfeigned repentance, and comforted him by setting before him the mercy of God through the merits of Christ. The dying bishop listened to him calmly till he came to speak about his excommunication, when he cried out piteously, and said, "Loose me, loose me for Christ's sake." This he did several times. The brethren then departed, and reported to the Presby-

tery what they had seen and done, who with prayer and thanksgiving released him from the sentence of excommunication. Leaving behind him a paper, addressed to the Synod of Fife, containing a full and affecting recantation of his Episcopal and Erastian opinions, Adamson departed this life on the 19th of February, with little comfort, yet not altogether without hope in his end.

MURDER OF THE EARL OF MURRAY.

This year the Earl of Murray, commonly called the "bonnie Earl of Murray," was cruelly and treacherously slain, in his mother's castle of Dunibersel, by the Earl of Huntly. The murder of this young nobleman, who, from his being the son and representative of the Good Regent, as well as from his own personal virtues and accomplishments, was the idol of the Kirk and people, filled the country with grief and horror. The murderer was every where followed by a yell of execration, and from all parts of the land cries were heard for vengeance. Instead, however, of employing his power to bring Huntly to justice, the King used all his influence to protect him, insomuch that it began to be suspected that the King himself had been privy to the murder. This, Huntly was at no pains to conceal, and, when upbraided with the crime, did not scruple even to avow.

Such was the popular feeling against the King, that Maitland, the chancellor, by whose advice he was supposed to have acted in this bloody transaction, was driven from the helm of affairs, and the country was on the eve of rebellion. Of this atrocious murder, and the scarcely less atrocious conduct of the King in screening the murderer, the ministers were not silent or unconcerned spectators. Mr Patrick Simpson, preaching before his Majesty, selected for his text these words, "And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?" In the course of his sermon, he rebuked the King for not bringing Huntly to justice. "Sir," said he, "I assure you, the Lord will yet ask you, Where is the Earl of Murray your brother?" This pointed attack stung the King to the quick, who, starting to his feet, said, "Mr Patrick, my chalmers-door was never steeked upon you; ye might have told me any thing you thought in secret." "Sir," said the preacher, "the offence was public." The King resumed his seat in silence, nor did he, now or afterwards, take any further notice of Mr Patrick Simpson's words. Such, indeed, was the excited state of the people's feelings, he must have seen that to have done so would not be safe, and, perhaps, conscience told him that it would not be just. To such an extent had the heart of the nation been alienated from the King,

he trembled not only for the peace of the country, but for the preservation of his Crown. He was now anxious to conciliate the favour of the ministers, and to make concessions to the Church.

LEGAL ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERY.

1592.

In this state of things, the General Assembly met on the 24th of May 1592. Mr Robert Bruce was chosen moderator. Among the memorable acts of this memorable Assembly, it agreed to present to the King and Parliament the following articles :—

“ I. That the Acts of 1584,* against the authority, discipline, and liberty of the Kirk, should be repealed, and the discipline laid down in the books of the Kirk ratified.

“ II. That abbots, priors, and other prelates pretending to have power and authority in the Kirk, should be prevented from voting in Parliament, or any other convention.

“ III. That the land, which was polluted by fearful idolatry and bloodshed, should be purged.”

These articles were laid before Parliament, which met on the 5th of June. After long and earnest de-

* The Black Acts.

bates, the first and most important of them was granted, and an act passed by which the Presbyterian form of Church government was legally sanctioned and established. This act, which was long regarded as the charter of the Church's liberties, received the King's assent, and was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh amidst the rejoicings of the people. In the year 1560, the Church of Scotland was legally sanctioned as Protestant in doctrine, and now, thirty-two years after, it was legally sanctioned as Presbyterian in discipline. The former was eminently the work of Knox, the latter as eminently was the work of Melville. The settlement of 1592 was not without its defects, yet with them all, "it was," to employ the words of M'Crie, "a great step in national reformation. It gave the friends of the Presbyterian constitution the advantage of occupying legal ground, and enabled them during a series of years to oppose a successful resistance to the efforts of the Court to obtrude on them an opposite system. And as often as the nation felt disposed to throw off the yoke of Episcopacy, they availed themselves of this charter, and founded upon it a claim of right to the re-enjoyment of their ancient liberties."*

* Life of Melville.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ZEAL OF THE MINISTERS—ANDREW KNOX AND THE POPISH LORDS—CONVENTION OF MINISTERS—INTRINSIC POWER OF THE CHURCH—JOHN DAVISON DENOUNCES FROM THE PULPIT THE PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT—JOHN ROSS PREACHES AGAINST THE KING—FREE REBUKE OF ALL ESTATES BY JOHN DAVISON—MEMORABLE ASSEMBLY OF 1596—CONVENTION OF ESTATES—INTERVIEW WITH THE KING—MR DAVID BLACK—TUMULT IN EDINBURGH—THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH EXPELLED—THE KING'S QUESTIONS—FIRST CORRUPT OR KING'S ASSEMBLY—THE DUNDEE OR SECOND KING'S ASSEMBLY—PROPOSAL TO ADMIT MINISTERS INTO PARLIAMENT—ANDREW MELVILLE EXCLUDED FROM THE ASSEMBLY—DEBATE ON THE QUESTION WHETHER MINISTERS SHOULD HAVE A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

1594-1598.

ZEAL OF THE MINISTERS.

“The authority of the Church,” says Defoe, “being in this flourishing estate, it is necessary to record, to their eternal praise, as no doubt it is in heaven to their eternal comfort, how the ministers made use of their time, and how they applied themselves to discharge the duty which lay upon them as a national Church.” On the 15th of November,

they assembled in Edinburgh, where they sat five days in solemn deliberation on the state of religion. They appointed a fast to be held "in all the kirks of the country, that, by true humiliation and unfeigned repentance, the judgments of God, hanging over the land, might be prevented."

On the 27th of November, Captain James Stewart, formerly Earl of Arran, made his appearance at court. The re-appearance of this fierce and formidable enemy of the Church filled the ministers with alarm. The Presbytery of Edinburgh met, and agreed that no one of their number should converse with or countenance him without the consent of the rest. They appointed Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, and Mr Patrick Galloway to wait on the King, and to urge his departure from the city without delay. "Upon Friday," says Calderwood, "Mr Walter Balcanquhal, in his sermon, painted out Captain Stewart in his colours. He recounted what mischief he had done before; how he had abused the King, the nobility, and other subjects. He assured them that brought him in, they should find the first dint of his baton." "If that man," said Mr Patrick Galloway, "come in, and the King keep company with him, it will be impossible for him to continue in sincerity if he were an angel of heaven." A few days after, Stewart appeared in

the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and craved to be heard in his own defence. He spoke at great length, palliating some parts of his conduct, and professing his sorrow for others. He went so far as to profess his readiness "to obey them in all things they would enjoin, and that he would never again be drawn from the defence of the true religion for ought that could be." Seeing in him no evidence of true repentance, they gave him this answer, "Ye must give us as good proof of your well-doing, as ye have given of your evil-doing, before we can credit you much." He immediately left the city, and, says the old historian, "came not to court again."

ANDREW KNOX AND THE POPISH LORDS.

At this time fears were very generally entertained of a new Popish conspiracy. These fears, it soon appeared, were not groundless. Having been informed that Mr George Kerr, a brother of Lord Newbattle, was secretly passing into Spain with important letters, Mr Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, accompanied by a body of armed men, followed him to Fairlie at the "West Sea Bank." From this he crossed in an open boat to the Cumbræ Isles, where the same night he apprehended him on board of a ship which was about to sail for

the continent. He conducted him to Edinburgh. At first Kerr denied every thing, but on being put to the torture he confessed the conspiracy, the main branch of which was that the King of Spain should land in Scotland thirty thousand men, by whose assistance the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, undertook to overturn the Government and the established religion, and to restore Popery. For his services to the Protestant cause on this occasion, Andrew Knox received the thanks of the Queen of England, and an assurance "that good disposition and regard should be had to his labours, charges, and perils." His own Sovereign was less grateful. The King spoke of the Popish lords indeed as traitors, but he shewed no disposition to proceed against them. On the Lord's day following, he came to hear Mr Robert Bruce preach. "Your Majesty," said the minister, "must now execute justice, or else the chronicles will keep in memorie King James the Sixt to his shame."

CONVENTION OF MINISTERS.

On Tuesday, the 9th January 1593, several ministers, noblemen, and barons, met in Mr Robert Bruce's house, where they drew up certain propositions respecting the trial of the Spanish conspirators,

purging the land of Popery, and promoting the interests of true religion. The Lairds of Bargenie and Merchiston, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Andrew Melville, and Mr David Lindsay, were appointed to present them to the King. During the proceedings of the Convention in Mr Robert Bruce's house, the people had assembled in the Little Kirk. As the Commissioners were on their way to the palace, they were joined by the magistrates and about two thousand of the citizens. "When they came to the palace," says Calderwood, "Mr Robert Bruce and David Lindsay went up first to make way, but got little thanks for their labour, and small acceptance, no admission to speak being granted them for the space of an hour and a half. At last all being let in to the great hall, the King, sitting in a chair covered with velvet, made a long and confused harangue, in which he blamed them for meeting so hastily and without his warrant, saying, "he knew not of it till all the wives of the kaill market knew of it." They said "it was not a time to stay upon warnings, when religion, King, country, their lands and lives, were in jeopardy." Upon this he settled, and aggravating the crime of the traitors highly, said, "he would take trial therein with diligence, and put order thereto with all severity to their contentment."

INTRINSIC POWER OF THE CHURCH TO CALL ITS OWN ASSEMBLIES.

Hitherto it had been the practice of the General Assembly to appoint its own meetings. This it did as a spiritual court, in virtue of its own intrinsic power received from Christ. By a clause, however, in the Act 1592, it was provided, "that the time and place of next meeting should be appointed by his Majesty or his Commissioner, when present, and when neither of them were present, by the Assembly itself." This clause was one of doubtful interpretation, and proved the source of many evils. As chief magistrate of the country, it belongs to the King to appoint all conventions of his subjects, and is entitled to be present, to see that nothing be transacted in them contrary to the laws of the kingdom. As a convention of his subjects, it is reasonable the Assembly should ask permission of the magistrate to hold its meetings, and may even concede to him the privilege of appointing the time and place, it being always free to it to meet in the name and by the authority of Christ, should the magistrate withhold or refuse his consent. In this sense, as conceding this, and nothing more, the Church understood the clause respecting the calling of Assemblies in the Act 1592. It was not so understood by the King. On the 24th of April, the General

Assembly, without consulting the King, met at Dundee. This was a fresh occasion of offence to the King, who, by his commissioner, complained of it as an injury done to the honour of his Crown, and desired them to send to him some of their number that he might appoint the time and place of their next meeting. This they agreed to do. From a list made up at this Assembly, it appears that the Church, at this time, consisted of forty-six Presbyteries. These the Assembly ordered this year to be visited, and appointed certain brethren for this work, with powers to try the doctrine, life, and conversation, diligence and fidelity, of the pastors within the same. The words of this act are recorded by De Foe, in his *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, who assigns this reason for transcribing them: "That the Church of Scotland may be a standing example to all the Protestant Churches in the world." Besides the commission for visitation of the Presbyteries, it appointed another to present such articles to the approaching Parliament "as they should think conducive to the glory of God and the good of the Kirk."

JOHN DAVISON DENOUNCES FROM THE PULPIT THE
PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

Parliament met on the 16th of July 1593. The Commissioners of the Kirk presented their articles, which were read but not granted. The Commissioners then requested "that if nothing was done in favour of the Kirk, nothing should be done against it." The King said, "That was reason." Some important acts were passed by this Parliament, but as no step was taken to bring the Popish lords to justice, its proceedings were regarded with great and general disappointment. Mr John Davison denounced them from the pulpit. "It was," said he, "a black Parliament. Iniquity was seated in the High Court of Justice, and had trodden equity under foot. It was a black Parliament, for the arch-traitors had escaped. Escaped did he say? no, they were absolved; and now all good men might prepare themselves for darker days. Trials were at hand. It had ever been seen that the absolving of the wicked imported the persecution of the righteous. Let us pray that the Lord would constrain the King, by his sanctified plagues, to turn to Him ere he perish, and that He would make his government tend to the good of his Church, whether he would or not. As for us," he added,

“let us get us to our ordinary and lawful armour of fasting and prayer.”

MR JOHN ROSS PREACHES AGAINST THE KING, FOR WHICH HE
IS REBUKED.

In April 1594, the Synod of Perth met and was opened with a sermon from Mr John Ross. In the course of his sermon he censured the conduct of the King, declaring him to be a traitor to God in joining and shaking hands with the wicked, and said, “that good never yet came out of the House of Guise.” Being called before the King and Council to answer for his words, he was asked if he would stand and abide by all that he had spoken, to which he made this remarkable reply—“The heart thought it, the mouth spake it, the hand hath subscribed it, and, if need be, by God’s grace, the blood shall seal it.” Ross, however, was not justified by his brethren. In the Assembly which met in May following, he was admonished by the Moderator to speak at all times of his Majesty with such reverence and wisdom as might have the testimony of his own conscience and the approbation of his brethren. “Which admonition,” says an old writer, “the said John with all humilitie reverenced.”

FREE REBUKE OF ALL ESTATES BY MR JOHN DAVISON.

From a sermon preached by Mr Davison during the public fast, it appears that this period was marked by great religious declension. In what is called by historians his "Free rebuke of all estates," he said that, though none of the ministers preached false doctrine, many "delivered the truth so unfaithfully and so coldly that their flocks were consumed with hunger." There was, he said, "no difference made betwixt the clean and the unclean; but all, hand over head, were admitted to the Lord's table; that they winked at the profaning of the Sabbath, and were not faithful in rebuking sin in kirk and country." He called upon the King to examine his heart, and repent of his sins, if he would not go from evil to worse, and at last perish. "As for the nobles," he said, "their blood, their reiving, their oppression, their swearing, and all kinds of vice, cried for judgment. The ancient and prudent men among them were taken away; and, of the two and twenty earls of Scotland, the thirty and four lords, few could be named on the good side." Nor did he spare the Commons. "Of all evils," said he, "they follow the example of the great,—in oppression, in blood, in uncleanness, in contempt of the word and ministry, both in burgh and land. While

for a particular man to stand in the gap, except a few mourners," he said, "I see none!"

THE MEMORABLE ASSEMBLY OF 1596.

"This year" (1596), says Calderwood, "was a remarkable year to the Kirk of Scotland, both for the beginning and for the end of it. The Kirk of Scotland was now come to the greatest purity it had yet attained unto, so that her beauty was admirable to foreign Kirks. But Satan, envying her happiness, stirred up both Papists and politicians to disturb her peace and to deface her beauty. Some thorny questions were devised, whereby her authority was in many points called in doubt, ministers were summoned before the Council to answer for their rebukes in sermons and to underly censure. The ministers of Edinburgh were banished; and that Kirk, which was a watch-tower and shone as a lamp to the rest, was darkened. In a word, in the end of this year began that decay and declining of this Kirk which has continued to this hour, so that we now see such corruption as we thought not to have seen in our days." The Assembly met in Edinburgh on the 24th day of March. An overture from the Presbytery of Haddington was brought before it by Mr John Davison on the "Duty of uni-

versal repentance and earnest turning to God." It was approved by the Assembly, who desired Mr Davison to draw up in writing an enumeration of the "chief corruptions in all estates." This he did under the four following heads:—1, Corruptions in the persons and lives of ministers; 2, Offences in his Majesty's house; 3, The common corruptions of all estates; and 4, Offences in the courts of justice. Under the head of offences in the King's household, the following were specified:—1, Neglecting to read the word of God at table, and the saying of grace before and after meat; 2, The King's speaking to others in the time of sermon, and neglecting to hear sermon on week days; 3, His profane swearing, which the courtiers were tempted to do through his example. The King, who was present, complained of the notice now and at other times taken of his offences. "He granted," he said, "that he was a sinner as other men were, but he denied that he was infected with any gross sin. He expected, therefore, that they would not inveigh against him publicly, but come and tell him his offence privately. His chamber door, he said, was open to the meanest minister in Scotland, nor was there a gentleman in Scotland who was more willing to be subject to the discipline of the Kirk than he was." "Open offences," said Mr Andrew Melville,

“required open rebukes.” “As to the way that his Majesty speaks of,” said Davison, “if it be according to the word of God, judge ye. I protest that it is not. I speak this as a servant of Christ, and as a free Scottishman, as I have ever been, and as, by God’s grace, I mind to continue.” The King made no answer. To promote reformation among the people, the members of Assembly resolved to set an example of humiliation among themselves. For this purpose they met privately in the New Kirk on Tuesday the 30th of March. Davison presided. Such was the power with which he spoke, and such was the presence of God with which his words were accompanied, “within an hour,” says Calderwood, “after they entered the church, they looked with another countenance.” Pausing in the midst of his discourse, the preacher called upon every man to review his own life, to remember his ways, and to confess to God his sins. The silence continued for a quarter of an hour, when it was broken by weeping and lamentation, “with which,” says the historian, “the Kirk resounded, so that the place might have been called Bochim, for the like of that day was never seen in Scotland since the Reformation, as every man confessed.” Melted into contrition, they rose from their seats, and, lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, pro-

testing that henceforth "they would be more diligent in their charges, and walk more warily in their ways." The example of the Assembly was followed by the different Synods and Presbyteries of the Church, and by the whole body of the people. Like a smitten wave, the impulse rolled throughout the land, the inhabitants of one city saying to another, "Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten," till all Scotland, like Judah of old, rejoiced at the oath. This was a happy time for the Church of Scotland, but it was of short duration. It was a glimpse of sunshine before the storm.

CONVENTION OF ESTATES.

1596.

About the end of August, a Convention of Estates met at Falkland to consider the expediency of restoring the Popish lords. Such of the ministers as were supposed most likely to bend to the King's will were invited to attend. Andrew Melville, though not invited, judging it his duty to be present as one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, came with his brethren. Seeing him enter, the King, with an angry look, asked him what call he had to be there. "Sir," replied Melville, "I

have a call to be here from Christ and his Church, who have a special interest in this Convention; and I charge you and your estates, in His name, that you favour not his enemies, nor go about to call home those who would have betrayed their country to the cruel Spaniard, to the overthrow of Christ's kingdom." "Here," says the historian, "breaking out upon the members of the Convention with plain speech and mighty force of zeal, he charged them with high treason against Christ and the King, against the Kirk and country, in the purpose and counsel for which they were there met." But the King, interrupting him, commanded him to retire, which he did, but not until he had thanked God for having had an opportunity of delivering his message. Melville's protest was lifted up in vain. The Convention agreed to recal the excommunicated lords. This agreement filled the Church with alarm. The Commission of the General Assembly met at Cupar, and directed a deputation of their number to proceed to the King at Falkland, and in the name of the Church to reclaim against it.

INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.

Being admitted to a private audience, Mr James Melville, who, for his mild and courteous manner,

had been selected by the rest to be their spokesman, began to explain the object of their mission. But he had scarcely done so, when the King, interrupting him, condemned the meeting at Cupar as unwarranted and seditious, and accused the ministers of creating false alarms among the people. James Melville was about to reply in his usual mild manner, when his uncle said, "Hold, this is not a time to flatter, but to speak plainly." Fearing that if he were permitted to speak he would utter sentiments not agreeable to royal ears, the King sought to prevent him. But Melville would not be put down; and taking the King by the sleeve, and calling him "God's silly vassal," he said, "Sir, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public, but since we have this occasion to be with you in private, and since ye are brought into extreme danger both of your life and your crown, and along with you the country and the Church of God are like to go to wreck for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Sir, as diverse times before, I have told you, so now again I must tell you there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland—there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a

lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, we will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience, but again I say, you are not the Head of the Church ; you cannot give us eternal life, and you cannot deprive us of it. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clothes Christ reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies. His ministers assembled for the ruling and welfare of his Church, which was ever for your welfare, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction. What is the wisdom of your present course ? It is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men to come to your purpose and grandeur ; and because the Protestants and ministers of Scotland are overstrong, they must be brought low, by stirring up a party against them, so that, the King being indifferent, both may be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly, his curse cannot but light upon it. In seeking both ye may lose both. Whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest to give over seeking themselves, and to serve you." Whatever may have been the King's real feelings during the delivery of this extraordinary address, he judged it prudent to conceal them. He spoke to the deputation calmly, and dismissed them kindly, promising

“that the Popish lords should get no favour at his hand till they satisfied the Kirk.” Thus, in the words of Patrick Galloway, “the Church as usual got words and promises, but her enemies grants and performances.”

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR DAVID BLACK.

“He that has a nail to drive,” says one of our old historians, “will not want a hammer. The King had an ill turn ready for the Church, and he soon let them know it.” On the 12th of November, Mr David Black, minister at St Andrews, was a second time summoned to answer before the Privy Council for expressions used by him in his sermons. A council of the ministers having met to deliberate on the course to be taken by the Church at this crisis, advised Mr Black to decline the judgment of the King and Council, and to refuse to plead before them. The ground of their advice was stated in these words, “the judgment of doctrine appertained in the *first instance* not to the civil but to the church courts.” Black acted on their advice. He drew up a paper containing his declinature of the King and Council’s authority, which was signed by upwards of three hundred of his brethren. The

Council refused to sustain it, and cited him to appear before them on the 30th of November.

Before the day of trial came, various attempts were made to effect a reconciliation between the King and the ministers, but in vain. At an interview with his Majesty, when asked by the King if they still refused to own his authority, Mr Robert Bruce replied, "If the matter concerned only the life of Mr Black or that of a dozen others, they would have thought it of comparatively trifling importance, but as it was the liberty of the gospel, and the spiritual sovereignty of the Lord Jesus, that was assailed, they could not submit, but must resist to the hazard of their lives." Such was the solemnity with which Bruce uttered these words, the King, it is said, wept, and it was thought he would at last relent; but when his councillors saw this, they persuaded him that he could not now abandon the prosecution without loss of honour. Thus his better impressions were effaced, and things were left to their course. On the day of trial, Black, accompanied by Pont and Bruce, appeared before the Council, but he refused to plead. The trial proceeded notwithstanding. He was found guilty, and was sentenced to be confined beyond the North Water till his Majesty resolved what further punishment to inflict. This blow, struck at the Church in

the person of Black, was followed by others yet heavier and more effectual, and which for a long time laid her liberties in the dust.

TUMULT IN EDINBURGH.

Fearing that the lives of the ministers were in danger, the citizens of Edinburgh for several nights kept mounted guard upon their houses. When the King came to know this he was highly displeased with the citizens for what they had done, and ordered four-and-twenty of the most zealous of them to remove from the city within six hours. This order was issued on the morning of the 17th. To excite the more alarm, it was reported that Huntly, one of the Popish lords, had been all night in the palace, and that his friends and followers were in the neighbourhood, waiting for orders to enter the capital. The town was filled with terror. It being the day of the weekly sermon, it was agreed that Balcanquhal, whose turn it was to preach, should desire the barons and burgesses present to remain after sermon, and consult with the ministers as to what should be done. They did so. After an exhortation from Bruce, two lords, Lindsay and Forbes, two barons, Bargeny and Blairquhan, two magistrates, and two of the ministers, were appointed to

wait on the King. On being admitted to the royal presence, Bruce informed his Majesty that they were sent by the noblemen and barons then convened in the Little Kirk, to lay before him the dangers which threatened the church and country. "What dangers?" said the King, "I see none." Bruce mentioned their apprehensions as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that," said his Majesty, "and who dares convene contrary to my proclamation?" "Dares!" said Lord Lindsay, "we dare more than that, and will not suffer religion to be overthrown and stand tamely by." Silent with rage, the King withdrew and left the deputation alone, who, upon this, returned to the Little Kirk, where the multitude had been addressed during their absence by Mr Michael Cranston, who had read to them the story of Haman and Mordecai. The deputies, on their return, reported the result of their interview with the King. Bruce then addressed the congregation. He recommended "that they should defer the consideration of their grievances, and that, for the present, they should merely pledge themselves to be constant in the profession and defence of religion." This proposal was received with shouts of approbation. When these had ceased, Bruce besought the congregation to abstain from such expressions of their sentiments, as they regarded the credit of the

cause. At this moment, an unknown person rushed into the church, exclaiming, "Fy! save yourselves, the Papists are coming to massacre you." At the same time shouts were heard without of "Armour, armour! save yourselves! fy! bills and axes!" The congregation rose to their feet. Some one exclaimed, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon." "These," said Bruce, who sought to calm the assembly, "are not our weapons," but his voice was lost in the uproar. The multitude rushed to the street. The panic spread. Crowds of the citizens, putting on their armour, rushed out, enquiring what the matter meant. Some said the "King was in danger," others that "the ministers were slain." The alarm, it was soon discovered, was false. The citizens, seeing this, returned home. Thus, though the confusion was great, and for a while fearful, no injury was done.

THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH EXPELLED THE CITY.

Harmless though the tumult in Edinburgh was, it was sufficiently serious to furnish the King with a pretext for new and severer measures against the Church. In a proclamation issued next day, it was declared to be "a cruel and barbarous attempt against his Majesty's royal person, his nobility, and

Council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons." The ministers of Edinburgh were commanded to enter into ward in the Castle; and, vowing vengeance against the magistrates and inhabitants, the King left the city. Afraid of the King's displeasure, the magistrates and citizens hastened to throw themselves on his mercy, and, to induce him to return, made the most humiliating overtures of submission. The ministers alone were undismayed. Fearing God, they feared not the wrath of the King. Ascending the pulpit on the following Lord's-day, Bruce thus upbraided the people for their abject fears—"Our removal," said he, "is at hand. Some of you will be glad, and others will be sorry at our departure. Let no man be troubled about us. Our lives will be sought for, but ye shall see it with your eyes, God will protect us. He will be our buckler and defence. As surely as I see your faces, as surely I see his mercy toward us in this errand. A day of trial is at hand. The hypocrisy of many, the iniquity of others, will appear. The trial shall go through all men,—from King and Queen to council and nobility, from session to barons, from barons to burgesses, from burgesses to the meanest craftsmen. All will be sifted; and sorry am I, that I should see such weakness in many of you, that ye dare not

utter so much as one word for God's glory and the good cause. Is it we that are parties in this cause? No ; the quarrel is between God and them. We are but weak men, and unworthy creatures ; but it hath pleased Him, who ruleth all things, to set us in this office, and to make us His own mouth, that we should oppose the manifest usurpation intended against His spiritual kingdom, and this encroachment on our spiritual liberties. And sorry am I, that our holy and good cause should be abused by this late tumult, and that the enemies should be thereby emboldened to pull the crown off Christ's head." Bruce and the other ministers of Edinburgh had resolved to remain at their posts and to abide the worst, but they were persuaded by their friends to withdraw for a time. This they did on the 23d of December, about nightfall. Next morning they were denounced at the market-cross as rebels, and thus, in the words of Calderwood, "was the Kirk of Edinburgh, that had shone as a lamp to the rest, darkened."

QUESTIONS PROPOSED BY THE KING RESPECTING THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

Thus far successful, the King prepared to accomplish the object on which his heart had long been set,—the establishment of Prelacy. A paper, containing fifty-five questions on the subject of Church Government, was drawn up at his desire by Lindsay, Secretary of State, and circulated among the different Presbyteries by his authority. The following were some of the questions—1. Does it belong to the King by himself, or to the ministers by themselves, or to both conjunctly, to establish acts respecting the Government of the Church? 2. Is the consent of the people necessary in the calling and ordination of ministers? 3. Is it lawful for the Church to call Assemblies without the consent of the magistrate? 4. Are Acts of Assembly valid which have not received the King's sanction? To consider these questions, he summoned an Assembly, to meet at Perth on the 29th day of February 1597. Such was the warning note of conflict.

FIRST CORRUPT, OR KING'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
1597.

From the brave Presbyterian spirit displayed by the Presbyteries and Synods of the south, the King

saw that, if his objects were to be gained, he must win over to his side the lukewarm Presbyterians of the north. Sir Patrick Murray, a gentleman of the court, was sent thither. How he succeeded in his mission, Mr James Melville thus relates :—

“Coming to Perth, we found the ministers of the north convened in such numbers as was not wont to be seen at any Assemblies, and every one a greater courtier than another. Here I saw a new sight, to wit, flocks of ministers going in and out at the King’s palace late at night and betimes in the morning. Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent apostle of the north, had made all the northland ministers acquainted with the King. They began then to look big in the matter, and to find fault with the ministers of the south and the popes of Edinburgh, who had not handled matters well, but had almost lost the King. Grieved to the heart with such speeches, we discharged our commission from our Synod, and used our instructions so that we delayed the meeting of Assembly for three days.” During these three days the King and his courtiers were not idle. They employed all their arts to rend the ministers into two factions. These they practised chiefly on the ministers from the north, to whom they accused their brethren of the south as men of “severe and rough carriage,” and who sought to usurp the

“whole government of the Kirk.” As for the ministers of the north, his Majesty, they said, “looked on them as men of better disposition and more discretion, and, were they but better acquainted with him, they would see that in a short time all would go well.” Some even of the ministers of the south were moved from their steadfastness. Of these, Mr James Nicolson, minister of Meigle, and the bosom friend of James Melville, was one. “He was carried,” says Melville in his diary, “to the King by Sir Patrick, and kept in conference with him till near midnight. Next morning he told me what had passed between them, and how in the end he was altered in opinion. ‘For I perceive,’ said he, ‘the King will not fail to wreck himself and the Kirk both unless matters be better looked into, and he be yielded to, so far as we may of conscience; and suppose that we should yield something rather than lose all.’ I answered, ‘I see nothing better than to do as we have done in former straits, seek God by prayer, discharge our duty, and leave the cause in his hands to whom it belongs. As for yielding anything contrary to what we have sufficiently warranted in God’s word, through fear or flattery, by the grace of God I never will. For, in my judgment, the passing at such a time from any point, however small, would be a shaking us loose and asunder, would disarm us of

the trust we have in the truth of our cause, in which we have stood so strongly till this hour, and would end in the shameful wreck of the cause of Christ and his Kirk.' To this Mr James Nicolson merely said, 'Well, ye are to be sent for also, and, perhaps, when ye have heard what I heard, ye will think as I think.' 'Thus,' says Melville, 'we who had been wont wonderfully to consent and agree in all things, came to differ in our opinion.' "

On the day following, Sir Patrick Murray, in the King's name, requested the commissioners to resolve, without more delay, whether they would hold an Assembly or not. After long reasoning, eight Presbyteries voted that a meeting so called could not be held for a lawful Assembly, and eleven that, under the name of extraordinary, it might be held. Thus, under colour of this vain distinction, the King carried his design. The minority entered their protest, but the Assembly proceeded to business. The King's questions were considered; and, though the answers did not quite satisfy his Majesty, the principle was now recognised, "that the King, either by himself or his commissioners, might propose to the General Assembly any alteration in the external government of the Church," and this was all for the present that the King desired. He appointed the next Assembly to be held on the 10th

May 1597, at Dundee; and thus ended the first corrupt or Erastian Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

THE DUNDEE, OR SECOND KING'S ASSEMBLY.

1597.

The second King's Assembly was packed in a way similar to the first. Hearing that Andrew Melville was returned to sit in the Dundee Assembly, the King, dreading his presence, sent Sir Patrick Murray to ask James Melville to persuade his uncle not to attend. "It would be of no use," said James Melville, "no power on earth would deter him from acting according to his conscience." "I fear then," said Sir Patrick, "he shall feel the dint of the King's wrath." "And I fear not," replied the other, "but he will abide it." On coming to Dundee, the two Melvilles were sent for by the King. "After," says James Melville, "heckling on, mickle of a large houre, till all the hous heard them," the King, seeing Melville was neither to be won by fair words, nor moved by threats, allowed him to depart. Notwithstanding the efforts that had been made to secure the return of members favourable to the Court, the King found it no easy matter to persuade this Assembly to adopt his views. Failing, by open influence, he had recourse to

craft. Under the pretence of promoting the Church's interests, he requested the Assembly to appoint a commission, consisting of some of the wisest of their brethren, with whom he might advise, between the meetings of Assemblies. In an evil hour this was agreed to. This commission became, in course of time, an ecclesiastical council, by whom he ruled all things in the Church, as, by means of his privy council, he carried on the government of the State. "They were," says Calderwood, "the King's led horse, and usurped the power of the General Assembly and government of the whole Kirk." Thus, adds the same historian, "they became a wedge taken out of the Church to rend her with her own forces,—the very needle which drew in the episcopal thread."

PROPOSAL TO ADMIT MINISTERS INTO PARLIAMENT.

At the meeting of Parliament in December, a petition was presented to it by the commissioners acting by the advice of the King, praying that the ministers, as representing the Church—the third estate of the kingdom—might be admitted to have a voice in Parliament. This was a deep-laid scheme for restoring the order of bishops. This, there were not wanting some with sagacity to discover, and

courage to expose. In the Synod of Fife, which met in February 1598, the question being raised, "if it were expedient that ministers should have vote in Parliament for and in name of the Kirk?" the two Melvilles spoke against it, shewing that if ministers were admitted into Parliament, it behoved them first to be made bishops, and that to vote in the affirmative "would be to build up what they had been destroying all their days." Ferguson, now an old man, with one foot in the grave, lifted against it his dying testimony. "It was," he said, "a court stratagem, and if they suffered it to succeed, would be as fatal to them as the horse to the unhappy Trojans. Let the words," he added, "of the Dardan prophetess ring in your ears, *Equo ne credite Teucris*—Trojans trust not the Grecian horse." Davison joined in the warning cry of his brethren, "Busk, busk him," said he, "busk him as bonnily as ye can, and fetch him in as fairly as ye will, we ken him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre."

ANDREW MELVILLE EXCLUDED FROM THE ASSEMBLY.

1598.

The next General Assembly met at Dundee on the seventh day of March, 1598. Mr David Ferguson, Mr Peter Blackburn, and three others being

put on the list, Mr Peter Blackburn, by the King's authority and a plurality of votes, especially of northland ministers, was chosen Moderator. During the first two days nothing was done from morning till night but ministers going to the King and receiving instructions as to their votes. When the roll was called, the King challenged Andrew Melville's name, and said he had no right to sit there, having ceased to be Rector of the University of St Andrews. Melville contended that he had a right. "His ceasing to be Rector," he said, "did not affect his office in the Church of doctor. As such he had received a commission from the Kirk, and he would not betray it." "There are none here," said the King, "that seek to betray it." "Sir," said Davison, "remember that ye sit here as a Christian, and not as president of the Assembly, that your office is to oversee its proceedings, not to overbear them." At these words the King started to his feet, but, after a moment's reflection, as if admitting the distinction, he resumed his seat in silence. "Sir," continued Davison, "we are afraid to speak except ye be indifferent, therefore we crave that liberty which is due to this Assembly." The King made no reply, but would suffer no business to be transacted till Melville withdrew. Melville seeing this, in a few

words, stated his sentiments on the leading subjects that were to be considered by the Assembly, and retired. Next day, finding that many of his brethren repaired to his lodgings, the King commanded him and his colleague, Jonston, to leave the town under pain of rebellion. When the Assembly met, Mr John Knox, a nephew of the great Reformer, complained of the King's treatment of Melville, and said it proceeded from the fear the court had of his learning. Davison also complained of it. "Would ye have nothing but pleas here?" said the King. "No, Sir," replied Davison, "but that ye would permit them to be present." "I will not hear one word of that," said his Majesty, twice or thrice. "Then," replied Davison, "we must crave help of Him that will hear us."

DEBATE ON THE QUESTION WHETHER MINISTERS SHOULD HAVE A
SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

The question whether ministers should have a vote in Parliament was then introduced by the King, who delivered a long and studied harangue from the throne in its favour. "I mean not," said he, "to bring in Papistical or Anglican bishops, but only that the best and wisest of the ministry should be appointed by the General Assembly to have a place in Council and Parliament, to sit upon their own

affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants despised and disregarded." Bruce, Davison, Aird, James Melville, and John Carmichael, all men of remarkable ability, spoke against the project, denouncing it in the strongest language as unscriptural, unconstitutional, and dangerous. They were replied to by Pont, Gladstones, and Buchanan. Gladstones having pleaded the power which the priests had among the ancient Romans, Davison replied that in Rome the priests were consulted, but had no vote in making laws. "Where have ye that?" asked the King. "In Titus Livius," said Davison. "Oh! are you going, then, from the Scriptures to Titus Livius?" exclaimed his Majesty. "There were flatterers present," says Dr M'Crie, "who applauded this wretched witticism, and they were encouraged to laugh at the old man, who pursued his argument with equal disregard to the puerilities of James, and the rudeness of his minions." The vote being taken, it was decided by a majority of ten "that it was expedient for the weal of the Church that the ministry, as the third estate of the realm, should, in the name of the Church, have a vote in Parliament, and that the number should be fifty-one, according to the ancient number of the bishops, abbots, and priors in the Popish times." For the credit of the ministers it may be

stated, that the measure was carried chiefly by the votes of the elders.

A discussion was next raised as to the name by which the new members of Parliament should be distinguished. Some one said that, as they were in reality spiritual lords, they should be so entitled. "See ye not, brethren," said Davison, "how bonnilie yonder bishop beginneth to creep out. *Novus palliatus episcopus*," which may be rendered, *an old friend with a new cloak*,—at which words the King broke forth into laughter, in which he was joined by a great number. "So light accompt," says the old historian, "did they make of the matter." But Davison, proceeding in his speech, said, "I would learn of Mr Robert Pont there, who should know best, what difference there is betwen this kind of bishopric which is now urged and that kind which was condemned in our acts of Assembly?" "It will be shewn in good time," said Pont. "No," replied Davison, "it will never be shewn." Davison then protested in his own name, and in the name of all that would adhere to his protest, that they dissented from all the proceedings in that and the two former Assemblies, as not having the privilege of Free Assemblies; "which protest," said he, "I present in writing, that it may be inserted in the books of this Assembly."

CHAPTER XXIV.

MINISTERS AT THIS PERIOD WHO WERE DISTINGUISHED FOR
THEIR LEARNING—ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT—THOMAS SME-
TON—DAVID FERGUSON—ROBERT ROLLOCK—JOHN DAVISON—
ROBERT PONT—THE FOUR SIMSONS—ALEXANDER HOME—
THE TWO MELVILLES.

(1598.)

“The ministers of this period,” says Dr M'Crie, “were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, and the love of freedom.” Many of them, moreover, were profound scholars, and distinguished for their love and the success with which they engaged in the pursuits of literature. Of these learned and literary ministers the following brief notices will, I think, be agreeable to the youthful reader.

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT.

Of those who at this time joined the study of polite letters with that of theology, “one of the most distinguished,” says the biographer of Knox and Melville, “was Alexander Arbuthnot. He

was descended of an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine; and, after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the University of St Andrews, went to France and prosecuted his studies under Cujas. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession, but was induced to devote himself to the service of the Church. In 1568, he was made Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Writers of every party speak in high terms of his virtues and his talents. He was skilled in mathematics and medicine, as well as in law and theology. The uprightness of his character and the amiableness of his manners disarmed the resentment of his opponents, and procured him their respect and esteem. Few individuals could have maintained themselves in the situation in which he was placed. When he went to Aberdeen, the greater part of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were strongly addicted to the Popish religion, and his predecessor, from hostility to the Protestant establishment, had reduced the University to absolute poverty. In these circumstances, he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, especially during the civil war, when the Government was destitute of authority in the north, and the interests of learning were forgotten. To this he thus alludes in one of his poems:—

"I wald travel, and idleness I hait,
 Gif I culd find sum gude vocation ;
 But all for nocht, in vain lang may I wait,
 Or I get honest occupation.
 Letters are lichliet in our nation,
 For lerning, now, is neither lyf nor rent,—
 What marvel is thoch I murne and lament."

Most of our poets at this period wrote in Latin. "Divines, lawyers, physicians, courtiers, and statesmen," continues Dr M'Crie, "devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains, which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. Alexander Arbuthnot did not, however, follow their example in this respect. His poems were all composed in the Scottish language. Had he cultivated this species of composition, he possessed talents for it which would have attracted notice. But he indulged in poetry merely as an elegant amusement, by which he relieved his mind when fatigued by the laborious duties of his office, or harassed with cares and disappointments. Though his genius could sport in the gayer and more sprightly scenes of fancy, Arbuthnot confined himself chiefly to productions of a thoughtful and serious cast; and, in some of these, we perceive a very pleasing air of moral melancholy diffused over great goodness of heart."

The following lines are from one of his unpublished poems, entitled "The Fainyet Friend :"—

" The simple wit and sharpness of ingyne,
 Whilk whilome was, now quhyte is tane away :
 The stirring spirit, quhilk poets call divine,
 Into my feeble heart I find decay.
 I neither courage have to sing nor say,
 When I behold this warldis wickedness ;
 And quhen I find I am so far thame frae,
 Quha were my only comfort and gladness."

Besides an elegant treatise which he published in 1572, entitled "Orations on the Origin and Dignity of Law," Arbuthnot edited the publication of Buchanan's History of Scotland, which gave the King such offence that he ordered him to confine himself within his College of Aberdeen. This is supposed to have hastened his death, which took place in 1583. "That was a dark and heavie winter," says James Melville, "to the Kirk of Scotland, eclipsed and bereaved of three great lights,—of Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, in the beginning thereof, Mr Thomas Smeton in the midst, and in the end of the winter, Mr William Clark, my predecessor : ower sure a presage of a great calamitie and overthrow shortly to ensue upon the Kirk of Scotland !"

Andrew Melville lamented his death in a Latin

epitaph of great beauty, of which the following rude translation was given by his nephew James.

"Yet scarce, alas ! had we bemoaned our dear Arbuthnot dead ;
Yea scarce, alas ! his exequies had we and funerals maid ;
When corpse with corpse doth urn us cear, and death with
death us press,
And one great light extinguished, another fails, alas !
That ane—the dark and drousie night benorth* did drive
away :
That other as the sun did shine besouth † at midst of day.
If sae, then baith our night and day be spulyiet of their light,
Sae fearfullie has us overwhelm'd of darkness what an hight ;
Then either Christ from darkness now the light return again,
Or come our light, that without night, our day may aye remain."

THOMAS SMETON.

"This year" (1578), says James Melville, "in the summer, God brought home Mr Thomas Smeton, a man of singular gifts of learning and godliness, a great benefit to the Kirk, and a special blessing of God to me. I marked the wonderful providence of God towards his Kirk in this realm, who at first, after the blood of these martyrs—George Wishart and Walter Mill, stirred up John Knox to complete the work of Reformation ; and, taking him to his rest, sent home Mr Andrew Melville to

* Aberdeen.

† Glasgow.

put on the copestone of discipline and policy. So when the course of Papistrie began again to creep in by the alteration of the Government, and Guisian counsel entering about the King, then God plucked out from among the Jesuits, a wedge of their own timber, wherewith to rend and cross their deceits. In a journey to Edinburgh, he recounted to me the strange working of God with him, to this effect : that, at the Reformation, he being put from the auld College of St Andrews, past to France, where in Paris he thought meikle on the true way of salvation, and by means of diverse of his acquaintance, and of Mr Thomas Maitland in particular, a young gentleman of guid literature and knowledge in the truth of religion, was brought to ken and incline to the best way. Having entered the Jesuits College at Paris, he found there Mr Edmond Hay, a very loving friend, to whom he made known his mind. Mr Edmond seeing him to be worthy to be won to them, and given to learning, directs him to Rome, and by the way he came to Geneva, where Mr Andrew Melville and Mr Gilbert Moncrieff being for the time, he communicated to them his purpose, and craved their prayers. Of his purpose they could see na guid warrant, but their prayers they promised heartilie. He passed forward to Rome, where he was received in the Jesuits College gladly.

Here he continued about a year a half, till at last he became suspected, and was sent back to Paris through all the Colleges of the Jesuits by the way. Then he fought a maist strong and terrible battell in his conscience, but God at last prevailing, he professed the truth. From that time he kept company with the professors of religion till the time of the massacre,* from which he narrowly escaped. At his coming to Scotland, he was gladly content to be in companie with my uncle, Mr Andro, and became minister at Paisley. A little after his placing, Mr Andro, Principal of the College of Glasgow, put into his hand Mr Archibald Hamilton's apostate book against Calvinism, and moved him to answer the same, which he did to the great contentment of all the godly and the learned. Mr Thomas was very waukriffe and painful, and scarcely took time to refresh nature. I have seen him often find fault with long dinners and suppers at General Assemblies, and when others were thereat he would abstain, and be about the penning of things—wherein he excelled baith in language and form of letter, and yet there was in him neither rusticity nor austerity, but was sweet and affable in company, with a modest gravity. He was frugal in food and

* The massacre of St Bartholomew.

raiment, and walked maistly on foot, whom I was very glad to accompany, whylls to Stirling and now and then to his kirk, for my instruction and comfort. He loved me exceeding weill." The above is the description of a very lovely character, and is drawn in a delightful manner. Smeton succeeded his great friend and patron, Andrew Melville, as Principal of the University of Glasgow, where he soon after died. His early death was an unspeakable loss to the Church and his country, and was deeply and long lamented.

DAVID FERGUSON.

Though not so profoundly versed in classic literature as many of his cotemporaries, David Ferguson, minister at Dunfermline, was one of the wisest and wittiest men of his time. He was one of the first in Scotland "to send the schoolmaster abroad," and who, with Knox and Melville, Arbuthnot, and Smeton, said "let the people be taught." In a sermon preached before the General Assembly in January 1571, and printed in 1572, he said, "our youth ought also to be nourished and maintained at the schuilles, and thereupon might afterward spring preachers, counsellors, physicians, and all other kinds of learned men that we have need of. For

the schuilles are the seed of the Kirk and Commonwealth, and our children are the hope of posterity ; which, being neglected, there can nothing be lookit for but that barbarous ignorance shall overflow the land." When this sermon was printed, Knox was on his deathbed, but he read it with pleasure, and appended to it these words of approbation :—" John Knox, with my dead hand but glad heart, praising God that of his mercy he leaves such light to his Kirk in this desolation." " He possessed," says Dr M'Crie, " a good taste and lively fancy, and was successful in refining and enriching the Scottish language by his discoveries and writings." In a Latin poem of John Davison, one of his cotemporaries, he is extolled as one of the greatest improvers of his native tongue. Besides his sermon, and an " Answer to Tyrie, a Jesuit," he wrote a book of Scottish proverbs, which was published after his death. A number of his witty sayings are recorded by his son-in-law, John Row. James VI., who had a palace at Dunfermline, frequently conversed with him, and listened, good-naturedly at least, to his reproofs. " David," said he to him one day, " why may I not have bishops in Scotland as well as they have in England." " Bishops," replied Ferguson, " ye may have bishops ; but, remember, ye must make us all bishops, *else* will ye never content us. For, if ye

set up ten or twelve loons over honest men's heads, and give them more thousands to misspend than honest men have hundreds or scores, we will never be content. We are Paul's bishops, Sir, Christ's bishops; take my advice and keep us as we are." "Aye," said the King with an oath, "ye would all be alike; ye cannot abide ony to be abune you." "Sir," said Ferguson, "do not ban." One night the Master of Gray's house shook, at which the King expressed his surprise, and asked Ferguson what he thought was the reason; "Sir," replied the minister, "why should not the devil rock his ain bairns?"

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

One of the things which James Melville said he was grateful to God for, was, "that he had the honour of teaching the Hebrew language to Robert Rollock." When still a young man, such was Rollock's reputation for learning and piety, he was chosen Principal of the University of Edinburgh, the fame of which, as a seat of learning, he advanced so high, that students flocked to it from foreign lands. His writings, which are yet read and admired, consisted chiefly of expositions on the Scriptures. His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans coming into the hands of Beza, was pronounced by that great

scholar "to be an incomparable treasure, which, for its judiciousness, brevity, and elegance of style, had few equals." He died in the vigour of his days and in the midst of his usefulness, having only attained the 43d year of his age. The following lines were prefixed to one of his posthumous works, and are supposed to have been written by James Melville.

"Thy divine Doctor dearest now is deid,
 Thy peerless preacher now has played his part;
 Thy painful pastor, quha in love did leid
 Thy little lambs, with sweet and tender heart,
 Has dreed his days, with sair and bitter smart,
 To purchase pleasant profit unto thee
 His words, his works, his ways, his virtues gart
 Thee get this gain of great felicitie."

JOHN DAVISON.

At the period of which I am writing there were three ministers of this name in the Church of Scotland. John Davison, minister at Hamilton; John Davison, Principal of the University of Glasgow; and John Davison, minister at Libberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans. Of these three the minister at Libberton was the most distinguished. How prominent a part he acted in the Church Courts, and in the contentings of the times, the reader has already seen. Distinguished for his public disputations, he

was not less so for his private literary labours. His first work was an "Account of the Scottish Martyrs." His next work was written in defence of the Reformation in Scotland, and was entitled "Dr Bancroft's Rashness in Rayling against the Church of Scotland." Shortly before his death, he composed a treatise in Latin, "*De Hostibus Ecclesiae Christi*," "Of the enemies of Christ's Church," in which he affirms that the admission of bishops into the Church was the most sable thing to destroy religion that could be devised." He was the author also of a catechism for the young, entitled "Some Helps for Young Scholars in Christianity." It is as a poet, however, that he is now best known. His principal poetical productions were the three following:—

1. "The Clerk and the Courtieur's Conference;" or, as it is elsewhere entitled, "Ane Dialogue or Mutual Talking betwixt a Clerk and a Courtieur, concerning four Kirks till ane Minister, collected out of their mouths and put in verse by a young man quha did forgather with them in his jorney as after followis." The object of this poem was to expose the evil of patronage and pluralities, or of ministers having more charges than one.* "In a literary

* "The ordour of four kirks to a minister," says James Melville, "then maid be the Erl of Morton, then maid regent,

point of view," says Dr M'Crie, "it is superior to most of the fugitive pieces of the time." The following lines are from the introduction, and may give the reader an idea of the rest—

"Unto Dundie as I maid way,
 Not long afore St Androis day,
 At Kinghorne ferry passand over,
 Into the boat was three or four
 Of gentill men—as did appeir;
 I said, schirs, is thair ony heir
 Quha's jornay lies unto Dundie.
 Twa of thame answerit courteouslie,—
 'We purpose not for to ga thither,
 But yet our gait will ly together
 Till we be passit Kennowie.'
 Then I sall bear you companie,
 Said I, and with that we did land,
 Syne lap upon our horse fra hand,
 And on our jornay rudelie raid.
 Thir twa unto St Androis made.
 The tane of them appearit to be
 Ane conning clerk of great clergie,
 Of visage grave and manners sage,
 His tongue weill taucht, without outrage;
 Men nicht have kenn'd that he had been
 Quhare guid instruction he had seen.
 The uther did appear to me
 Ane comlie courteur for to be,
 Quha was perfyte and weill besene

against the quhilk Mr Johne Davidstone, one of the regents of our college, maide a buik called the 'Conference betwix the Clerk and the Courtieur.'"

In things that to this land pertene.
 Thir twa, of quhome before I spak
 Of sundry purposes did crak,
 And enterit among the rest
 To speik how that the Kirk was drest."

It is in this poem that the following eulogium on Knox, which has frequently been quoted, occurs —

" Had gude John Knox not yet been deid
 It had not cam unto this heid ;
 Had they but myntit sic ane steir
 He had made hevin and earth to heir."

There were two persons in Scotland to whom this poem gave deep offence. These were, the Principal of St Salvator's College and the Regent Morton. The lines which gave offence to the Principal, and in which he imagined that he was alluded to, were these—

" Thaer is sum collages we ken
 Weill foundit to upbald learnit men,
 Among the rest foundit we see
 The teiching of theologie.
 Let anis the Counsell send and see
 If thir places weill guidit be,
 And not abusit with waist rudis
 That nothing do but spend the gudis
 That was made for that holy use,
 And not to feid ane *crasit guse*."

To escape the rage of Morton, Davison fled to England, where he remained till the death of that cruel Regent.

2. "A Memorial of the Life and Death of two Worthye Christians, Robert Campbell, of the Kinzeon Cleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbell."

After mentioning that poets in all ages had celebrated those who had excelled in "virtuous deeds," he says—

"Then to begin, but proces more,
We have had worthie men before,
Of all degrees these fyfteen yeers,
As the gude Regent and his feeres,
John Knox, that valyant conqueroure,
That stood in many stalward stoure
For Christ, his Master, and his Word,
And many more I might record—
Some yet alive, some also past—
Earl Alexander is not last,
Of Glencairn—but these I pass by,
Because their deeds are already
By sundry poets put in write,
Quhilk now I need not to recite."

He then proceeds to eulogise the subjects of his "Memorial" in lines of which the following may be taken as an example :—

"Of surname they were Campbells baith
Of ancient blood of the countrie ;

They were baith of genealogie—
 He of the Shiref's house of Ayr,
 Long noble, famous, and preclair;
 She of a gude and godly stock,
 Come of the old house of Cesnock,
 Quha's lairds of many years bygane
 Professed Christ's religion plain."

3. "Ane Brief Commendation of Uprichtness," to which is added a poem already noticed, and from which an extract has been given, on the death of Knox, entitled, "Ane Short Discours of the estaits quha hes cause to deplore the death of that excellent servand of God."

Knox is the hero of both these poems. After enumerating in the first, several notable examples of "uprichtness," he proceeds to commend Knox as in this respect not inferior to the chiefest of them all:—

"It is Johne Knox, indeed, of quhome I mene,—
 That fervent, faithful, servand of the Lord,
 Whome I dare bauldly byde at till have bene
 Ane maist true preacher of the Lordis Word.
 I nathing rek quhat rebalds heir record,
 Quha never culd speik gude of godlynes.
 This man, I say, escapit fyre and sword,
 And deed in peace in praise of uprichtness.
 For weil I wat that Scotland never bure
 In Scottis tung ane man mair eloquent,
 Into persuading also, I am sure,

Was nane in Europe that was more potent,
 In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,
 Also in Latin tung, his properness
 Was tryt trym, quhen scollars were present,
 But this wer nathing till his uprichtness."

Davison was regarded by the common people as a prophet. Mr James Melville says expressly, "he prophesied many things;" and of his prophecies he relates the following one :—
 "He being minister at Prestonpans, having celebrate the holy Communion, on the Monday thereafter the Lady Faudonside came in with one of her sons, Mr John Ker, to visit Mr Davison, and to take their leave of him. Mr John Ker was then a young gentleman lately come from France, pransing in his French garb, with his short scarlet cloak, and his long candie rapier, according to the mode of these times. After the Lady Faudonside had for a space conferred with Mr Davison, her son, the young gentleman standing by discoursing with some of his comrades, she did take her leave of Mr Davison, likeways Mr John, her son, did, but after Mr Davison had narrowlie looked upon the young gentleman, he says to him, 'What means this rapier, this scarlet cloak, and all this gay graith of yours? away, away with these things. I know you, Sir, to be a good

scholar; cast away these daft conceits, and take you seriously to your books and your studies, and spend your tyme well, for I assure you, Sir, ye will be minister of this place after me." The young gentleman said nothing, but did laugh within himself, wondering what the minister meant. But after returning home, and thinking seriouslie upon Mr Davison's words, he could not sleep nor rest till he returned to Mr Davison to enquire of him what ground he had for so speaking and charging him as he did. The issue was, he betook him to his studies, and after Mr Davison's death he succeeded him as minister at Preston, where he lived ane honest and laborious minister for many years, and left behind him honest men his sons, whereof one, Mr Robert Ker, is ane minister, and Mr Andro was clerk to the General Assembly."

ROBERT PONT.

Mr Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, was one of the most learned men of his time. Such was his knowledge of civil law, he was chosen by the Regent Mar, and allowed by the General Assembly to act as a Lord of Session. Shortly after this the Regent Morton was desirous

to have some other ministers appointed to the same office, but the Assembly would not consent to this, on the ground "that nane was able or apt for the said twa charges." Though they refused, however, to permit any other minister to fill the place of a senator, such was their opinion of the great abilities of Pont, they allowed him to retain his, which he did till the year 1584, when he resigned it. Besides his knowledge of law, he was distinguished for his proficiency in mathematics and astronomy. He was the intimate friend of Napier, the great mathematician. By desire of the General Assembly he published a work on Sacrilege, in which he exposed the wickedness of the nobles and statesmen of the day in robbing the Church of its property. "From 1560 to the present time," he says, "their great study has been, by chopping, and changing, and all kinds of inventions, to hurte the Kirke, the schuils, aud the puire." His next work was on Chronology, and was entitled, "A Neue Treatise on the Richt Reckoning of Years and Ages of the World." This work was occasioned, he informs us, by "the vanitie of divers men of this isle, and of uther far countries, who were minding to visit that idol the Pope, and to be present in Rome to see the year of jubilee." He was the author of several other learned works, which are now lost. As a proof of his skill in

poetry, it may be mentioned that when proposals were made to the General Assembly for a new version of the Psalms in metre, "they would not admit a change, but ordeaned the metaphrase, which was in use since the Reformation, to be revised by Mr Robert Pont, a man skilful in the original touns, and his travells, to be revised at next General Assembly."

THE FOUR SIMSONS.

Andrew Simson, minister of Dunbar, had five sons, who, after the example of their father, devoted themselves to the Church, and four of whom distinguished themselves by their writings, viz., Patrick, minister of Stirling, who wrote a "History of the Church during the first ten centuries," a "History of the Councils of the Church," and several smaller treatises on various subjects. This Patrick being asked why he devoted himself so much to the study of the languages and of history, and why he read so many Pagan writers, gave this answer—"I purpose to dedicate to the building of the Lord's tabernacle all the jewels and gold that I shall borrow from the Egyptians; we do not lightlie pearls though gathered out of a dunghill." William, minister at Dumbarton, author of a work on the Hebrew Lan-

guage, the first work on Hebrew literature which Scotland produced. Archibald, minister at Dalkeith. This Archibald wrote on the following subjects :—"The Creation," "Christ's Seven Words on the Cross," "The Seven Penitential Psalms," and a "Chronicle, or History of Scotland." And Alexander, minister at Merton, author of a treatise entitled, "The Destruction of Inbred Corruption, or the Christian's Warfare with his Bosom Enemy."

JOHN JOHNSTON.

John Johnston, the colleague and friend of Andrew Melville, is now chiefly known by his Latin verses, which he wrote in a style of purity and beauty little inferior to that of Buchanan himself. Along with his cousin, Arthur Johnston, he was a principal contributor to a collection of Latin poetry, published with the title of *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, which Dr Samuel Johnson has said "would do honour to any nation." "Your account," said Andrew Melville, in a letter to his nephew James, "of the happy death of my colleague John Johnston, filled me with both grief and joy. The University has lost a teacher, the Church a member, and I a friend to whom there are few equal."

ALEXANDER HUME.

Alexander Hume, one of the sweet singers in our Scottish Israel, was the second son of Patrick Hume, laird of Polwarth. He was destined for the bar, but, after practising for some time in the courts, he abandoned this profession, and devoted himself to the Church, and became minister of Logie, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. His poems were printed in 1599, under the following title:—"Hymns, or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of poesie may be espied: Whereunto are added the experience of the author's youth, and certain precepts serving to the practice of sanctification." They are dedicated to Elizabeth Melville, commonly called Lady Culross, herself a writer of sacred poetry, and one of whose pieces, styled "Ane Godly Dream," has been frequently published. Besides his "Hymns," Hume was the author of a work, entitled "Ane Awfu Admonition to the Ministers of Scotland," in which he warns the Bishops "to forsake their evil courses, or else their defection from their brethren and the cause of God would be registered to their eternal shame."

THE TWO MELVILLES.

While Knox must ever be remembered and re-

vered, as the Reformer of Religion in Scotland, to Andrew Melville belongs the honour of being the Restorer of learning.

Having finished his studies at St Andrews, "Melville," says one of his early biographers, "being now in his nineteenth year, resolved to complete on the continent that education to which his ardent mind aspired, and in which he found he could proceed no farther at home. With this view he sailed for France in the autumn of 1564, and after considerable hindrances, not unattended by danger, arrived in Paris, Without loss of time, he recommenced his studies in the University of that city, having been enrolled in the Germanic nations, which included Scotland, England, and Ireland. Under the able professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee, he applied himself assiduously to the study of these languages. From Ramus, too, professor of Roman eloquence, he acquired a more accurate knowledge of the Latin language, and to him he was indebted for that happy mode of teaching which he afterwards so successfully practised in his native country. He received instructions in mathematics from Homelius and Carpentarius and others. Here, too, he devoted his attention for sometime to the study of civil law, that he might add this to his other acquirements as connected with a complete course of education. After a stay of two

years, he removed from Paris to Poitiers. Although only twenty-one years of age, he had acquired such a reputation for general learning that, on his arrival at Poitiers, he was elected a professor in the College of St Marceon, where he taught for some time with great reputation. The civil war breaking out in 1567, he left Poitiers for Geneva, where he arrived with letters of introduction to Beza. Melville at once attracted the notice of that distinguished scholar, who recommended him to his colleagues for the chair of humanity, then vacant, in which he was immediately installed. It was here he acquired that accurate knowledge of oriental literature for which he was afterwards so justly celebrated. Under Cornelius Bertram, a man of profound talents, he acquired a knowledge of Syriac, which, before that time, had been but little known in Europe. The massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, which wrought such woe to France, was the means of extending Melville's acquaintance with the learned men of the age. Those who escaped the dagger of the murderer took refuge in Geneva, whose gates were thrown open to receive them. It was at this time that Melville became acquainted with Scaliger and Hotoman and Bonnefry. Scaliger was considered the first scholar of the age he lived in, and even to this day his critical authority is bowed to by the profoundest

of modern linguists." Such was the apprenticeship of Andrew Melville. After an absence of nearly ten years, he returned to his native land to consecrate his learning and his labours in its cause. How devotedly and how successfully he did so we have already seen. "When Melville," says his distinguished biographer M'Crie, "returned from Geneva, although more than thirty years had elapsed from the first introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, the students at St Andrews did not acquire any knowledge of it beyond the regular declensions. But now the most difficult Greek authors were read and explained in all our Universities. The knowledge of Hebrew was brought to the country at the Reformation, and yet fourteen years after that period not one of the Professors in the first University of the kingdom could teach its alphabet. But now the Hebrew language was accurately taught in each of the Universities along with the cognate tongues, which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland. The scientific lectures first read by Melville at Glasgow, and afterwards adopted in the other Universities, included several useful branches of knowledge, not formerly taught in the established course of study, as geography, chronology, civil and natural history, geometry, and astronomy. A few years after Melville went to the University of St

Andrews the names of foreigners appear for the first time on its records. The number of these rapidly increased, and Scotland continued to be frequented by students from the continent for a considerable time after the original cause of attraction had been removed. Formerly the youth of this country went abroad to prosecute and finish their studies on the continent; now, if they left Scotland, it was to teach and not to be taught in foreign seminaries. There are three grand events in the modern history of philosophy—the first is the revival of literature—the second is the emancipation of the human mind from the slavish subjection to authority, under which it had been long held by a superstitious veneration for the name of Aristotle. The third is the introduction of what is commonly called the Inductive Philosophy. The merit of bringing about the first two of these events in Scotland is due to Melville. It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which the name of Aristotle had gained over the human mind, that his philosophy continued long to maintain its ground in the greater part of the Protestant schools. When Luther had attacked it with his usual vehemence, his colleague Melancthon interposed for its protection. Twenty years after every vestige of papal authority had been abolished in the University of St Andrews. Melville had

almost excited a tumult in it by calling in question the infallibility of a heathen philosopher. But he ultimately succeeded in effecting a reform on the philosophical creed at St Andrews. Rollock, who became a convert to the new philosophy, introduced it into the college of Edinburgh." Arbuthnot, with the advice and assistance of Melville, introduced it into the college of Aberdeen. "After the Assembly," (1575) says Mr James Melville, "we past to Angus in companie with Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godlines, and sweitnes of nature, then Principal of the College of Aberdeen, whom, with Mr Andro, communicate anent the haill ordour of his College in doctrine and discipline, and agreit in the new reformation of the said Colleges of Glasgow and Aberdeen."

"In asserting," says Dr M'Crie, "that Melville had the chief influence in bringing the literature of Scotland to that pitch of improvement which it reached at that time, I am supported by the testimony of contemporary writers of opposite parties, as well as by facts which have been brought forward in the course of this work. His arrival imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities.

By his instructions and his example he continued and increased the impulse which he had at first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged." His writings were numerous, and chiefly composed in Latin. A list of them has been given by his biographer, which it is not necessary to transfer to these pages. Enough has been said to shew that among the restorers and promoters of learning in Scotland in the sixteenth century, the first place is due to Andrew Melville.

JAMES MELVILLE.

Not so famous, indeed, as Andrew Melville, but scarcely less dear to Scotland, is the name of his nephew, James Melville. "His Autobiography," or "Memoirs of Himself," is at once the memorial and the monument of his literary tastes and labours. Many very simple, touching, and beautiful "Scenes and Stories" might be transcribed, did our limits permit, from that remarkable book. Take the following from his youthful experience :—

HIS MOTHER.

“My mother died about a three quarters, or at least within a year after I was born, a woman exceedingly beloved of her husband, friends, and neighbours. I have divers times heard my father’s breither commending her godlines, honestie, vertue, and affection. And I have often heard Mr Andro say, that he, being a bairn very siklie, was maist lovinglie and tenderlie treated by her embracing him oftentimes with these words, ‘God giff me anither laddie lyk thee, and syne tak me to his rest.’ In the end God granted her desire, and gave her one wha, wold to God he war as lyk to Mr Andro in gifts of mynd as he is thought to be in proportion of bodie and lineaments of face, for there is none that is not otherwayes informed, but taks me for Mr Andro’s brother.”

HIS EDUCATION.

“About the fyft year of my age the Great Buik was put into my hand, and when I was sevin, my father put my eldest and only brother David and me together to scholl, under a guid, learned, kynd man, Mr William Gray, minister at Logie, Montrose. There we learned to reid the Catechisme, Prayers, and

Scripture, and there first I fand (blysed be my God for it) the Spirit of Sanctification beginning to work some motions on my hart, even about the aucht and nynt year of my age. We learned there the rudiments of the Latin Grammair, also divers speeches in French, with the reiding and richt pronunciation of that tounge. There also we had the aire guid and fields reasonable fair, and by our maister war teachit to handle the bow for archerie, every ane having his match baith in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme indeid, if our negligence and unthankfulness had not moved God to shorten it, partlie by decaying of our numbers, quhilk caused the maister to wearie, and partlie by a plague, quhilk the Lord, for sin and contempt of his Gospell, sent upon Montrose, sae that the scholl skailed, and we war all sent for and brought haim. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve years, in the quhilk tyme, of public news I remember I hard of the 'Marriage of Henrie and Marie,' 'Seignour Davies slauchter,' 'the King's murder,' 'the Queen's taking at Carberry, and the Langsyde Field,' whereof see Mr Buchanan's Chronicle. Even at that tyme, the hearing of these things moved me and stak in my hart with joy or sorrow, as I hard they might help or hinder the religion."

HIS SISTER ISBEL.

“ When my brother and I were come hame, our father examined us, and was glad to see that we had profited reasonable. We remained a winter at hame, remembering our buiks, but now and then, as our father had leisure, quhilk was but verie seldom, yet the Lord sufferit not that tyme to be fruitless neither, but I remember therein twa benefits, ane the reiding of the Storie of the Scripture, and of David Lindsay’s book, quhilk my eldest sister Isbel wald reid and sing, namelie concerning the last judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven, whereby she wald cause me baith greit and be glad. I loved her, therefore, exceeding dearlie, and she me more than the rest. She showed me one day a ballet sett out in print, against ministers that for want of stipends left their charge, beginning—

‘ Who so do put hand to the pleuche,
And therfrae bakward goes,
The Scripture maks it plane aneuch,
My kingdom is not for those.’

With this she burst furthe in tears, and says, ‘ Alas ! what will come of thir at that latter day ? God keip my father, and Mr James Melville,* and Mr James

* An uncle.

Balfour from this!' And after cryet out, in the words of David Lindsay—

' Alas ! I tremble for to tell
The terrible torments of their hell.
That painful pit who can deplore
Quhilk shall endure for evermore.'

With her speeches and tears she made me to quake and weip bitterlie, quhilk left the deepest stamp of God's fear in my heart of any thing ever I heard before."

HIS WRITINGS.

His principal works in prose were the following : —1. "His Autobiography;" 2. "A True Narration of the Declining Age of the Kirk of Scotland;" 3. "An Apology for the Church of Scotland;" 4. "A Catechism, or Spiritual Propine* of a Pastor to his People." This last work consisted of two parts—the first in prose, and the second in verse. The second or poetical part is entitled "A Morning Vision, or Poem for the Practise of Piety in Devotion, Faith, and Repentance." Besides the "Epistle dedicated to the Elders of the Congregation of Kilrenny, and haill flock committed to their govern-

* Gift.

ment," it was prefaced by a dedication in verse to "James the Sext, King of Scottes and Prince of Poets in his language," and contained among other miscellaneous pieces, one entitled, "The Seaman's Shoute, a Mutuall Exhortation to go forward in the Spiritual Voyage." This work "brought him no gain of money." "In the year 1598," he says, "I causit print my Catechisme for the profit of my people, and bestowit thereupon fyve hunder marks quhilk God movit the heart of a maist godlie and loving friend to freelie offer to me in lend, for that effect, in quilk I remane indebted to this day, having nevir to my knowledge attained to a hunder marks again for the buiks."*

The following verses are from his "Eusebius, or

* His poetical works are more numerous than his works in prose. Besides the one above noticed he wrote the following:—

1. "The description of the Spainyarts Naturall, with sum Exhortationes for Warning of Kirk and Countrey." 2. "The Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland." 3. "Eusebius, Democritus, and Heroclitus, or Thrie may keip Counsell gif Twa be Away." 4. "A Translation into English verse of Marcellus Palingenius." 5. "Sonnets and other Short Poems." 6. "The Song of Moses, or a Preservative from Apostasie." 7. "David's Tragique Fall, with a Paraphrase of the 51st Psalm." 8. "The Reliefe of the Longing Soule, or the Song of Songs, which is Solomon's." 9. "A Meditation of the Love of Christ." He composed also domestic verses on several occasions, and translated some of his uncle Andrew's poems.

Thrie may keip Counsell gif Twa be Away," and are, as will be seen, a satirical attack on the bishops of his day :—

" I laucht to sie how lords are made of louns,
And how they are intreated in our touns,
Quhare sumtyme they were fain to releive them,
For rocks and stones of wyves that came so neir them ;
I laucht to sie them now sett ouer the flocks,
Wha came to court with their auld mullis and socks.

I laucht how John and George, wha wer most slanderous,
Are lords advanced of Glasgow and St Androus ;
How William, Andro, Sanders, and the lave,
By perjurie and playing of the knave,
Are stylit in God our fathers reverend,
Wha scarce among our pastors true wer kend."

Such were some of the literary labours of James Melville, who, besides being a literary minister, was, at the same time, a diligent and devoted pastor, and is declared by a contemporary writer to have been " one of the wisest directors of Kirk affairs that our Kirk had in his tyme."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOUR EDINBURGH MINISTERS—THE MONTROSE ASSEMBLY—SOME REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF MR JOHN CRAIG—THE KING RECOMMENDS THE ASSEMBLY TO REVISE THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE AND THE METRICAL VERSION OF THE PSALMS—LAST FREE ASSEMBLY OF THE FIRST REFORMATION—ACCESSION OF JAMES TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—DEPUTATION OF MINISTERS WAIT ON THE KING AT BERWICK—THE ENGLISH PURITANS—MILLENARY PETITION—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT—PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH—THE KING'S FIRST SPEECH IN THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT—SYNOD OF FIFE.

1598—1605.

THE FOUR EDINBURGH MINISTERS.

THE four ministers of Edinburgh having been permitted to return to the country, though not to their charges, were at this time sent for by the King, who asked them to subscribe the acts of the late Assemblies. Mr James Nicolsone said that his Majesty looked upon them as "troublers of his estate, and thought not himself secure unless they subscribed them." They said, "they would subscribe them, in so far as they agreed with the Word of God." "Agree not then," said the King, "the acts of Assembly with the Word of God? that

is plain Anabaptistrie." They replied, "We speak according to our light, and if any man will let us see better out of the Word of God, we will yield to it." "Ye shall obey the law," said the King. "Will ye," they replied, "preserve our religion as we have it already established by our own laws and the Word of God, in other things we shall keep ourselves, by God's grace, within the compass of the act; but if any shall be done to the open prejudice of our religion, wherefore serve we, if we shew not that the Word of God condemns it?" "Will ye suspect me?" said the King. "We suspect an angel, if an angel bring another gospel," said they. "Well," said the King, "be it so upon your peril. I assure you, ye shall be punished, for an example to others." This he repeated several times, adding "that neither Edinburgh nor Scotland should keep them, if they subscribed not these acts."

From this time the King's hatred of Bruce exceeded all bounds. On one occasion he was heard to say "that he hated not Bothwell himself with a greater hatred than he did Bruce." On another, he said, "were it not for shame, he would throw a whinger in his face." By hints of violence he sought to terrify him, and make him leave the country. But Bruce was not a man to flee. The blood of kings was in his veins. Above all, he feared

God, and was not afraid of a man that should die. He remembered God, and "feared not the fury of the oppressor." He remained at his post. The King deprived him of a pension which he had enjoyed for a number of years. Bruce sued the Crown before the Lords of Session, and, though the King pleaded his own cause, and sought to overawe the judges, with a rare impartiality and intrepidity, they decided in Bruce's favour.

THE ASSEMBLY MEETS AT MONTROSE.

On the 20th of March 1600, the General Assembly met at Montrose. No meeting of Assembly for a long time had been looked forward to with such deep interest and anxiety as this. The attendance of members was unusually great. The King was present on the first day, and remained to the close of the Assembly. "From the time," says James Melville, "that he rose early at morn till he went late to bed, he was continually with ministers, and so busy with them, that the courtiers complained heavily they could get no access." Mr Andrew Melville came to the Assembly with a commission from his presbytery. The King hearing of his having entered the room, sent for him privately, and asked, "why he was so troublesome as to persist

in coming to the Assembly, when he had forbidden him." "Sir," said Melville, "I have a calling in the Kirk of God, and from Jesus Christ, the King of kings, which it behoves me to discharge, and that for fear of a greater punishment than any earthly king can inflict." At this the King grew angry, and used some threatening words. Melville, raising his hand to his head, said, "Sir, it is this ye would have. Take it, take it—and ye shall have it, ere, with my consent, ye deprive us of the liberties of Christ and his kingdom." The King permitted him to depart, but he was not allowed to take his seat in the Assembly. "There were," says James Melville, "many good brethren members of this Assembly, and did stand very honestly to the cause, but authority, dissimulation, and craft, carried the matter away." After a keen debate, it was carried, though by a small majority, "that ministers should have a seat in Parliament." Several caveats or conditions were enacted to prevent them from abusing their powers. They were to propound nothing in Parliament in the name of the Church without her express warrant and direction, nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to her interests, under the pain of deposition from their office, and at each Assembly they were to give an account of the manner in which they had executed

their commission. "Thus," says Calderwood, "the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, covered with caveats, was brought in."

SOME REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF MR JOHN CRAIG.

In the December of the year 1600, the Church of Scotland was called to lament the loss of Mr John Craig, the friend and fellow-labourer of Knox, having survived him nearly the long period of thirty years. John Craig was born in 1512, the year before the battle of Flodden, where his father was slain. He was eighty-eight years old when he died, his life having extended through the reigns of four kings. Besides the "First or National Covenant," he composed the first catechism used in the Reformed Church of Scotland, which was printed by order of the General Assembly, and was commonly called "Craig's Catechism." In the early life of Craig there were many strange passages. Being brought up in the Romish faith, when a young man he went to Italy and entered the order of the Dominican monks in the city of Bologna. Reading a copy of Calvin's Institutions, which he found in the library of the inquisition attached to the monastery, his eyes were opened to the errors of Popery, and, as speedily as possible, he withdrew from the monastery. Not long after he was admitted as tutor into the family

of an Italian nobleman, who was of the reformed religion. Near to the nobleman's house there was a wood, into which he used often to retire for meditation and prayer, and in which he sometimes taught his scholars. It fell out on a day, when he was there with his scholars, that a poor wounded soldier entered the wood to whom Mr Craig spoke kindly, and gave some money. Some years after this Craig was arrested and sent to Rome, where, after lying nine months in the dungeons of the Inquisition, he was brought to trial, and condemned along with some others, to be burnt for heresy. On the night previous to the day appointed for their execution, when they were engaged in prayer, a great tumult was heard in the city, in the midst of which, their prison doors were thrown open, and they were told that the Pope was dead and that they were free. Craig and his companions fled, and after wandering for some hours in the streets, took refuge in a house at a small distance from Rome. They had not been long there, when a company of soldiers entered, who had been sent to apprehend them. On discovering them the captain looked Craig eagerly in the face, and taking him aside, asked him if he had ever been in Bologna. Mr Craig answered he had been there many years. Then said the captain, "do you remember one day of having relieved the necessities

of a poor wounded soldier, who came up to you as you were walking with some young scholars in the fields?" Craig said that he did not well remember it. "But," said the captain, "I remember it; I am that poor wounded soldier, whom you then so generously assisted, and Providence has put it in my power to shew you some kindness in return. You are at liberty. Your companions I must take along with me, but for your sake shall show them every favour in my power." He then gave him what money he had upon him, with directions how to make his escape. What became of his companions we are not told. Craig now resolved to return to Scotland, and what befell him on his way home you will now hear. In the course of his journey the money he had received from the generous soldier began to fail. A day or two before it was all spent, he came to a wood, where, being sore wearied, he lay down by the side of a stream. As he lay there pensive and sorrowful, and pouring out his soul to God in prayer, a dog came up to him with a purse in its teeth. Fearing that this was a stratagem of some evil disposed person, who was concealed in the wood, and who wished to involve him in trouble, Mr Craig endeavoured to drive the dog away, but as often as it was driven away it returned, and kept fawning upon him as if he had been its master.

Seeing this, he took the purse, in which he found a sum of money, which enabled him to prosecute his journey. "After some days in France," says Row, "he came home to Scotland, and brought with him to Edinburgh the dog, the purse, and some of the gold." "This," he continues, "though it may seem fabulous to some, I know to be as certain as anything human can be; for the wife of this worthy servant of Jesus Christ did often relate this history to me and to many others."

THE KING RECOMMENDS TO THE ASSEMBLY TO REVISE THE
TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE AND THE METRICAL VERSION
OF THE PSALMS.

1601.

Before the Reformation the only authorized translation of the Bible, authorized by the Church of Rome, was the Latin one commonly called the Vulgate.* To the great body of the people the Bible was thus "a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." To them the Latin version was "a cloud without rain, a well without water." These were the evil days spoken of by the prophet—"Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine on the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of

* From *vulgo*, to publish; or from *vulgus*, the people.

the Lord. And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord and shall not find. In that day shall the fair virgins and young men faint for Christ." Some there were even in those times who, pitying the condition of the people, translated the Scriptures for their use, and thus unsealed to them the fountains of life. This did Adhelm, a Saxon priest, who lived in the beginning of the eighth century. He translated the Psalms, which was the first portion of the Word of God that the people of this island enjoyed in their mother tongue. Nearly cotemporary with Adhelm, were Egbert and Bede. Bede translated *the Four Gospels*, and is said to have given a Saxon version nearly of the whole Bible. In this great and good work he was engaged when he died. He had come to the last verse in the Gospel of St John, when the young man who acted as his amanuensis said, "Master, there is now but one sentence wanting," upon which he bade him write quickly. The young man said, "It is now done." "Yes," said Bede, "it is now done," and a few minutes afterwards expired. In the ninth century other portions of the Scriptures were translated by Alfred the Great. In 1349, one Richard Rolle, called the hermit of Hampole, translated the Psalms, and in

1380, the entire Bible was translated by Wicklyffe. In 1526, the New Testament appeared in English for the first time in print. Printing was the great discovery of that age, and as became so great an invention, the book on which it was chiefly employed was the Bible. The translator and printer was William Tindal. He intended to print the whole Bible, and had proceeded some length with it, when, by the joint authority of Henry VIII. of England, and the Emperor of Germany, he was condemned to be burnt. The last words of one who had done so much to enlighten his country were, "Lord open the King of England's eyes." The Bible, consisting of both Testaments, was printed by Miles Coverdale in 1535, and to him belongs the glory of having printed the first English Bible.

Four different editions, or rather new translations, followed in the course of a few years. These were Roger's in 1537, Cranmer's and Tavernier's in 1539, and the Genevan in 1560. The authors of this translation were certain Protestant refugees from England and Scotland, who had fled to Geneva to escape the persecution in the days of Mary the Bloody, among whom were Coverdale, Goodman, and our own Knox. The division into verses,—an invention of Robert Stephens, the famous printer,—was first adopted in this Bible. In 1568, a new

edition of Cranmer's Bible was published, and authorised by Elizabeth to be read in churches. From the number of bishops engaged in this edition, it was called the "Bishops' Bible." Notwithstanding the learning and the care of its authors, it was not quite free from faults. These James had learning enough to discover, and with them his taste was pure enough to be offended. To the Genevan edition he had still graver objections. He declared it "to be the worst of all the translations." "But here," says an English bishop, "the judgment of that monarch was overcome by his kingly prejudices, for it is certainly better than any before it." Be this as it may, and whatever may have been his motives, even at this early period, his thoughts were occupied with a new and an improved edition. In the Assembly that met this year at Burntisland, he was present, and, among other remedies for existing evils which he suggested or sanctioned, he said, "there were some faults in the translation of the Bible, in the paraphrase of the Psalms, and some prayers not fitting to the times." The Assembly agreed "that the Bible be parted among the brethren that have best skill of the original tongues, and that they be careful to correct what they can, and report their diligence to the next Assembly." As for the Psalms, "they are recommended to Mr

Robert Pont," his travels to be revised at the next Assembly.

Nothing farther, however, was done by the Assembly in the matter. Yet did not the King allow it to fall to the ground. Three years afterwards he summoned the ministers and magnates of the Church of England, and submitted it to their consideration. The result is well known. A new translation was decided on, and forty-seven of the gravest divines and most learned doctors were appointed to complete it. They entered on the work in 1607, and in 1611 was given to the world our present version of the Bible, of which it is enough to say that, after the lapse of two hundred years, and with all its imperfections, it is perhaps the best in any language. The King was not so successful with the metrical version of the Psalms as he was with the translation of the Bible. The version used in the churches in 1601 was that of Sternhold and Hopkins. These two individuals, whose names are now inseparably linked together, were better Protestants than poets. What improvement Pont might have made on their metrical version we can now only conjecture. The King himself attempted its revisal, and had proceeded so far as the thirty-first psalm when he died. His psalms were afterwards published, and ordered by his son and succes-

sor to be sung in the churches. But, as our fathers would not accept King Charles' book of prayers, neither would they accept King James' book of psalms. They appointed Calderwood to draw up reasons for rejecting them. Among other objections he said they were full of "harsh and thrawen phrases, new coined and court terms, poetical conceits, and heathenish liberty, which served to make people glaik." "Tak these," he said, "for a taste."

"There walk the ships amidst the floods,
Where captiv'd air commands."

Ps. civ. 26.

— "Yon flaming lord of light,
And with the stars in state,
Pale lady of the night."

Ps. cxlviii. 3.

From these specimens we may see it was not without reason that Calderwood objected to the King's Psalms, "that they would need a dictionarie at the end." The present version of the Psalms was the work of later times, and of other and abler hands; but with all the extravagancies of King James' version, we agree with a modern writer when he says, "the attempt, although it failed, was laudable, especially in a King."

THE LAST FREE ASSEMBLY OF THE FIRST REFORMATION.

1602.

When the Bruntisland Assembly rose, it fixed its next meeting to be held at St Andrews on the last Tuesday of July, 1602. "But," says Row, "the prerogative royal, a small friend to the crown of Christ and liberty of his Kirk, changed both time and place, for the Assembly was prorogued from July to November, and translated from St Andrews to the Palace of Holyrood, where there never sat an Assembly of the Kirk before. When the Assembly met, and was proceeding to the choice of a Moderator, Mr James Melville rose, and, in the King's presence, objected to its informality, protesting that whatsoever should be done in it contrary to the Word of God and the constitution of the Kirk, should be null and of no effect."

This Assembly passed several good measures. It appointed visitors of Presbyteries; it enjoined Presbyteries to visit congregations, and laid down rules for the trial of ministers and people. Respecting the minister, they were to enquire—"What testimony he had of his session and congregation; if he preached once or twice on the Sabbath; if he had

any week exercise; if he catechised weekly a part of his parish; if he visited the sick and the dying; what helps he had in the advancement of his studies; what commentaries on the Scriptures; and what writers on the controversies of religion;—if he had the text of Scripture in the original languages; if he was seen in the tongues; and, in particular, if in his life and the government of his family, he was edifying to his flock?" Rules equally strict and searching were laid down for the examination of the people. Acts were passed against intemperance, the profanation of the Lord's-day, non-communicants and Papists. Noblemen were forbidden to send their sons abroad without tutors, whom the Presbyteries should approve as men of known affection to the cause of God, and, when in Popish countries, they were forbidden to enter their churches, and to countenance or witness their idolatrous worship. During its sittings, Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, gave in a petition, expressing his regret that his Lady, Dame Helenor Hay, a Papist, had not obeyed what was enjoined her by a previous Assembly when absolved from excommunication. "So that," he added, "he saw nothing but that she deserved to be excommunicated again." She was ordered to be catechised in the true religion, Papists were forbidden to haunt her house, and the King was requested

“to take his daughter out of her company.” “It was resolved,” says Row, “to reason over again several things formerly concluded, that they might be more exactly tried, but in the end nothing was altered, upon the King’s declaration that he aimed at nothing but God’s glory and the weal of this Reformed Kirk, for he professed he saw no safety to religion, himself, or the country, but only by his sincere profession of the truth taught in this kingdom, and by the exercise of justice, which he promised, by God’s grace, to do better in time coming than he had formerly done. For this the Assembly gave thanks to God.” Notwithstanding the Erastianism of the King in the calling of this Assembly, it has been ranked among the Free Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, and was the last which, with any pretensions to the name, met for the long and troubled period of six and thirty years.

ACCESSION OF JAMES TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND.

1603.

On the 31st of March, 1603, messengers arrived from England announcing the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James to the English throne. The ministers of Edinburgh hastened to congratulate

him on this great event. Andrew Melville celebrated the occasion in a Latin poem of great elegance. Bruce exhorted him "to take heed to his heart lest it should be deceived with the glory of earthly things; and, seeing God had bestowed on him so many crowns and kingdoms, that he would employ his credit and care for the good of his kingdom." On the Lord's-day following, the King attended public worship in the High Church of St Giles. At the close of the service he stood up, and in a long address, in which, among other things, he said, "he would never alter the government of the Kirk," he took leave of his people.

DEPUTATION OF MINISTERS WAIT ON THE KING AT BERWICK.

On the 5th of April 1603, surrounded by a large and brilliant cavalcade of Scottish and English noblemen and gentlemen, James took his way to England. At Berwick he was waited on by a deputation of ministers, appointed by the Synod of Lothian, who presented him the following requests: 1. That he would not alter the government of the Church. 2. That he would set at liberty warded ministers in Scotland. And, 3. That he would shew favour to their afflicted brethren of the ministry in England. To the first of these requests he answered,

“that the government of the Church should not be altered.” To the second, “that Mr Robert Bruce and he had parted good friends; that Mr Andrew Melville had liberty of six miles about St Andrews; that Mr John Davison should have offered himself to him as he came through Preston.” And to the third, “that he would shew favour to men of all parties, but not to Anabaptists.” He concluded by repeating, “it was not his purpose to make any further innovation in the government of the Church.” “So,” says Calderwood, with sarcastic indignation, “Mr Andrew Melville and Mr John Davison were left confined, and Mr Robert Bruce excluded from his ministry, whereas the jails on the way to London were thrown open by the King as he passed along, and the prisoners set at liberty.”

THE ENGLISH PURITANS.

The people of England at this time were divided into two great religious parties—the Prelatists or high Episcopalians, and the Puritans, who, in their views of the government, worship, and discipline of the Church, differed in almost nothing from the Presbyterians, and who, for refusing to observe the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England as by law established, had suffered many things during the

reign of Elizabeth. The accession of James, who hitherto had been a member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and who, it was now remembered, had publicly declared the service of the Church of England to be an "ill said mass," was witnessed by the Episcopalians not without fears, and by the Puritans not without hopes. No efforts were spared by either party to win for their respective views the countenance and sanction of their new sovereign.

THE MILLENARY PETITION.

During his progress to London, the Puritans presented to him a memorial, in which they earnestly prayed for the following reforms :—1. That the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism. 2. That the confirmation of children should be done away. 3. That cap and surplice should not be urged. 4. That ministers should not be charged to teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus. 5. That the Apocrypha should not be read in the Church. 6. That the long and tiresome service should be abridged. 7. That ministers should reside in their own parishes, and preach every Lord's-day. 8. That discipline should be exercised according to Christ's own institution. This memorial was sub-

scribed by a thousand ministers, from which circumstance it was called the *Millenary Petition*. Answers to this petition were published by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in which it was declared to be "insufferable" that institutions so long and well settled "should be so much as questioned." That the King might maintain a show of impartiality, but principally from the vain desire of displaying his own fancied learning and talents, and putting an end to the expectations of the Puritans, which before his accession he was mean enough to encourage, he appointed a conference between the two parties, to be held in his presence at Hampton Court on the 14th of January 1604.

CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT.

The conference took place on the day appointed. It was conducted by four distinguished Puritan divines on the one side, and by nine bishops on the other. The King constituted himself umpire or moderator. To the bishops and inferior clergy of their party, who alone were admitted into his presence, on the first day he delivered a long address in favour of Episcopacy. He congratulated himself "that he was now come into the promised land, where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend

men, and that he was not now, as formerly, a king without state and honour, nor in a place where order was banished, and beardless boys would brave him to his face." The Episcopal party now saw that their fears were groundless, and by this address were thrown into an ecstasy of delight. One of them said the King was moved by the instinct of the Spirit of God. "I have often heard," said another, "that a king is partly a priest, but I never saw the truth thereof till this day." They extolled him to his face as an oracle of wisdom—they compared him to Solomon—and every time they addressed him they went down on their knees. Such were the adulations which these men, the high dignitaries of the English Church, were wicked enough to offer, and which the King was weak enough to receive. His treatment of the Puritan divines was marked by the grossest insults and disrespect. At a proposal of Dr Reynolds he burst out into loud laughter, in which he was joined by the courtiers present, one of whom told him of the saying of a Cambridge man, "that a Puritan was a Protestant out of his wits." When the "churching of women" came to be considered, and the Puritans requested that this practice should be done away—"Nay, nay," said the King, "their sex are so little fond of coming to church that any-

thing to draw them thither must have his approbation." At this there was a laugh. "I see," said he, "that you are aiming at a Scottish presbytery, which agrees as well with monarchy as God with devil. Then meet Jack, and Tom, and Bill, and Dick, to censure at their pleasure me and my council and all our proceedings. Up stands Will and says, '*it must be so*;' '*I say, marry,*' says Dick, '*we will have it thus.*' Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you ask me this. If you then find me fat and pursy, with my windpipe stuffed, I may perhaps hearken to you. Let that government once be up, and I am sure to be kept in breath. We shall then have all work enough. So, Dr Reynolds, till you find me grow lazy, let that alone."

Then addressing the bishops, he said, "Were you, my lords, once out and they in place, I know what would then become of my supremacy, for *no bishop no king*, as I said before." At the close of the conference he said, "If this be all they have to say, I'll make them conform or I'll bang them out of the land, or else do worse; only hang them, that's all." "From such language," says an English historian, "it is plain that Scotland was below the average of contemporary civilization." It is not quite so clear that. Because the King was "below the average of contemporary civilization," it does not

follow that his subjects must have been so. They may have been rude enough, but few, we are persuaded, could have been found among them, and still fewer among their ministers, whose conduct would not have presented a striking contrast to that of the high dignitaries of the English Church and State, who, while James was thus playing the buffoon, extolled him as an oracle of wisdom, and as the Solomon of his age.

THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

To the Hampton conference the ministers of the Church of Scotland had looked forward with great anxiety. These were communicated in a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh by Mr Patrick Galloway, who was present during its proceedings. After his letter was read, the members of the Presbytery sat for some time in thoughtful and sorrowful silence. At last Mr James Melville, who happened to be present, rose and "craved," says Calderwood, "two things. First, that they would sympathise with their learned and godly brethren, who, having expected a Reformation, were disappointed; and that, if no other way could be found for help, they would at least offer their prayers to God for their comfort and support. Secondly, that seeing the Presbytery of Edinburgh

had ever been the watchtower of the Kirk, and the ministers thereof the chief watchmen, that they would take heed that no peril or contagion come from the English Church, and that they would give warning, should there be occasion, to the Presbyteries throughout the realm."

THE KING'S FIRST SPEECH IN THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

On the 19th of March 1604, the King assembled his first English Parliament. If the conference at Hampton Court was fitted to awaken the fears of the Puritans, his speech on this occasion was not calculated to allay, but rather to increase them. "The Church of Rome," said he, "I acknowledge to be our mother Church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, and its members I am ready to meet half-way; but as for the Puritans or Novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused forms of polity and parity, I consider them to be a sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." The King proposed in Parliament the union of the two kingdoms, and said he hoped that henceforth the distinction of "the borders" should be unknown. The measure was not more agreeable to the English Parliament than it was to the Scottish ministers,

only they were afraid, and not without reason, that the Presbyterian establishment should be sacrificed to accomplish it. This the Presbyteries and Synods that had not yet fallen from their steadfastness, roused themselves to prevent. To consider the proposed measure, the King summoned his Scottish Parliament to meet at Edinburgh in April.

SYNOD OF FIFE.

Now, because it had ever been the custom for the General Assembly to meet either immediately before or during the sitting of Parliament, the Synod of Fife applied for liberty to the General Assembly to meet, "that the matters of the Kirk might now be looked into, when all other estates and corporations of both kingdoms at this nick of time were looking carefully into their privileges and liberties." The King replied, "that this was unnecessary, as nothing would be done in this Parliament but the appointment of commissioners to advise on the terms of the Union." Having failed in obtaining this object, the Synod drew up a long and powerful paper, which they presented to the ministers, who, under the late act, had been returned to represent the Church in Parliament, in which, after "thanking God for the purpose of uniting the two realms to-

gether as most loveable and good," they required them to see that nothing was done against "the present rycht profession of the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Kirk and Kingdom of Jesus Christ within this realm, established by the Word of God, and confirmed by the laws of the country, and to protest, should any thing be done to its prejudice, that it should be null and void. They adjured them before God and his elect angels, to inform the Parliament, and, through it, his Majesty, that the ministers of Synod were fully persuaded that the government of the Church of Scotland rested on divine authority equally with its doctrines, and that rather than stain their consciences, by submitting to its alteration, they would submit to death." "The spirit breathed in this document," says a historian, "was such as might have convinced the King that it was neither to be controlled easily, nor resisted safely. But it had no such effect. Intoxicated with the delusive idea of absolute sovereignty, and with the flattery of the prelates, he pursued his resolution of new-modelling the Scottish Church, and thus scattered the elements of those convulsions under which the throne of his unhappy son was destined to sink." On the Parliament it had a different and better effect. "At the desire," says the historian Row, "of the guid

auld Earl of Morton, who was most uprycht and zealous for the libertie and sincere standing of the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk," they inserted a clause in their instructions to the Commissioners of Union, "that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the Kirk."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY—STORY OF JOHN WELSH—MINISTERS WHO KEPT THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY BANISHED—THE TWO MELVILLES—CONSTANT MODERATORS—SYNOD OF PERTH—DEATH OF MR JAMES NICOLSON—THE GLASGOW OR ANGELICAL ASSEMBLY—SYNOD OF FIFE—MR WILLIAM COUPER, HOW HE WROTE AGAINST THE BISHOPS, AND AFTERWARDS BECAME A BISHOP HIMSELF—EPISCOPACY ESTABLISHED.

1605—1612.

THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY.

THE last Tuesday of July 1604 the day on which the General Assembly was fixed to meet, was now at hand, and the different Presbyteries were preparing to return their representatives, when it was prorogued by the King to meet on the same month of the following year. Regarding this as an unscriptural and unconstitutional stretch of authority, the Presbytery of St Andrews proceeded to

make choice of their representatives, and enjoined them to repair, on the day appointed, to Aberdeen. They did so, but, finding none present to join with them in constituting the Assembly, they protested that they had done their duty, and that, whatever injury might arise to the liberties of the Church from this sinful stretch of power on the part of the King, and this slavish submission to his authority on the part of their brethren, it should not be imputed to them or the Presbytery of St Andrews. In September the Synod of Fife met at St Andrews. The well-affected brethren in other Synods perceiving the Presbytery of St Andrews to be courageous for the liberties of the Church, and taking the matter to heart, came in great numbers out of the South and West to the meeting of Synod. During its sittings the question was reasoned, whether the General Assembly might not lawfully meet without the King's consent. Mr James Melville maintained that it might. "Not only," said he, "have we the warrant of Christ in his word, which is sufficient, but we have the law of the country for it also. This the King himself admitted in the General Assembly at Dundee." "As sheriffs," said he, "and barons kept their courts, so might ministers keep their Assemblies." "The gentlemen that were present," says Calderwood, "applauded, but Lauriston, the

King's commissioner, said, that granting they might, it was better to have it with the King's consent, which he doubted not would be granted, being sought in due manner." But, though several Presbyteries petitioned for leave to meet, the Assembly was again prorogued, nor was any reason assigned, or time fixed for its future meeting. Nine Presbyteries directed their commissioners to hold the Assembly. They met at Aberdeen on the 2d of July, elected Mr John Forbes, minister of Alford, for their Moderator, and constituted the Assembly in the name and by the authority of its sole King and Head. No sooner had they done this, than a messenger-at-arms entered the church, and in the King's name commanded them to disperse on pain of rebellion. Protesting that the Assembly was held upon the warrant of the Word of God, and agreeably to the laws of the kingdom, they adjourned to meet in September following. When the King heard that the ministers had kept the Assembly, he was exceedingly displeased, and sent word to the law-officers in Scotland to bring them to trial. The greater part of them having stood to their defence, and refused to acknowledge the Assembly as an illegal one, were committed to prison. John Forbes, the Moderator, and John Welsh, being considered the leaders, were treated with greater

severity than the rest. They were sent to Blackness, where they were shut up in separate dungeons, and secluded from all intercourse with their friends.

STORY OF JOHN WELSH.

John Welsh was a remarkable man in a remarkable age. "He was a rich example," says an old writer, "of grace and mercy; but the night went before the day, being a most hopeless, extravagant boy. It was not enough for him frequently, when he was a young stripling, to run away from the school, and play the truant, but after he had past his grammar, and was come to be a youth, he left the school and his father's house, and joined himself to the thieves on the English border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and amongst them he stayed till he spent a suit of clothes. Then, when he was clothed with rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolutions, so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not adventure till he should interpose a reconciler. So on his return homeward, he took Dumfries on his way, where he had a friend, one Agnes Forsyth, with whom he stayed some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house, his father came, providentially,

to the house. After they had talked a while, Mrs Forsyth, who was his cousin, asked him whether he ever heard any news of his son John? ‘O cruel woman,’ said he, ‘how can you name his name to me; the first news I expect to hear of him is that he is hanged for a thief.’ She answered—‘Many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man;’ and comforted him. He asked ‘whether she knew his lost son was yet alive?’ She answered—‘Yes, he was; and she hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy;’ and with that she called him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching him, for Christ’s sake, to pardon his misbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him, yet at length, by the boy’s tears, and his cousin’s importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to put him to the college, and there to try his behaviour, and if ever thereafter he should break, he should be content his father should disclaim him for ever. So his father carried him home, and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent student of great expectation, and showed himself a sincere convert, and so he proceeded to the ministry,” which he exercised first at Selkirk and afterwards at Ayr, with a success more like that of the apostles than any minister before his

own time or since. He was settled in Ayr in the year 1590, where he continued till it now fell to be his duty to edify the Church by his sufferings, as formerly he had done by his doctrine.

MINISTERS WHO KEPT THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY BANISHED.

In August 1606, the imprisoned ministers were brought before the Privy Council, but, declining its authority, they were sent back to prison. Shortly afterwards the following six, John Forbes, John Welsh, Andrew Duncan, Robert Durie, Alexander Strachan, and John Sharp, were indicted to stand their trial for high treason, before the Court of Judiciary at Linlithgow. When the day of trial drew near, certain of their brethren went unto the Council and requested that it might be delayed till they had consulted the different Presbyteries of the Church. Their request was refused. When the prisoners heard this they rejoiced, and said, "They saw that the Lord had called them that day to bear testimony for the liberty of Christ's kingdom, and to stand up for his crown against the usurpation and the pride of men." The brethren, seeing their courage and constancy, glorified God. When they appeared at the bar, the Justice-Depute asked them what advocates they would have to speak for them.

They said, "Mr Thomas Craig and Mr William Oliphant." But these two eminent lawyers refused to plead their cause. "Therefore," says Mr James Melville, "it behoved them to take such as would, to wit, Mr Thomas Gray, an old man, weil-willing but not skilful, and a young man who had never pleaded any cause before, yet proved notably well, as if moved of God for that effect, in whose conduct that day nothing was wanting that the greatest lawyer could have done." This was Mr Thomas Hope, who became one of the most eminent lawyers of his age and nation. Forbes and Welsh, to whom "the rest gave the place of speech," defended themselves and their brethren with admirable wisdom and ability. "But," says M'Crie, "what avail innocence and eloquence against the arts of corruption and terror?" By a majority of three they were brought in guilty. It was near midnight when the verdict was returned, which led the people to say, "Truly it was a work of darkness to make Christ's faithful ministers traitors to the King. God grant he be never in greater danger of traitors." "Their wives," says Row, "were in town waiting the event of the trial, and, when it was told them that their husbands were convicted of treason by some few more votes than they that had freed them, they joyfully, and with masculine minds,

thanked the Lord Jesus who had given them that strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying, they are even intreated as their Master was before them, judged and condemned under silence of night." How determined the King was to have these innocent men brought in guilty, and what means were employed to effect this, the following extract from a letter addressed to him by one of his Secretaries will show. "To dissemble nothing," says he, "gif the Erle of Dunbar had not been with us, and partly by his dexterity in advising of what was fittest to be done in every thing, and partly by the authority he had over his friends, a great many of whom were on the assize, and partly for that some stood in awe of his presence, knowing that he would mak faithful relation to your Majesty of every man's part, it had not turned out as well as it has."

"This letter," says the learned and upright Lord Hailes, "gives a more lively idea of those times than an hundred chronicles can do." Such were the times in which our good forefathers lived, and such were the "rulers of the darkness of this world" with whom they had to contend. Though a verdict of guilty was thus returned, sentence was not pronounced till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. In the meantime, the prisoners were conveyed back

to Blackness, in whose stone dungeons they were again immured. The King would not have hesitated to bring them to the scaffold; but, knowing that this would kindle a flame in Scotland it would not be so easy to quench, he contented himself by sending them into exile. "In November," says Row, "a warrant was sent to Sir John Arnot to provide a ship that they might be banished his Majesty's dominions. They were brought from Blackness to Leith, and there, the ship being ready and many attending their embarking, they fell down upon their knees on the shore and prayed two several times very fervently, moving all the multitude to tears and lamentations, and, after they had sung the twenty-third Psalm, joyfully taking leave of their brethren and acquaintance, passed to the ship. That night, encountering a stormy tempest, they sailed no farther but over to the other side of the water; but on the morn, getting a fair wind, were safely transported and landed in France." The other ministers, their companions in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, were not brought to trial, but, after having been kept in prison for fourteen months, were banished to remote parts of the country, which they were forbidden to leave on pain of death.

WHAT THIS YEAR BEFELL THE TWO MELVILLES.

1606.

Having removed Forbes and Welsh out of the way, the King resolved next to remove the two Melvilles, being convinced that so long as they were permitted to guide the counsels of the Church, it would be next to impossible for him to succeed in his designs against its liberties. Afraid to attempt this by violence, he resolved to effect it by artifice. Under the pretence of consulting them on the affairs of the Church, he invited them, with six of their brethren, to meet him in London. Assured by the Earl of Dunbar, at that time the King's chief minister for Scotland, that the King really meant the good of the Church, and that it would be the best journey they ever made, though not without their misgivings, these eight ministers repaired to London. They had not been long there till their worst fears were realized, and they saw that the King's real design in inviting them thither was their own and the Church's ruin. The conferences appointed by the King they attended, the questions proposed by him and his ministers they answered. As free Scottishmen they had come, and as free Scottishmen they expected to be permitted to return. But this was not

the King's intention. At the end of the first day's conference, when on their way to their lodgings, he sent one of his secretaries after them, charging them not to return to Scotland, nor even to leave London without his special permission. Day after day he put to them ensnaring questions, and tempted them in every way possible to make them say or do something which would afford him a pretext for committing them to prison. This was at last found. "On the 28th of September," says the biographer of Melville, "they were required by a message from his Majesty to be in the Royal Chapel early next day; and Melville and his nephew received a particular charge not to be absent. It was the festival of St Michael, and was celebrated with much superstitious pomp. Several foreigners of distinction were present, among whom was the Prince de Vaudemont, son to the Duke of Lorraine, and commander of the Venetian army. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty cups, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. The King and Queen approached it with great ceremony, and presented their offerings. When the service was over, the Prince de Vaudemont said he did not see what should hinder the Churches of Rome and England to unite, and one of his attendants exclaimed "there

is nothing of the mass wanting here but the adoration of the host." On returning to his lodgings Melville composed some verses in Latin on the scene which he had just witnessed, of which the following is an old translation :—

"Why stand there on the Royal Altar hie,
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie?
Doth England hold God's word and worship closs,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross,
Doth she with chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express?"

For these verses, which were pronounced treasonable, Melville was committed to the Tower. The rest of the ministers were imprisoned in different parts of the kingdom.

CONSTANT MODERATORS APPOINTED.

The men whose talents and influence they most dreaded, being now in exile or in prison, the King and the bishops resolved to make a short work in the establishment of Episcopacy. An Assembly was summoned to meet at Linlithgow on the 10th of December, 1606. The King nominated the members. About a hundred ministers met, with thirty noblemen and barons. The bishop of Orkney preached from the words "Pray for the peace of

Jerusalem." Mr James Nicolson, who was shortly afterwards made bishop of Dunkeld, was chosen moderator. The King's letter was then read, in which, after stating the reasons for which he had called them together, he declared it to be his "advice and pleasure that for the future the moderators of presbyteries should be chosen for life, and that the bishops should be the moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. This proposal of the *constant moderators*, as they were called, all the members were not prepared to adopt. "They might as well," they said, "admit bishops at once. It was like opening the windows for little thieves, who, when once in, would open the doors to the great thieves." The measure, however, was carried. At the close of the Assembly the Moderator delivered an address in which he recommended his brethren "to beware of speaking against the King, and to maintain peace and love among themselves." "Thus," says Calderwood, "the episcopal faction ever pretended peace, when they meant disturbance." No sooner was the Assembly ended than charges were sent in the King's name to the different presbyteries and synods to choose constant moderators. Many of the Presbyteries, and all the Synods with one exception, refused. It was publicly affirmed that the act contained more than was

passed at Linlithgow, and that during the time the minutes were in the King's hands, he had himself altered and corrupted them. "Be this as it may," said Mr John Murray, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, "that act is the death-bow to the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland."

SYNOD OF PERTH.

In March 1607, the Synod of Perth met. Lord Scoon, one of the Privy Council, by order of the King was present. As Moderator of the previous Synod, it fell to Mr William Row to preach. Fearing that he would preach against the introduction of constant moderators, Scoon sent him word that if he did so, he would order his guards to fire their pieces in his face, and during the sermon he stood up in a menacing posture to outbrave the preacher. But Mr Row, no way dismayed, knowing what vices he was most addicted to, drew his picture so much to the life, that Scoon, seeing all eyes directed towards him, was glad to sit down and cover his face. Before concluding his discourse, the minister proceeded to prove that no constant moderator ought to be tolerated in the Church; but, being aware that Scoon understood neither Latin nor Greek, he wisely avoided naming the constant

moderator in English, giving him the learned title of *Præstes ad vitam*.* Sermon being ended, Scoon said to some of his attendants, "You see how I prevented the preacher from meddling with the constant moderator, but I wonder who it was he spoke so much against by the name of *Præstes ad vitam*." When told that this was a Latin phrase for constant moderator, he was enraged, and told the Synod that unless they chose for their moderator the individual who had been nominated by the King, he would prevent their meeting. Upon their refusing to submit to this dictation, and proceeding to elect one of their members, Scoon rose in great wrath, and, breaking out into threatening speeches, attempted to snatch the roll of the members out of the Moderator's hands ; but Row, who was a man of great bodily strength, kept down the Commissioner in his chair with the one hand—exhorting him to speak with reverence and reason—and holding the roll in the other, deliberately called over the names of the members, who chose Mr Harry Livingston as their Moderator. When proceeding to the Moderator's chair, Scoon stood up to prevent Mr Livingston, saying, "let no man be so bold as come there." Livingston, kneeling down near the middle of the table, said, "Let us

* President for life.

begin with God, let us humble ourselves in the name of Jesus Christ." "Jesus," exclaimed Scoon, "there is no Jesus here," and overturned the table around which the ministers were kneeling. But they continued to kneel, undismayed by his violence, till the prayer was ended and the Synod was constituted. Scoon calling for the magistrates, ordered them to ring the common bell and remove the rebels. The magistrates refused. On the Synod's adjourning, Scoon ordered the doors of the church to be locked. Finding no access, they assembled in the church-yard, amidst the tears of the populace, who furnished them with tables and seats from their own houses, and there they conducted and concluded their proceedings. Such was the Synod of Perth, and such its brave resistance to the King, Scoon, and *Constant Moderators*, for which many of its members were brought into trouble, some were imprisoned, and others, to escape a similar or severer fate, went into exile.

DEATH OF MR JAMES NICOLSON.

1606.

This year Mr James Nicolson, once the intimate friend of James Melville, now bishop of Dunkeld, ended his days in great darkness and horror of

mind. On his falling ill, his wife and friends proposed sending for a physician. "Send for no physician," he exclaimed, "send for King James, it is the digesting of his bishoprick that has wracked my stomach." He would not permit his ecclesiastical titles to be mentioned in his last will, and earnestly exhorted his brethren to keep aloof from the Court, and not to become bishops, "for if you do so," said he, "you must take the will of your sovereign for the law of your conscience."

THE GLASGOW OR ANGELICAL ASSEMBLY.

1610.

Measures were now considered ripe for the establishment of Episcopacy. This the King resolved to effect by an act of the Church itself. With this view he summoned an Assembly to meet at Glasgow in June 1610. Letters were sent in his name to the different Presbyteries nominating the ministers they were to return as their representatives. The Assembly met on the day appointed. The Earl of Dunbar was sent down from London as King's Commissioner. "Sundry noblemen and barons," says Row, were written for to keep the meeting, and some ministers also who were not named in his Majesty's letter to the Presbyteries. Also the Earl of

Dunbar brought with him three English doctors, estimated great divines, and he lacked not gold and money enough to be distributed and given to such ministers as should vote to the King's contentment." The Assembly having met, the King's letter was read. "He had called them together," he said, "that they might restore the primitive government of the Church. He might have done the work out of his own royal power and prerogative, for it was lawful for him to have done so, and their consent was not very necessary ; yet to testify his affection for them, he had called them together, and they would learn from the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St Andrews, what changes he wished to be made, and which he was determined to make whether they consented to them or not." What those changes were the young reader will discover from the following things which, among others, were agreed upon at this Assembly :—1. Bishops were appointed to sit in Synods as constant moderators. 2. The visitation of the different dioceses was declared to belong to them, and to them alone. 3. Presentations were directed to be made to the bishops, to whom henceforth was to belong the privilege of the ordination and deposition of ministers. 4. Every minister at his admission was to swear obedience to the King and his bishop. Some

ministers belonging to the Presbytery of Ayr, "who, being near to Glasgow," says Row, "came to see what would be done, perceiving the gross iniquity of those acts, whereby in one instant all the excellent form of the government of this Kirk of Scotland was cast down, were resolved to protest against what was done, and began in public to do so, but were interrupted, and told they would get satisfaction in the Privy Conference, where, partly by threats and partly by cunning policy, they were broken and laid by." As for the great majority of the members, they took the "money, and did as they were taught." They received their bribes in gold coins of that period called angels, from which the Assembly was called the *Angelical Assembly*. Nothing, it is said, was to be seen about Glasgow for some time after the Assembly but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Reade, having asked a country minister what he had got for his vote, and being told, said, "he was a fool for selling his Master for *two* angels, for as for himself he had got *three* for nothing." Great now was the joy of the prelatie party. In a letter to the King, the Archbishop of St Andrews congratulated his Majesty on the wisdom he had shown in removing the two Melvilles, "for," said he, "had Andrew Melville been

in the country, they had never been able to get that turn accomplished."

When Andrew Melville, a prisoner still in the Tower of London, heard of this Assembly, he was overwhelmed with sorrow. Mr James Colville, a friend of his, being about to return to Scotland, coming to take leave of him, asked him what word he had to send to his friends in the north, but Melville gave him no answer. Colville then asked him again. "I have no word," said Melville, "to send to them, but am heartily grieved that the glorious government of the Kirk of Scotland should be so defaced, and thou Manderston (so naming the Earl of Dunbar because he was of that house), hadst thou no other thing to do but to carry down to Scotland such a commission? The Lord shall be avenged upon thee, and thou shalt never go down again, for all thy grandeur." The Earl of Dunbar died the year following, having been poisoned by some tablets of sugar given him for a cold by Secretary Cecil; and Calderwood, writing of this great nobleman a few years afterwards, says, "of all that he possessed in Scotland, there is not left to his posterity so much as a foot-breadth of land."

THE SYNOD OF FIFE.

Faithful men were not wanting at this period, but there were few, if any, who had ability equal to the crisis. At the meeting of the Synod of Fife, the Archbishop of St Andrews, in the exercise of the prerogative conferred upon him by the Glasgow Assembly, took possession of the moderator's chair. At a private meeting the faithful ministers had agreed to protest against this usurpation, and to leave the house in a body. Mr John Malcolm, minister of Perth, being the oldest member, was fixed upon to offer the protest in the name of his brethren. He rose, accordingly, and begged leave to ask "on what grounds the due order of the Kirk established in so many famous General Assemblies was altered?" which, he continued, "we cannot see but with grief of heart, seeing we acknowledge it to be the only form of government in Christ's Kirk." The Bishop, rising in great wrath, said—"I am astonished to hear such an aged man as you utter such foolish talk. Can you be ignorant, sir, of what was done by the General Assembly at Glasgow? If ye ask for my warrant, that Assembly is my warrant; but I cannot think there is any one here of this mind but yourself." Hereupon Mr William Erskine said—"Our reverend brother and aged father hath not

spoken without reason, for though we have met here according to the King's will, we are not minded to do any thing against our conscience, and we would first see the warrant you have for filling that chair." "Am I," said the Bishop, "to inform you of the Act of Assembly? I will not satisfy any of your hearts in this way. If you will depart, upon your own peril be it. If but three or four remain, I will remain, and do my duty to the King." "Think ye," said Mr John Kinnear, "that this can be a meeting for the glory of God, and the good of the Church, when ye will sit and do as ye please, and will not with patience hear the brethren. Ye will find discontentment in more here convened, if ye give us not some warrant." The Bishop now became more calm. The Acts of the Glasgow Assembly were read, "wherewith," says Calderwood, "the brethren were much moved." The warrant of the Archbishop from the Acts of Assembly they could not deny. Still they were not satisfied. "What warrant," said they, "have ye for this course from the Word of God?" The Bishop, starting to his feet, said with great vehemence, "Let me never see God's face, if I should take this office upon me, were I not persuaded I had the warrant of his Word." The rest of the members now looked to Malcolm, expecting him to walk out, as had been concerted, "but," says Row, "he was a man who

had not a brow for that bargain." He was persuaded to remain by his colleague, Mr William Couper, who thus spoke, "My lord, hear me, and brethren, I beseech you in Christ to remember that these things are not such essential points, as that ye should rend the Kirk, or cast your ministry in hazard for them. What joy can ye have in suffering, if ye suffer for matters of such indifference, as who shall be moderator, who shall have the laying on of hands? What purpose can it serve to fill the people's ears with such contentions? Were it not better to preach Christ merely, and to wait on, and see what the Lord will work in these matters?" This speech the Bishop applauded, and said, "no honest man would be of another opinion."

Mr David Spence said, "No honest man will dissemble his judgment in this matter. It is no indifferent matter. Can we who have seen the discipline of the Kirk established by such great and worthy men of God, after long disputation by the space of many years, subscribed and sworn, sit in silence and hear it called a matter of indifference? I have heard nothing to persuade me that it is so, and must hold my opinion till I see reason for the contrary." "Hold your own opinion," said the Bishop, "but I tell you of your danger, if you contravene the Act." "The Act," said Spence, "was an unlawful Act. It was passed by

men who had no longer commission from their Presbyteries. I protest against it and the whole course ye are taking, and will wait till the Lord send better times." "Do so," said the Archbishop, "and let us end."

MR WILLIAM COUPER—HOW HE WROTE AGAINST THE BISHOPS,
AND AFTERWARDS BECAME A BISHOP HIMSELF.

Mr William Couper, minister of Perth, had not always spoken so favourably of the bishops as he did at the Synod of Fife. Not long before, in a letter to the Bishop of Dunblane, he said, "Your course whereon you have now entered I never loved. Although the fruit you enjoy be sweet, the end shall prove it never grew on the tree of life. You skarr at them whom once you were blyth to see. You like not the light you loved. These may tell you, you have fallen. Thus, loving yourself, but not your way, I end." In less than three years, he took the same way himself. When a young man, he dreamed that he was an earthen pitcher, and that a golden hammer had fallen on him, and broken him to pieces. He told his dream to a brother minister, who said to him, "Brother, take heed that the golden hammer of a bishopric break not you and your profession in pieces, for if it fall out so, it will be said,

"*Malleus en fragilem confregerat aureus urnam.*"

"The golden hammer broke the brittle can;
The bishopric in pieces dash'd the man."

The dream and the interpretation were now about to receive their fulfilment. The Glasgow *angels* corrupted the minister of Perth. In 1614, he became Bishop of Galloway. He published an Apology for his change, in which he said, "he had gotten more light." "Yes," said one merrily, "it is true, for whereas he had but one candle before, he has now two." From the day he became bishop he had never a happy hour. Having given out from the pulpit that he would give satisfaction to any who would confer with him, so many came, he had no rest either in the house or in the fields. One day, playing at a favourite game, on the Links of Leith, he said to the friends who were playing with him, "I see two men coming upon me with drawn swords." "My lord," said they, "it is a fancy; we see no such men." He made no reply, but went home trembling, and in two days died. His last words were, "A fallen star, a fallen star!"

EPISCOPACY ESTABLISHED.

1612.

On the 22d October 1612, Parliament met, when the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly were ratified.

The Act of 1592, called the "Charter of Presbytery," was repealed, and Episcopacy became, not the religion, but the law of the land.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE KING REVISITS SCOTLAND—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR
DAVID CALDERWOOD—STORY OF THE FIVE ARTICLES OF
PERTH.

1617—1621.

THE KING REVISITS SCOTLAND.

In 1617, after an absence of fourteen years, the King having, as he expressed it, "a salmon-like desire to see the place of his breeding," paid a visit to Scotland. He had succeeded, as we have seen, in introducing into the Church of Scotland the Episcopal form of government, and this was considered by him a fit occasion for introducing the Episcopal form of worship. "Therefore," says Row, "he caused repair the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, wherein was a glorious altar set up, two unlighted candles, two

basons without water, brave organs, and choristers appointed to sing, and the English service ordained to be said daily." All this the people beheld in silence, but when they saw the statues of the twelve apostles, curiously wrought and gilded, about to be set up, they could no longer contain their indignation. "First," said they, "came the organs, now the images, and ere long we shall have the mass." The bishops became alarmed, and, at their earnest entreaties, the King consented to dispense with the graven images.

When the faithful ministers throughout the country heard of what was done, and of the King's design to set up the English form of worship, they assembled in Edinburgh, and drew up a petition to the King and Parliament, in which they protested against the intended innovation on their ancient forms of worship, declaring that, "if such a law were made, it would be to the grief and prejudice of the Church, whereby the joy of thousands at his Majesty's happy arrival would be turned into mourning." This protest was signed by upwards of fifty ministers, and a copy of it was intrusted to Mr Peter Hewat, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was commissioned to present it to the King. While waiting in the palace for an audience of his Majesty, Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, came in, who, learning

from Mr Hewat the object of his visit, and having obtained from him a sight of the protest, tore it to pieces, saying "they took too much upon them to convene without a bishop, and that he would make the best of them yet wear a surplice." The altercation caused by this outrageous conduct of the Archbishop attracting the attention of the King, he came out of his room to inquire what had happened. It was impossible for him to justify the Archbishop, but he was not the less displeased with the protestors. Simpson, who had copied the protest, was summoned before the Court of High Commission, and, on refusing to produce the list of those who had signed the original paper, was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR DAVID CALDERWOOD.

The person against whom the King's displeasure was chiefly directed, was Mr David Calderwood, the historian. He was summoned to appear before the High Commission at St Andrews. Archbishop Spottiswoode presided, but the King himself took the principal share in the proceedings. He addressed the court at great length, urging upon it the necessity of adopting severer measures against the maintainers of the old discipline. "Do with them,"

said he, "as we have done with the English Puritans. As long as we deprived them only of their livings, they stood out, they preached on, and lived on the benevolence of the people, but when we deprived them of their office, many yielded, and are now become the best men we have. Let us take the like course with the puritans here." Calderwood was now called in. The King asked him "what had moved him to protest?" Calderwood said—"It was believed that the Parliament intended to cut off their General Assemblies." The King then inquired how long he had been a minister, and having been told, he said—"Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serves to preserve doctrine in purity, and the Church from schism, to make confessions of faith, and to present petitions to the King in Parliament. But for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent, that belongs to the King with advice of his bishops." Calderwood replied—"Our General Assemblies have served these fifty and six years not only for preserving doctrine from error and heresy, but to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the Kirk." The King then, having the protest in his hand, challenged some words in the last clause. Calderwood answered, "that whatsoever was the phrase of speech,

they meant no other thing but to protest that they would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but could not give active obedience unto anything unlawful." "*Active and passive obedience!*" exclaimed the King in surprise, as if not comprehending his meaning. "That is," said Calderwood, "we will rather suffer than obey." "I will tell thee what obedience is, man," said the King. "When the centurion said to his servants, to this man go, and he goeth, to that man, come, and he cometh, that is obedience." "To suffer, Sir," replied Calderwood, "is also obedience, though not of the same kind, and even that obedience is not absolute, but limited, being liable to exception of a countermand from a higher power." "Mr David," said the Secretary, "let alone, and confess your fault." "My lord," replied Calderwood, "I cannot see that I have committed any fault." "Will you conform?" asked the King. "Sir," said Calderwood, "I have answered my libel, and I ought not to be urged further." "It is true, man," said the King, "ye have answered to your libel. But consider I am here; I may demand of you when and what I will." "But surely," replied Mr David, "if I am compelled to answer here in judgment more than my libel, I get great wrong." "I am informed," said the King, "ye are a refractor, that ye have refused to con-

form." "I have been confined," replied Calderwood, "these eight or nine years, so my conformity or non-conformity could not be well known." "Mr David," said the King, "thou art a very knave. See these false Puritans, how they are ever playing with equivocations." The Bishop of Glasgow, thinking to catch him in a snare, said—"If ye were confined, how were ye at that meeting where ye signed the protestation?" "I obtained liberty," answered Calderwood, "which was granted with exception of presbyteries and synods. That meeting was neither a presbytery nor synod." The King then asked—"If ye were relaxed, would ye obey?" "I shall either obey," said Calderwood, "or give a reason wherefore I disobey, and if I disobey, your Majesty knows I must underly the danger." The King, remembering his former answer, said—"That is, you will obey either actively or passively." Calderwood replied—"I can go no further." He was then for a short time removed. On being again called in, he was told that he was suspended from the ministry till the month of October, when, if he did not conform, the Bishop of Glasgow was ordained to depose him. "Now," said the King, ye have time to advise till October whether ye will conform or not. Ye need not be at the pains to study a text against Sunday for the people, I have spared you that

trouble." "I think," said Calderwood, "I have heard your Majesty disclaim the power of suspension, which is an ecclesiastical censure." "It was not I, man," said the King, "that pronounced the censure, it was the Bishop of St Andrews." "Then," said Mr David, "please your Majesty, suffer me to speak to them." So, turning to the Bishop of St Andrews and those standing beside him, he said—"Neither can ye suspend me in this Court of High Commission, for ye have no further power in this court than by commission from his Majesty. His Majesty cannot communicate that power to you which he claimeth not to himself." The King, shaking his head, said—"Are they not bishops, and fathers in the Kirk, and as such clothed with the Kirk's authority—have they not power to suspend and depose?" "Not in this court," replied the intrepid Presbyterian. At these words, there was great confusion, but Calderwood, raising his voice higher that he might be heard, continued—"All the power they have granted to them by the Act of the Glasgow Assembly, which is all the power they can pretend to, is only that a bishop, associating to himself some of the ministers of the bounds, where the delinquent is, may suspend or depose, and only in certain cases, that is not done and cannot be done in this court. Therefore, I deny its power!" Here the King

whispered something to the Bishop of St Andrews, who, turning to Calderwood, said—"His Majesty saith that if ye will not be content to be suspended *spiritually*, ye shall be suspended *corporally*." "Sir," said Calderwood, addressing his Majesty, "my body is in your Majesty's hands to do with it as it pleaseth your Majesty, but, as long as my body is free, I will preach notwithstanding of their sentence." "What! man," said the King, "do you forget that, though I have no power to pronounce sentence, I have power to compel any man to obey the sentence of the Kirk when it is pronounced?" "Their sentence," replied Calderwood, "is not the sentence of the Kirk, and therefore I cannot obey it." The confusion now became greater than before. Some called him a proud knave. The Bishop of Glasgow said he deserved to be used like Ogilvie, the Jesuit, who was hanged for denying the King's power. Others, to use his own words, "were not ashamed to shake him by the shoulders, and dunch him on the neck," he being yet upon his knees. The King then asked—"Will ye not obey?" Calderwood answered as before. The King, now in a great rage, cried out—"Away with him, away with him!" Lord Scoon then took him by the arm, and led him out of the court. As they stood for a short space before the Castle gate, waiting for one of the town

officers, Calderwood said to the ministers who crowded around him—"Brethren, be not tempted at this spectacle. Prove faithful servants to your Master. It is Christ's cause ye have in hand." He was then led to prison. As he was conducted along the street, some one asked—"Where away, my lord, with that man?" "First to the Tolbooth, and then to the gallows," was the brutal reply of the brutal Lord Scoon. Calderwood was condemned to be banished beyond seas. Lord Cranston and others of his friends petitioned the King that he might not be sent out of the country till a more favourable season of the year, for it was winter. Their petition was refused. "If he be drowned in the seas," said the King, "he may be thankful he hath escaped a worse death."

STORY OF THE "FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH."

. These Articles, so famous in Scottish history, were the following: 1. Kneeling at the Lord's table. 2. The keeping of religious festivals or holidays, such as Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter. 3. The confirmation of children. 4. Private Baptism, and 5. Private Communion. Assembling the bishops and ministers, the King laid before them these Articles of conformity to the English Church, and demanded

of them that they should introduce them into the Church of Scotland. "Think not," said he, addressing the ministers, and whom he called "dolts and deceivers," "that I will be resisted. It is a power and a prerogative that we who are Christian kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the polity of the Church. Deceive not yourselves, for unless ye bring me a reason that I cannot answer, I will not regard it." Afraid to displease the King by rejecting the Articles, and afraid of the consequences, if they should adopt them, they implored him to refer the consideration of them to a General Assembly. Having been assured that the Assembly would adopt and sanction them, the King consented to summon it, and appointed it to be held at St Andrews on the 25th November 1617. He soon after returned to England, "mortified," says a historian, "by the display of that spirit of resistance with which he had often struggled in his earlier days, and disappointed to find that all which he had expected to accomplish by his presence, was yet to be obtained."

On the 25th of November 1617, the General Assembly met at St Andrews. It was opened with sermon by Gladstones, Dean of St Andrews, who exhorted the brethren "to do nothing that might procure the stopping of their mouths." Spot-

tiswoode, who, as primate, filled the moderator's chair, delivered an address, in which, says Row, "he spak many things whereof he had no warrand, as that the Kirk of Scotland was guidit by bishops for many years, and would have continued so, but for Mr Andrew Melville, a factious and fiery man, who had inverted all." "Thus bold," says Calderwood, "was the man who in former times durst scarce open his mouth in his presence." He then introduced the subject of the Five Articles, declaring it was the King's pleasure they should be adopted, and that if they would not, the King would introduce them on his own authority. For this, however, the Assembly were not prepared, and greatly to the chagrin of the Archbishop, they agreed to delay the consideration of them till the next Assembly.

When the King heard that the Assembly had delayed the consideration of the Articles, he was enraged and said, "he would let the Kirk of Scotland know what it was to have to do with an old King, and to abuse his lenity, that he would put an end to their Assemblies, and would treat them as mutinous conventions." The bishops, however, found means to appease his anger, and prevailed upon him to summon another, which is memorable as being the Assembly that introduced the Five Articles, and as

being the last that met for twenty years. This Assembly, which was held at Perth on the 25th of August 1618, did not consist, as the true Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland had ever done, of commissioners sent from Presbyteries, but of bishops, doctors, deans, and such ministers as were the bishops' followers, of the King's commissioners, and of noblemen and gentlemen in the King's interest. Commissioners sent from Presbyteries were indeed there, but their commissions were not sustained. "They were not," says one of their number, "called upon, nor got they any vote there, the Moderator knowing what they would say." "There was set in the Little Kirk," says Calderwood, "a long table, and forms at every side for noblemen, barons, burgesses, bishops, and doctors, and at the head of it a cross table, with chairs for his Majesty's commissioners and the moderator. The ministers were left to stand behind as if their place and part had been only to behold. But this apparently was done of policy, that they might carry some majesty on their part, and to dash simple ministers." Spottiswoode, as formerly, placed himself in the Moderator's chair without election. Mr George Grier, minister at Haddington, modestly proposed that leets should be made, and out of them a Moderator chosen by votes, according to the old laws and customs of the Church, but the bishop

answered haughtily, "This town wherein we are, is within the bounds of my diocese, let me see who will take my place over my head." "No farther reply," says the old historian, "was made to him for fear of trouble." The King's letter was then read. "We were once," said he, "fully resolved never to have called any more Assemblies, by reason of the disgrace offered to us in that late meeting at St Andrews; although at this time we suffered ourselves to be entreated by you, our bishops, for a new convocation, and have called you together for the self-same business which then was urged. Hoping assuredly that ye will have some better regard of our desires, and not permit the unruly and ignorant multitude, after their wonted custom, to oversway the better and more judicious sort; an evil which we have gone about with much pains to have amended in these Assemblies." The letter went on to state that he had called them together to accept the Articles, and that nothing less would content him than their simple and direct acceptance. After it had been read, the Moderator addressed the Assembly. He protested "that he had not craved these novations—that it was against his will they were proposed—that the King would be more glad of the consent of the Assembly to these Five Articles, than of all the gold of India—that nothing remained

for them but to conform—that if they did not, the whole estate and order of their Kirk would be overthrown, some of them would be banished, others deprived of their livings and deposed, and all would feel the King's wrath, therefore," he thus continued, "I implore you to consent in time. I know well enough that when the act is made you will obey. There is never one of you that will suffer the loss of your stipends for the matter. Some men pretend conscience, but all that will not do the turn. Some of you are afraid to offend the people. I take it upon my conscience to affirm that there is neither lad nor lass, rich nor poor, in Scotland, some few precise persons excepted, who are not only content, but desirous that the ceremonies be introduced, whereof I have had proof in my own city of St Andrews, and in this town of Perth since I came hither." The Bishop of Brechin, the Dean of Winchester, who had been sent from England expressly to attend the Assembly, Couper, Bishop of Galloway, and others spoke to the same effect, each of them harping on the old string, the authority of the King. "After these blasts," says Calderwood, "the ministers with modest importunity insisted that the matter might be cleared by farther reasoning and deliberation; but though some fashion of liberty was granted to a few, they were sourly rebuked and borne down. The

defenders of the Articles were permitted to discourse as long as they pleased, to gibe, mock, and cavil ; but the party opposing them were enjoined to propose new reasons, or else to hold their peace. To put an end to the discussion, Spottiswoode at length openly said, " this matter is not to be carried either by arguments or votes, if it were but we eleven bishops, with his Majesty's commissioner, we will conclude the matter, and see who dare withstand it." The ministers not being permitted to reason, presented a paper, subscribed in their name by Mr John Scrimgeour, minister at Kinghorn, in which they stated their objections to the Articles, and craved that before voting it should be read. This was refused. The roll was then called, and the vote taken. In voting, the question was stated sometimes thus, " Will ye accept or refuse the Five Articles ?" Sometimes thus, " Will ye consent to the Five Articles or disobey the King ?" The roll was called by the Archbishop himself, who paused occasionally after he had called a name and said, " Have the King in your mind, remember the King." " The Articles," says the younger M'Crie, " were carried by a considerable majority, but a minority of *forty-five*, even out of this packed Assembly, whom no promises could allure, or menaces deter from voting according to their consciences, saved the Scottish

Church from absolute degradation." Such was the famous or rather infamous Perth Assembly, and such is the melancholy history of the passing of the Five Articles. It was one thing, however, to carry them in the Assembly, and another thing to carry them over the consciences of the people. When Spottiswoode asserted that the people, with few exceptions, were desirous they should pass, it is hardly possible to conceive him to have been so ignorant of the real state of the popular mind, as not to know, that what he affirmed was not true. With a few exceptions, the Articles were obnoxious to the whole people. Not only did they refuse to kneel at the Lord's table, but regarding this attitude as an approach to popish idolatry, they shrunk from it with horror. In some churches they rose and went out, leaving the ministers at the head of the empty tables. In others, the simpler sort, when the minister insisted on their kneeling, cried out, "The guilt then rest on your own soul, not on ours." In many cases the elders and deacons refused to act, and, followed by the people, went forth calling God to witness between them and their minister. At a Diocesan Synod, held at Peebles shortly after the Assembly at Perth, Mr John Knox, minister at Melrose, being called upon to preach, exhorted the people to stand to the liberty and government of the

Kirk established before the introduction of bishops. Christmas, which had been looked forward to with great anxiety by the bishops, was now at hand. They issued their letters to the Presbyteries, calling upon them to observe the day, and warning them of their danger if they refused. The King himself sent letters to the ministers and Presbytery of Edinburgh, expressing himself assured that they would, according to the Acts of the Assembly, "teach on Christmas day." "The ministers of Edinburgh," says Calderwood, "doubting of the convening of the people, thought it sufficient there should be preaching only in two kirks. As it was feared, the people did not convene. Mr Patrick Galloway on that day, and, on the Sabbath following, denounced deafness, blindness, and lameness on those who came not to his Christmas sermon. There were so few in the Little Kirk, the dogs were playing in the middle of the floor. Mr William Cowper preached in the Abbey Kirk. Many resorted to him out of curiosity, because he had promised to give them his reasons for observing of holidays. He was so weak in his arguments, that he was mocked." One of the most violent defenders of the Articles was Mr William Struthers. In a sermon preached by him in the Little Kirk on Sabbath following, "he made," says the historian, "so bitter an invective against

the best professors of the town, and worthiest of the ministry, that the like had not been heard out of any of the pulpits of Edinburgh before." "Let others do, said he, "as they may, I am resolved to obey God, the King, and the Kirk. It is a punishment denounced by Jeremiah that the minister that speaketh lies should become the tail. Christ is the head, we are the tongue, ye are the body. Ye would make us the tail, but it shall not be so. We shall be the head and ye the tail. Ye shall receive instruction from us, and not we from you. What master among you will be content to receive direction from his servants? We care not for your speeches, for they are the talk of the tail, and are not worth the hearing. The ministers of Edinburgh must either be asses to bear what burdens the people pleaseth to lay upon them, or studdies to hammer upon. As for myself, I am resolved to be a studdie. Hammer upon me as ye please, I care not." His violence was the more remarkable, that formerly he had been so zealous against the bishops that he could scarce give a comment upon the chapter after meals without a stroke at them. On one occasion, when the Earl of Wigton, his pupil, had addressed one of the bishops "My Lord," he threatened to chastise him. At another time, being in Glasgow, he happened to observe Bishop Spottiswoode coming down the street. He went into a shop

and fell into a swoon. On recovering, he was asked what had befallen him. "What," said he, "saw ye not the character of the Beast coming?" The four ministers of Edinburgh resolved to hold the communion on the 20th of March; and to allure the people to attend, they gave out they would allow them to sit or kneel as they pleased. Having called the session together, Struthers requested the elders and deacons to attend and serve the tables. "I heard by your speech the last day," said Mr John Mein, "that ye were to give the communion to persons three sundry ways, sitting, standing, or kneeling, that is confusion. God is not the author of confusion, but of order, therefore I will not be there to witness it." "May not that," said Struthers, "content you which has contented the Kirk of Scotland?" "Sir," replied Mein, "that is a point of Papistry to believe as the Kirk believes." "What will you say to this, then?" said Mr Patrick Galloway, "the Kirk has conducted it, and the King and Council have confirmed it. Would you set yourself above both Kirk and King?" "Sir," replied Mein, "ye were wont to say to us langsyne, 'thus saith the Lord,' but now ye change your tune and say, 'thus saith the Kirk and the King.'" Notwithstanding the offer, few came. The communicants were few, and the communion was cold. Those

who communicated did not kneel, or, if some did, they were of the poorer sort, who lived upon the contributions, and who complied more through fear of man than love to the form. The communion was dispensed the same day in several other churches in the town after the old form, and there the people attended in great numbers. At a meeting of session held soon after, Mr John Mein being asked "why he did not serve?" said, "It is a strange thing ye will have us to serve reason or not." "I said enough to you before," said Mr Galloway, "Mein ye are a very anabaptist." To Mr Struthers, who asked, "why he had left them?" he replied, "because ye left Christ's institution; I left ye not till ye left the truth." His name and that of several others having been taken down that they might be reported to the King, Mein said, "There was some talk here about persecution, but we will see who will now be the persecutors." On the Christmas of this year Mr Patrick Galloway preached, assigning as a reason, "that ministers should be instant in season and out of season." But, as he did not preach for two Sabbaths after, the people said, "Mr Patrick preached out of season but not in season." In March 1620, Mr John Scrimgeour, minister at Kinghorn, appeared before the Court of High Commission in Edinburgh, and was asked why he did not obey the Articles. He

answered "he saw no reason." "What think ye," said Spottiswoode, "of the King's proclamation?" "In so great a matter," replied Scrimgeour, "that is but a small warrant." He was deposed, and ordered to enter prisoner in Dundee within six days. Having obtained leave to speak, he said, "ye remember, no doubt, the Assemblies of Dundee and Montrose, when a change of Government was first moved, how it was resisted by some as the forerunner of Episcopacy and English conformity, and, with protestations and oaths, this was denied by others. Suppose it had been said to you then, 'Sirs, the time will come ye will sit as great lords, clothed with authority and majesty, call and convene, judge and condemn your brethren, cast them out of the ministry, and expose them to the contempt of the world for not kneeling at the communion, for not keeping Yule,' what would ye have answered?" In conclusion he said, "I appeal you before the Lord Jesus, as ye shall answer to him for that ye have this day cast me out of the Lord's vineyard." "That will not do your turn nor help you now," said St Andrews. "If ye will not conform there is no help; the King must be obeyed." At a diocesan synod held by the Bishop of Glasgow in April, the Bishop threatened Mr James Inglis that if he complied not he should banish him the

King's dominions. Mr James answered, "I shall be as ready, by God's grace, to suffer as ye shall be to persecute." At the visitation of the Synod of Fife, Spottiswoode asked Mr David Anderson if he had ministered the communion according to the Act of Perth. Mr Anderson replied "that he had not, and for this reason, that none of his parishioners would stay to receive it." "Did the Laird of Torrie," said the Archbishop, "instruct you to say so? Tell him from me that I bade him go hang himself." "My Lord," said Mr David, "ye wrong the Laird of Torrie; he never bade me say such a thing, nor conferred with me in the matter." "No matter," replied the Archbishop, "tell him what I have now said, that I bade him go hang himself." "Thus," says Calderwood, "did this proud prelate abuse that worthy and religious gentleman, the Laird of Torrie, in presence of the Synod. It was observed that the Bishop had this word 'hang' frequently in his mouth."

Though the Five Articles were sanctioned by the Perth Assembly in 1618, it was not until 1621 that they were ratified by Act of Parliament. On the 1st of May, proclamation was made at the market-cross of Edinburgh, that Parliament was to meet on the 23d of July, and that all who had suits, articles, or petitions to present to it, were

to lodge them on or before the 20th of May with the Clerk Register. It had been customary for the General Assembly to meet some time before Parliament to draw up articles and petitions affecting the welfare of the Church. Some of the ministers who still retained their integrity, considering that this privilege was now denied them, met and agreed upon a petition to Parliament, in which, after describing themselves as "wearied and heart-broken brethren," they prayed for "deliverance from, and defence against," the ceremonies imposed by the Five Articles. "We trust," said they, "that as Moses interceded betwixt the Hebrews, and Constantine betwixt the ministers of the Kirk, so the Lord shall give you courage to intercede with his Majesty to settle the pillars of the earth which are shaken, and to take off the heavy burdens—the burdensome ceremonies, censures, and abuses under which so many were groaning—to prevent the deposition of ministers, and depriving the people of the appointed food of their souls—the smiting of true shepherds, and committing their flocks to blind guides and ravening wolves, and that for the sake of ceremonies no more necessary for the spouse of Christ than fairding for a chaste matron." This petition the Clerk Register was, with great difficulty, persuaded to receive, but would not promise to present it.

On the 10th of July, the Marquis of Hamilton, appointed to be Grand Commissioner in Parliament, arrived at the Palace of Holyrood. His first meeting with the crown officers was held in private, and its chief object was to check all attempts that might be made against the ratification of the Five Articles. The opening of Parliament was prorogued from the 23d to the 25th, that time might be given to the King's agents to deal with the Commissioners. Spies were immediately set at work to sound their intentions, and as they were affected to secure their attendance, or prevail upon them to desert the diet. In many cases they were successful. "Some," says Calderwood, "were abashed, and despairing cried out, 'our opposition will only do evil to ourselves, and will do the cause no good.' Others, who were of a more servile and base spirit, resolved to follow the multitude and the mighty, and others obtained license to return home, which was easily granted." Meanwhile, the ministers, assembling from all parts of the country, were not idle. They sent several of their ministers to the Commissioners of Burghs, who were convened in the Little Kirk, to entreat them to stand up for the liberties of the Gospel. They received fair words, but, as it appeared in the end, little more.

The ministers were charged, by proclamation at the cross, to leave the town within four-and-twenty hours on pain of rebellion. Hearing that the proclamation was to be made, some of the more resolute of the ministers thought that a protest should be made at the cross against it. Others thought it more expedient to appeal to the Estates assembled in Parliament. This they did in a paper of great length, and of great power. "Take heed," said they, "what you do at this peremptour time concerning the establishing of the unlawful Act of the pretended Assembly of Perth. Christ has put his cause in your hands. Be faithful now or never. The glory of God, the standing of the Kirk in this land, your own souls, and the lives of thousands, are in hazard, and depend much upon your fidelity; the eyes of men and angels are upon you; the eyes of those that mourn for the miseries of God's Kirk are longing for comfort from you; and the Great Judge of the world, whose eyes are as a flaming fire to behold the part every man shall act in this Parliament. Your votes, your acts, your names, shall be registered to all posterity. Ponder, therefore, the weight of the cause wherewith ye meddle, and the fearful consequences which shall follow the ratification of these Articles. If ye do not resist

their establishment, ye cannot be guiltless of the thrusting out of faithful ministers, and bringing in of hirelings and time-servers, to the overthrow of the gospel and the slaughter of souls. Now is the time to prevent these things, which, if ye do, time shall approve you. God and good men shall acknowledge you as in this point better Christians, better statesmen, better servants to God, more loyal and wise subjects to the King, better friends to the Kirk and commonwealth, than they who, upon any pretences whatever, shall either urge or yield to the contrary. Resist, therefore, these ceremonies as a re-entry of Papistry. It cost your ancestors many a tear with God, and many a struggle with men, to purchase and transmit this liberty unto you. Count not so lightly of it, as to lose it for a moment ; but stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. Good subjects have no just cause to fear the displeasure of a good king in maintaining Christ's right and their own, so long as their cause is honest and their defence lawful. Stand, therefore, for the truth, and confess Christ before men, as ye would that he would confess you before his Father and his holy angels." This eloquent appeal made such an impression on the Commissioners, that few of them would have consented to the ratification of the articles but for the extraordinary

efforts of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Crown officers to obtain it. On Wednesday the 25th of July, Parliament was opened. As the Estates were riding up the street to the Parliament House, a Papist, directing his speech to the Archbishop of St Andrews, cried aloud, "God bless you, my Lord, with all your brethren and favourers of our cause." Another cried out, "when I report at Rome how I have heard the ministers of Scotland discharged out of Edinburgh by open proclamation at the Cross, the news will be so joyful, Catholics will hardly credit them." After Parliament had sat for several days, the subject of the Five Articles was introduced by the Commissioner in a speech in which he declared, "that nothing under the heaven could be so acceptable to the King as that the Kirk of Scotland would receive these Articles." He said, moreover, that he would pledge his honour, faith, and credit, upon that princely word which his Majesty had passed to him, that, if they would receive these Five Articles, he would burden them with no more ceremonies." After several had spoken for and against them, the question was put, "*agree or disagree*," and, by the small majority of nine votes, the ratification of these Five fatal Articles was carried. The opposition made to them was highly honourable to the minority, and to none more so than to Sir John Hamil-

ton, Laird of Preston. Having given his vote against them in presence of the Lord of the Articles, the Marquis, the chief of his house, urged him to recal his vote in public. He refused, saying, "that he was ready to serve his Majesty with life and lands, but that he would not offend God wittingly and willingly, and make a hell to himself in his own conscience for the pleasure of man." He was then urged by the Bishop of Dunblane, Lord Scoon, and others, to absent himself. He answered, "I will not. I will stay and bear witness to the truth. I will render my life and all that I have ere I recal one word that I have said." Not the least interesting scene in the history of the Five Articles, was the closing one. As the Commissioner rose to touch the Act with the royal sceptre, in token of its ratification, a thundercloud, which had for some time hung over the city obscuring the light of day, burst over the Parliament House. Three fearful flashes of lightning gleamed through the darkened house, followed by loud and terrific peals of thunder. The thunderstorm was followed by showers of rain and hail as extraordinary and scarcely less awful. "Having ended," says Row, "their black Parliament, they intended to have returned home with great pomp and joy, but the terrible fire-flaught and deluge of rain marred that

purpose." The day on which these things took place was called by the people the BLACK SATURDAY, a name which it well deserved and long retained, being a day, in the words of Calderwood, "black with the guilt of man and with the frowns of heaven."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MRS JOHN WELSH'S INTERVIEW WITH THE KING—MR DAVID DICKSON—MR GEORGE DUNBAR—DEATH OF ANDREW MELVILLE—MR ROBERT BRUCE RETURNS TO KINNAIRD—MR ALEXANDER HENDERSON—THE KING AND THE BOOKSELLER—THE STEWARTON SICKNESS—DR FORBES AND HIS KIRK-SESSION—THE KING'S DEATH—CHARLES I.—CONVENTION OF NOBLES—MEETING OF THE PRELATES—REVIVALS.

1622—1630.

MRS JOHN WELSH'S INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.

MR JOHN WELSH having been now for fifteen years a wanderer in foreign lands for the part he took at the Aberdeen Assembly, and having lost his health through grief and suffering, returned to England in 1622 to die. His wife, obtaining access

to the King by means of her mother's relations, who were of noble lineage, petitioned him to allow her husband to return to Scotland, as, in the opinion of his physicians, this alone could save his life. The King enquired who was her father. She replied, "Mr Knox." "Knox and Welsh!" he exclaimed, "the Devil never made such a match as that." "It's right likely," said the offended matron, "for we never spierd his advice." He then asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and that they were all lasses. "God be thanked," cried the King, lifting up both his hands, "for an if they had been three lads, I had never bruiked my three kingdoms in peace." She again urged her request, "that he would give her husband his native air." "Give him his native air!" replied the King, "give him the Devil." "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profaneness. He at length told her that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the Bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs Welsh, lifting her apron, and holding it up, replied, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep his head there." Her request was refused. She returned to the sick couch of her husband, who shortly afterwards ended his days "with the deserved reputation," says Calderwood, "of an

holy man, a painful and powerful preacher, and a constant sufferer for the truth."

MR DAVID DICKSON.

In December, Mr David Dickson, minister at Irvine, being in Glasgow, was sent for by the Bishop of that city, who shewed him a letter from the King, directing him to take order with him, Mr George Dunbar, and some others, because they refused to practise the ceremonies, and because they had done what was in their power to prevent the Parliament from giving its sanction to the Five Articles. The Bishop said he was loath to trouble him, because he was diligent in his ministry, but that he must either conform or be deposed. Mr David answered, "If ye trouble me I trust in God I shall have peace in my suffering. I cannot with a safe conscience obey the Articles, but am ready by the grace of God to suffer what flesh and blood can do unto me." Soon after this he was summoned to appear before the Court of High Commission in Edinburgh. On the day after the summons, he preached from 2d Corinthians, 5th chapter and 11th verse, "But we are made manifest unto God, and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences." During the sermon there was great lamentation. The

women, assembling in the churchyard, wept as if they had buried husbands or children. The magistrates drew up a petition to the High Commission, praying that he might be suffered to continue his ministry, which was signed by all who could write. Accompanied by eight or nine men of good quality, he took his way to Edinburgh. On arriving there, the men of Irvine waited on the Bishops, and reported what good had been done by his ministry, and what evils would flow from his removal. Some of the Bishops seemed to be moved, but "their goodness was as the early cloud and the morning dew, which soon goeth away." When he appeared before the Court, the Archbishop of St Andrews said, "he remembered when he was Bishop of Glasgow what good hopes were entertained of Mr David Dickson, then Regent of that University, and he was glad of the good report he heard of him since his entrance on the ministry." His summons being read, he was called upon to answer. He asked if Mr George Dunbar, who had appeared the day previous before the Court, had given in a declinature, as his intention was to adhere to it judicially. "We will not satisfy you in that," said the Archbishop, "do you for yourself." "I shall do so then, God willing," said Mr David, and taking a copy of the declinature from his pocket, he

laid it on the table. Some of the bishops whispered in his ear, "take it up, take it up." He answered, "I laid it not down to that end to take it up again." The Archbishop asked "if he would subscribe it." He professed himself ready. The clerk was desired to read it. He had scarcely read three lines, when the Bishop of Glasgow, in great anger, ordered him to stop, saying, "It is the same as the other, they have agreed upon it." He then broke forth into rage, and turning to Mr Dickson, said, "Ye will speak of humility and meekness, and talk of the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God is the Spirit of humility and obedience. But ye are led with the spirit of the Devil. There is more pride in you than in all the bishops of Scotland. I hanged a Jesuit in Glasgow for the like fault." "I am not a rebel," said Mr Dickson. "I stand here as the King's subject. Give me the benefit of the law and of a subject, and I ask no more." The Bishop seemed to take no notice of his words, but said, "your parishioners came to me that day and craved that you should be continued in Irvine, but your declinature has cut off all favour." Mr Dickson having been removed for a short space, was then called in, when the Archbishop of St Andrews said to him, "You are a rebel, a breaker of the fifth commandment, disobedient to the King and

to us, who might be your fathers; ye shall ride with a bent back before ye ding the King's crown off his head." "Far may such a thought be from me," said Mr Dickson, "I am so far from that, there shall not come a stroke from the King's hand that shall turn my affection from him." "It is a Puritan tale," said St Andrews, "ye call the King your King, but he must be ruled by you for all that." "Will ye obey the King or not?" asked the Bishop of Aberdeen. "In all things in the Lord, I will," replied Mr Dickson. "I told you that," said the Bishop of Glasgow, "I knew he would eke to his limitation." St Andrews then said, "Mr David, you are a knave, a swinger, a mere lad, who should have been teaching bairns in the school. Ye know what Aristotle saith, but ye have no theology." Perceiving that Mr David gave him no titles, he added, "Ye might have called me Lord. You did so when I was in Glasgow. But ye are a Puritan now." Mr David stood silent all this time. Only lifting up his eyes to heaven, which St Andrews called a "proud look." At last Mr Dickson said, "I have been eight years a regent in the College of Glasgow, and four years a minister in Irvine. Those among whom I lived know I am not the man you call me. Say what ye please against me, it shall not touch me." "Ay," said St Andrews, "ye glory

in your suffering. There are here those that will suffer more for a good cause than ye will do for an evil one." "No," said Mr Dickson, "I glory not in my suffering, but if ye will trouble me I hope to have peace in my suffering, as I said to the Bishop of Glasgow in his own gallery." "Enough of that already," said the Bishop. The Archbishop then pronounced sentence on Mr Dickson in these words, "We deprive you of your ministry at Irvine, and order you to enter in Turriff in the north, within twenty days." "The will of the Lord be done," said Mr David, "though ye cast me off the Lord will take me up. Send me whither you please, I hope my Master will go with me, and that as he hath been with me heretofore he will be with me still." "Swith away," said St Andrews, "pack you swinger;" and, crying to the doorkeeper, he said, "shut him out." Here Robert Brown, the town-clerk of Irvine, said, "So this doleful sentence is pronounced. The Lord strengthen you, Mr David, to suffer. As for you, Sirs," turning to the Bishops, he said, "God turn all your hearts." Thus Mr Dickson "went forth to Christ without the camp bearing his reproach."

MR GEORGE DUNBAR.

Mr George Dunbar, minister at Ayr, was ejected at the same time with the minister of Irvine. He was afterwards permitted to return to his charge, but it was not long till he was thrust out a second time. On the second occasion, when the Bishops' messenger arrived at the manse, one of the minister's daughters, then a child, said to the man, "What! is Pharaoh's heart hardened still?" Mr Dunbar broke the heavy news to his wife in these words, which were long remembered in that part of the country, "Well, gudewife, ye must e'en provide the creels again."

DEATH OF ANDREW MELVILLE.

This year (1622) Andrew Melville obtained the crown of life. In 1607 he was committed prisoner, as you will remember we told you, to the Tower of London, where he was detained for four years. During his imprisonment he was visited by men of learning and rank of all countries, who made repeated efforts to procure his release, but in vain. In 1610, the Duke of Bonillon, a French Protestant nobleman, requested the King to allow him to become a Professor in the University of Sedan in

France. The King, after some delay, consented, and, on the 19th of April 1611, Melville sailed for France, with heavy forebodings that he would never again return. In 1614, the tidings reached him that James Melville, his beloved nephew, was dead. After this his health began visibly to decline, and in 1622 the brave but broken-hearted old man ended his life-battle, leaving behind him the reputation of being next to Knox, the greatest of the Scottish Reformers. In noticing his death, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, then Principal of the University of Edinburgh, speaks of him "as the ornament of his nation, and the great light of his age." "He was rejected," he adds, "of his native country by the malice of the times, and of men because he had with fortitude and firmness maintained the truth, and given testimony to it before the princes of this world." His life has been written by Dr M'Crie, a man of kindred spirit and genius, who styles him "the master spirit of his age," and who, in concluding his memoir, pronounces upon him the following well-merited eulogium :—"Next to Knox, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she owes so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as ANDREW MELVILLE.

MR ROBERT BRUCE RETURNS TO KINNAIRD.

After four years captivity in Inverness, Bruce was this year (1622) permitted to return to his manse and ministry at Kinnaird. The news of his return soon spread throughout the country, and the people came in crowds to hear him. It was his custom, after the first sermon was ended, to retire for secret prayer. One day some noblemen, who had far to ride, thinking he tarried long, sent the door-keeper to learn if there was any appearance of his coming. The man returned, saying, "I think he will not come to-day, for I heard him saying to another, 'I will not go except thou go with me.'" In a little while, however, Mr Bruce came, and it was soon evident to all who were in the church that the Angel of the Covenant had come with him, for his preaching that day was accompanied with remarkable power, and was the means of awakening many.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Among those whom the fame of Bruce's preaching brought to the parish church of Larbert, came one day the minister of Leuchars. He was a young man, and belonged to the Prelatic party in the Church, who were proud of his talents, and regarded him as

the future champion of their cause. He had been intruded into the parish of Leuchars. On the day of his ordination, the people fastened the doors of the church against the Presbytery, who entered it by the windows. Though it does not appear that Bruce was aware of his presence, he chose for his text these words, "he that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber." These words, pronounced with that solemnity which was peculiar to Bruce, went to the heart of the young minister like an arrow from a bow. He left the church an altered man, and to that sermon he ascribed not only his change of views in church government, but a greater change, his change of heart. That young man was ALEXANDER HENDERSON, who was destined to become the ecclesiastical successor of Andrew Melville, and the great instrument in the hand of God of bringing about the second Reformation.

THE KING AND THE BOOKSELLER.

"Episcopacy," it has been said, "never appeared in Scotland but as a persecutor." This multitudes now experienced for their resistance to the Five Articles. On the 11th of June, in consequence of a letter from the King, the captain of the guard

searched the houses and shops of James Cathkin, Richard Lawson, and Andrew Hart, booksellers in Edinburgh, for books written against the ceremonies, and for one in particular entitled the *Perth Assembly*, which had appeared in the beginning of June. The tract, bearing this title, and which was written in a foreign land by Mr David Calderwood, was not found. Cathkin shortly afterwards being in London, was apprehended on the charge of having sold and concealed it, and was brought before the King, when the following conversation took place. The King asked him "where he dwelt?" "I was born," said Cathkin, "in Edinburgh, and dwell in Edinburgh." "What religion are ye of?" asked the King. "Of the religion your Majesty professes," said Cathkin. "You are none of my religion," said the King, with an oath; "you are a recusant, you go not to the church." "If it please your Majesty," replied Cathkin, "I *do* go to the church." "Were you there," asked the King, "on Christmas day?" Cathkin admitted he was not. "And why," said the King, "were you not there?" Cathkin replied, "that holidays had been cast out of the Kirk, and ventured to add, "that it had been well if the ministers had consulted the Session of the Kirk before they had brought in such novelties upon the people." "Plague on you and the Session

of your Kirk baith," said the King; "when I was in Edinburgh, I kept Pasch and Yule in spite of you! See, my lords," he continued, pointing to Cathkin, who was on his knees, "these people will kneel to me, and will not kneel to God. I can never get order of these people of Edinburgh. I forgave them the seventeenth day of December! Ye are worse than Turks or Jews." And having thus said with one of his usual low and revolting oaths, he dismissed the bookseller, who, methinks, was a nobler man than the King.

THE STEWARTON SICKNESS.

1623.

In July 1623, through the influence of a noble Christian lady the Countess of Eglinton, Mr David Dickson was restored to his people and his ministry at Irvine. His labours were more singularly blessed now than even they had been before. If formerly they had been followed by the "early," now they were followed by the "latter rain." Not only did multitudes come from distant places to hear him preach, they settled in the town and neighbourhood, that, in the language of the times, "they might be under

the droppings of his ministry." Yet such was his humility, he used to say "that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr Welsh's time." The people of Stewarton eminently prized and profited by the preaching of Mr Dickson. This place became the scene of a remarkable revival, called the *Stewarton Sickness*. It spread from house to house for miles in the valley and along the banks of the small river called the Stewarton Water. In all ages "he that is born after the flesh has persecuted him that is born after the Spirit." An Ishmael mocks Isaac. A Michal mocks David. A Festus mocks Paul. "Paul, thou art beside thyself, much learning hath made thee mad." By many, and for a long time, the subjects of this revival were spoken of as the "daft people of Stewarton."

DR FORBES AND HIS KIRK-SESSION.

On the 25th March, 1624, Dr Forbes, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, denounced heavy judgments in the Kirk-session against some of the elders and deacons for refusing to attend the celebration of the Communion in the new way. To John Dickson he said, "Ye want wit, ye should be catechised. Ye are ignorant, and get too much liberty to

censure the doctrine of your pastors." To William Rigg, one of the magistrates, he said, "Bring out your Gamaliel, produce him, if ye have any in your house, that we may see him." Mr Rigg said, "Sir, we are as free of such imputations as yourself." "Oh! master bailie," he replied, "Oh! master Rigg, a great magistrate no doubt; Oh! a great clerk!" He then said that "he would yet catechise them, and it would be strange if he did not make them smart."

THE KING'S DEATH.

In July 1624, the King wrote to the magistrates, rebuking them sharply for not proceeding with greater severity against those who refused to obey the Five Articles, and threatening "that if they were not careful to do their duty, he would remove the courts of justice from their burgh." Some said, "This could not be so easily done." Others said, "They would not conform howbeit he should burn the town to ashes." Next month a royal proclamation was made at the cross, commanding the communion to be celebrated in all the churches at Christmas next, and "that all persons, members of the Privy Council, lords of session, magistrates, and others of the commonalty, should communicate

kneeling, on pain of the King's displeasure." On the 20th of November the plague broke out in the city. The principal inhabitants left it in consequence, and thus, greatly to the King's disappointment, Christmas was not kept. The plague abating, the proclamation was renewed, and the communion was appointed to be celebrated at Easter. The people resolved, whatever might be the consequence, that they would not obey the King's commandment. "Nothing now," says an old historian, "but a dark prospect of persecution appeared. But the hand of heaven interposed in the very extremity. A few days before Easter an express from London brought the news that the King was dead." This event took place on the 27th of March 1625. The character of James it is not necessary to delineate. He was a weak King, and he gave but too many proofs that he was a wicked man. After pronouncing the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to be the "sincerest kirk in the world," he became its bitter enemy. He declared the English Service to be "an ill-said mass." Yet he imposed it on his Scottish subjects. The sole Headship of Christ over the Church, asserted by the Scottish reformers, he denied and invaded. For resisting his impious claim of supremacy in all causes, civil and religious, he silenced, deposed, and banished the flower of the Scottish

ministers. He exhorted them "to stand to their liberties," and yet lived to overthrow them. He condemned Arminianism, yet afterwards countenanced it, and would not listen to any of his ministers, but such as preached it. He authorised sports and revels on the Lord's day. He found the Church of Scotland united, and he left it broken and divided. Its doctrines he sought to corrupt, its government he abolished, and in the place of its simple and scriptural forms of worship, he substituted anti-christian ceremonies. He was an enemy to real godliness, and a hater of all truly great and good men. Few kings have lived less esteemed, and few have died less regretted. By his death the Court of High Commission was dissolved, and the proceedings raised by it against the Presbyterians dropped. Such of the banished ministers as survived, returned to their flocks, and for a long period the work of persecution came to an end.

CHARLES I.

1625.

On the day that James died, his son Charles was proclaimed King in his stead. Some hopes were entertained at the beginning of Charles's reign, that he would be more favourable to Presbyterianism

than his predecessor. These hopes were soon scattered. "If any one sentiment," says a historian, "more than another was, from first to last, impressed on his mind, it was the notion that parity among ministers was incompatible with the existence of monarchy; that, without Bishops, the Three Estates in Parliament could not be preserved; and that the design of the Presbyterian clergy was to introduce a democracy." With these views, he came to the throne prepared to act the part of Rehoboam, and to meet with even a darker fate. He wrote the Archbishop of St Andrews, directing him to carry on the affairs of the Church as formerly, and to enforce the laws made in favour of Episcopacy in the former reign. He issued a royal proclamation which was fixed on every church-door in Scotland, enjoining the people to submit to the Five Articles, and intimating his determination to punish all who should disturb the order of things by law established. The blind, it is said, are bold. Charles was both. Brought up in the belief that the person of a King is sacred—that his will is law—that, as a Christian King, he was the head of the Church, and that to him as such it belonged to appoint and regulate its worship, government, and discipline—that Episcopacy was of divine institution, and ignorant of the deep-rooted attachment of his Scottish subjects to Presbytery,

Charles had not long ascended the throne, when he resolved to bring about a complete uniformity, in the religious worship and government of the two kingdoms. This was more than even James himself had contemplated. When his advisers urged him to attempt it, he told them, "they did not know the stomach of the people." Had Charles even known the resistance his visionary scheme was certain to meet, it does not appear that this would have prevented him from trying to effect it; so high were the views he entertained of the royal prerogative, and so low was the account he made of a nation's will. Ten years had now elapsed since the Perth Assembly had passed the Five Articles, but the opposition to them, instead of diminishing, had continued to increase. Three of them,—namely, private baptism, private communion, and confirmation, do not seem to have been observed at all. As for kneeling at the communion, where the people were not permitted to sit at the Lord's table, rather than kneel, they declined to communicate. Grieved to see the ordinance forsaken, the ministers of Edinburgh petitioned to be permitted to dispense it in the old way, stating "that if they were not, they would be forced to lay down their ministry." So highly offended was the King with the petitioners, he refused to acknowledge their petition;

and, in a letter to Spottiswoode, ordered them to be brought to trial, and "such condign punishment inflicted on them, as should make others forbear to do the like." The result was, there was no communion in Edinburgh that year.

CONVENTION OF NOBLES.

1629.

This year the King resolved to take from the nobles the church lands that had fallen to them at the Reformation, and bestow them on the Bishops. The nobles were indignant at the proposal, and resolved, rather than part with their lands, to resist unto blood. A convention was called in Edinburgh. The Earl of Nithsdale was commissioned to preside at it. Before it opened, the nobles and others convened by the King met to devise measures for defeating its object. "They agreed," says Burnet, "that when they were called together, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of Nithsdale desist, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old Scottish manner, and knock them on the head." Lord Belhaven, who was old and blind, requested to be placed near one of the commissioners' party, promising that old and blind as he was he would make sure of one. He was seated beside the Earl

of Dumfries, of whom he took such fast hold, that his lordship asked him why he did so. Belhaven said that ever since he had lost his sight, he was in such fear of falling that he was forced to hold by those who were next to him. While holding the Earl with one hand, he clutched the hilt of a dagger with the other, ready, if necessary, to plunge it into his heart. Whether Nithsdale had previously discovered the desperate intentions of the nobles, or read it in their looks, is not known. Certain it is he was so terrified, he broke up the court, and returned to London without even having disclosed his instructions. The spirit displayed by these fierce Scottish barons we are far from approving, and we cannot help saying, the desperate tenacity with which they clung to their worldly possessions, contrasts ill with the facility with which they parted with their religious principles and privileges.

MEETING OF THE PRELATES.

In 1630 Spottiswoode was directed by the King to convene the other prelates and the most prelatie of the ministers, and inform them it was his Majesty's pleasure that the whole order of the church of England should be adopted in Scotland. The

prelatic party met to consult on the King's measures, but they were divided in opinion. The younger bishops were for its immediate adoption, but the older ones, and even Spottiswoode himself, apprehensive of the consequences, were for delay. Mr William Struthers, hitherto a zealous conformist, spoke openly against it. In a letter to Sir William Alexander, the King's secretary of state for Scotland, he said, "I visit your lordship with this letter, and that for the end I spoke of more largely in conference, even for the peace of this poor Kirk, which is rent so grievously for ceremonies. There is also some surmises of further changes, of organs, surplices, and such like, which greatly augments the grief of the people, but the wiser sort assure themselves that his Majesty would impose no new thing if he were informed of these or the like reasons:—

1. King James made the Marquis of Hamilton promise solemnly, in face of Parliament, that if the church would adopt the Five Articles, she should not be asked to submit to any more changes.
2. The Church lies groaning under two wounds; the first of erection of bishops, the other of kneeling at the communion; and, if a third be inflicted, there is no appearance but that the Church will be rent in pieces.
3. The bishops are already objects of the people's hatred and contempt. When they depose

any brother for non-conformity, they can scarcely find another to fill the place that is empty; but, if any farther change be made, they will find ten for one to be deposed, and that from among those who have already given obedience to the Five Articles, who will rather choose to forsake their places than encounter the new troubles these changes will produce. Our fire is so great already that it hath more need of water to quench it than oil to augment it." Mr John Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Ross, was sent up to the Court by Spottiswoode, to inform the King how matters stood, and to represent to him that if a liturgy were to be introduced it would be better for the Church of Scotland to have one of its own, however near it might come to the English one in matter and in form, but that even this must be the work of time. In the face of all this, urged on by his own, and the evil genius of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury,* the

* This Laud, who was the King's chief adviser, not only in things spiritual but temporal, was a half Papist. One day hearing a minister in his sermon speak of the "Reformation," he thus interrupted him, "Reformation! fellow, thou hadst been nearer the truth hadst thou called it the Deformation." He punished another for saying "that the night was approaching since shadows were growing so much larger than the bodies, and ceremonies were more regarded than the power of godliness." He was the father of modern Puseyism.

King adhered to his purpose. He ordered Spottiswoode to summon another meeting of the bishops, and such ministers as could be depended upon, to advise in what way organs, surplices, and the service-book might be introduced, and as a prelude of what was to follow, organs were erected in the Chapel of Holyrood.

REVIVALS.

“Amidst all these dark and ill-boding dispensations to the Church,” says Stevenson, “there were still left some bright spots on her cloud.” He alludes to the remarkable effects which this year followed the preaching of the word in different parts of the kingdom. Of these remarkable revivals, most memorable is that which took place at “the Kirk of Shotts.” The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was appointed to be dispensed in this parish on the 20th of June 1630. Among the ministers who were invited to assist were Mr Robert Bruce and Mr John Livingstone. On the day of the communion, an immense concourse of people assembled. It was a “time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.” The people said, “it is good to be here.” When the services were ended they felt no inclination to

depart. Few of them that evening returned home. Nor did they think of seeking places to lodge in for the night, but, joining together in bands, they retired to the fields, where, wrestling with the Angel of the Covenant, they spent the night in prayer. If the church was a Bethel, each spot in the fields was a Peniel, a place bright with the visions of God. It had not been usual before this time to have sermon on the Monday, after the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. As the people had remained, it was resolved to have it on this occasion. Mr Livingston was asked, and with much difficulty was prevailed on to preach. Of the sermon preached by him on this occasion, he has, in his memoirs, left the following account. "The day in all my life wherein I found most of the presence of God in preaching, was on a Monday after the communion, preaching in the churchyard of Shotts, June 21, 1630. The night before I had been with some Christians, who spent the night in prayer and conference. When I was alone in the fields, about eight or nine of the clock in the morning, before we were to go to sermon, there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere and declined that day's preaching, but that I

thought I durst not so far distrust God, and so went to sermon, and got good assistance, about an hour and a half upon the words I had meditated on, which were these:—"Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." And in the end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my lifetime. To that sermon no less than five hundred persons ascribe their conversion." The following circumstances connected with the conversion of three young men belonging to Glasgow are recorded by Gillies in his *Historical Collections*:—They had made an appointment to go to Edinburgh to attend some public amusements. Having alighted at Shotts to take breakfast, one of them proposed that they should go and hear sermon, probably more from curiosity than any other motive, and for greater expedition, they agreed to come away at the end of the sermon, before the last prayer. But the power of God accompanying the sermon was so felt by them,

that they could not go away till all was over. When they returned to take their horses they called for some refreshment; but when it was set upon the table, they all looked to one another, none of them daring to touch it till a blessing was asked; and as they were not accustomed formerly to attend to such things, one of them at last said, 'I think we should ask a blessing.' The others assented to this proposal, and put it on one of their number to do it, to which he readily consented. And when they had done, they could not rise till another had returned thanks. They went on their way more sedately than they used to do, but none of them mentioned their inward concern to the others, only now and then one would say, 'Was it not a great sermon we heard?' Another would answer, 'I never heard the like of it.' They went to Edinburgh; but, instead of waiting on diversions or company, they kept their rooms the greater part of the time they were there, which was only about two days, when they proposed to return home. Upon the way home, they did not discover the state of their minds to one another; and after arriving at Glasgow, they kept themselves very much retired, coming seldom out. At last one of them made a visit to his friend, and declared to him what God had done for him at the Kirk of Shotts. The other frankly owned the concern that he had

been brought under at the same time ; and both of them proceeding to the third, and finding him in the same state of mind, they agreed immediately to begin a fellowship meeting. They continued to maintain a practice suitable to their profession for the rest of their lives, and become eminently useful in their day and generation. Since that memorable Monday, there has always been sermon on this day at communion occasions in the Church of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DEATH OF MR ROBERT BRUCE—CHARLES I.—THE BOOK OF
CANONS—THE BOOK OF PRAYER—THE TABLES—THE TAKING
OF THE COVENANT—THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY—THE SECOND
REFORMATION.

1631—1638.

DEATH OF MR ROBERT BRUCE.

MR ROBERT BRUCE was called to his rest in August 1631. On the morning of the day on which he died he said to his daughter, " Daughter, my Master calls

me." He then asked for the family-bible, but finding that he could not see to read it, for he was in the valley of the shadow of death, he said, "Cast me up the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and set my finger on these words, 'I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus.' Is my finger upon them?" Being told that it was, he said, "Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, but this night I shall sup with Christ?" "Thus," says an old writer, "did this bright star set in our horizon."

CHARLES I. VISITS SCOTLAND, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE ON THAT
OCCASION.

1632.

Charles I. having reigned seven years in England, resolved to visit his native land, and to receive from the hands of its nobles and people the crown of their ancient kings. The ministers who still contended for the faith and freedom of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, met and agreed upon certain articles on which they craved redress and reformation. These, which they termed "Grievances and petitions concerning the Disordered Estate of the Re-

formed Kirk of Scotland," were presented by Mr Thomas Hogg to the King in the Castle of Dalkeith, on the day that he was to make his entrance into Edinburgh. The King read the articles, but, turning to Mr Hogg, said, "I wish you had chosen another place than this house for the presenting of your supplication." "From which," says the old historian, "it was concluded that the King was not content to have seen it."

It being now noised abroad that the King and Laud, who came with him into Scotland, and who was suspected of being at heart a Papist, contemplated making still greater innovations in religion, the ministers, who had but too good reason for believing these rumours to be well founded, laid open to the nobility, gentlemen, and burgesses, who were to meet in Parliament, their fears, and entreated them to see that no farther changes should be made, and that nothing should be done touching the faith or forms of the Church till there should be a Free General Assembly. Charles was crowned at Edinburgh on the 10th June, 1633. His coronation, which was conducted according to the directions of Laud, was accompanied with many Popish rites and ceremonies, which gave great offence to the people. The bishops were clothed in richly embroidered habits prepared for the occasion. The Archbishop

of Glasgow having some conscientious scruples about wearing his, appeared without it. Laud observing this, thrust him indignantly from the side of the King, saying, "Are you a churchman, and want the coat of your order." On Sabbath the King attended public worship in the High Church. The Bishop of Murray preached in his rochet, which had not been done in Scotland since the Reformation. After sermon the King and his nobles sat down to a sumptuous feast prepared for them by the magistrates. "The banqueting house," says Row, "was so near the kirk, and so great was the noise of men, musical instruments, trumpets, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, that no sermon was had in the afternoon, either in the greater or lesser Kirk of St Giles." Parliament met a few days after. Among other measures the King proposed to it that he should have the power of "regulating the apparel of kirkmen." "A strange office this truly," says Kirkton, "for a great King." But the King knew well what he was doing, and the Parliament knew this also. They both knew that a small needle may draw in a great body, and what made the King eager to obtain this apparently insignificant prerogative made the Parliament as determined to refuse it. "Sire," said Lord Melville, an aged nobleman, "I have sworn with your father

and the whole kingdom to the Confession of Faith, in which these innovations were solemnly abjured." Lord Rothes also objected to it as an infringement on the rights of the Church. "Moreover," said he, as if from a sudden presentiment of what was to follow, "where is this to end, and to what is it to lead?" "But," says Kirkton, "the King would have his will upon any terms, and you shall know the cunning he used to come at his purpose. The heathen emperors of old used to set up in the market-place their own image beside the image of their heathenish god, to oblige the poor Christians in passing by, either to salute the idol in saluting the emperor, or affront the prince in neglecting the idol. So the King caused the article concerning ministers' apparel to be included in the same Act of Parliament with his title to the Crown, to oblige the Parliament either to acknowledge him fashioner for the ministers, or else deny him to be King of Scotland, which he believed would straiten them. Also, when the Act was put to the vote, he took pen and paper in his hand to mark the names of such as durst dissent, saying he should now know who were good subjects and who were bad." Notwithstanding this poor artifice, unworthy alike of a good man and a great King, the measure was rejected by a majority,

but the Clerk, willing to gratify the King, declared it was carried. The King then rose and said, that the Clerk's report must be held final, unless they who challenged it would undertake to prove their accusation, and failing to do so abide the consequence. No one offering to undertake so ungracious and so unsafe a task, the measure was carried ; but the Parliament was indignant, and on that day, in the eyes not only of the Parliament, but of the whole kingdom, the character of Charles was damaged and degraded. The King next assembled the bishops. At this meeting Laud, his evil counsellor, was present. He urged upon the Scottish bishops the duty of having the Church of Scotland conformed to the Church of England in worship as well as in government, and recommended the introduction of a Liturgy. The Scottish bishops replied, that in King James's time there had been a motion made for it, but in regard the Articles of Perth had proved so unwelcome to the people, it was not thought fit or safe at that time to venture upon any further innovations, and that they were not yet without some fear that if it should be gone about the consequence thereof might be very sad." Thus spoke the elder bishops, but some of the younger ones sided with Laud, and laughed at the idea of danger. It was at

last agreed that a Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer should be introduced, and that for the direction of the ministers it should be accompanied with a Book of Canons or Rules, and that both should be prepared with the advice and aid of Laud. Shortly after this the King returned to England, little gratified with his visit to Scotland, and having done a great deal in a little while to alienate from him the hearts of his Scottish subjects. He saw this and expressed his surprise. "Sir," said Lord Loudon, "the people of Scotland will obey you in everything with the utmost cheerfulness, provided you do not touch their religion and their conscience." A wise warning from a wise man, but one which did not profit an unwise King.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD AND THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION.

In 1635, the King restored the Court of High Commission, and enlarged its powers. Formerly, the Archbishop only was entitled to hold this court, but now every bishop was empowered to hold one in his own diocese. Among the first who were dragged before this Scottish court of Inquisition was Samuel Rutherford, minister at Anwoth, Galloway. Rutherford had never submitted to the Five Articles of Perth, and what was now as great a crime, he had written

against the Five Arminian Points.* Declining the authority of the court, and refusing to give the bishops their titles, he was banished to Aberdeen, and forbidden to exercise his ministry under pain of treason. It was a sad day that on which Samuel Rutherford left his flock at Anwoth. "I had," says he, "but one eye, one joy, even to preach Christ, but this one eye they have extinguished. The sparrows and swallows may build their nests in the Kirk of Anwoth, but I am debarred from entering it." Yet the sadness of that day was to prove the joy of the Church for many generations. What the prison at Bedford was to Bunyan, the prison at Aberdeen was to Rutherford. It was during his captivity here that he wrote those immortal letters, of which no less an authority than Richard Baxter had said, "Hold off the Bible, such a book the world never saw the like." When the powers and principalities of this world sent John Bunyan and Samuel Rutherford to prison, they meant it for evil, but so long as the "Pilgrim's Progress" of the one, and the "Letters" of the other remain, they will shew that God meant it for good.

* The chaplain of Lord Carnarvon, being asked by a country gentleman "what the Arminians held?" answered, "they hold the best bishoprics and deaneries in England." This began now to apply to Scotland as well as to England.

THE BOOK OF CANONS.

On the 23d May 1635, the Book of Canons, having received the sanction of the King, was sent down to Scotland. It contained twenty-five rules, such as these —1. That the King was supreme in all causes civil and ecclesiastical, and that every minister, at his ordination, should take an oath to acknowledge this supremacy. 2. That public worship should henceforth be performed according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer, and that no prayer should be used but such as it prescribed. 3. That no person should be permitted to teach, preach, or catechise, or perform any other ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing the Canons. The other rules related to the different parts of the new mode of worship, which was very much in the manner of the Church of Rome. They prescribed fonts for baptism, altars for the communion, ornaments, vestures, and, in the words of Hetherington, “such other idle mummeries as the busy brain of Laud could devise, or the fantastic fooleries of Rome suggest.” Wherever the Book of Canons came it created surprise and indignation. Some objected to its matter, some to the manner in which it had been brought in, and others to both its matter and its manner. “Already,” said

one who lived in those times, "they had cut the nerves of Church discipline, yet some faint shadow of it still remained to testify what the Church of Scotland had once been, but now by these canons the whole is overturned at one blow." Thus it was not long till the words of Bishop Juxon, one of its authors, came to pass, who said "that the Book of Canons would make a greater noise in the North, than all the cannons in Edinburgh Castle."

THE BOOK OF PRAYER.

It was on the 23d of July 1637, that the Book of Prayer was introduced, or attempted to be introduced rather, into the public worship of the Church of Scotland. To sanction the innovation, and to give a shew of solemnity to the service, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the members of the Privy Council, the Lords of Session, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, marched in procession to the great church of St Giles' in their robes of office. The church was crowded with a great concourse of people, "wondering whereunto this should grow." "Of the honourable women" in and about Edinburgh, it is said that not a few had been sent thither for the express purpose of "giving the first affront to the

Book, and assured that men would afterwards take the business out of their hands." Be this as it may, the women of Edinburgh, as will now appear, did take a prominent part in the proceedings of that eventful day. At the stated hour of worship the Dean of Edinburgh, issuing from the vestry in what was then a strange sight in Scotland, his white surplice, entered the reader's desk and commenced the service in the new way. Scarcely had he done so when he was interrupted by murmurs, shouts, and cries. Some cried, "They are going to say Mass!" Some, "they are bringing in Popery!" Others, "Baal is in the church!" while others, rising from their seats and wringing their hands, cried, "Sorrow, sorrow, for this doleful day." Amidst the general confusion and uproar expressions of a personal and more offensive kind were addressed to the Dean, who stood amazed and bewildered, knowing neither what to say nor do. The Bishop of Edinburgh seeing this called out to him to proceed. At this instant Janet Geddes, an old woman who kept an herb stall near the Tron Church, exclaimed, "Fause villain! dost thou say mass at my lug!" and, taking the stool on which she had been sitting, she hurled it at his head. Others followed her example, and, as at a signal, stones and sticks, Bibles and boards, and missiles of every description were thrown in the same direc-

tion. The Dean was then forcibly pulled from the desk. Leaving his surplice behind him, which had been torn from his shoulders, he fled from the church. Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh, who had intended to preach after the reading of the service, arrayed in his episcopal robes, now ascended the pulpit, and, by arguments and intreaties, and solemn appeals, sought to allay the tumult, but in vain. He was assailed with similar weapons as the Dean. He was addressed with exclamations of "crafty fox," "false wolf," "beastly belly-god;" and these, says an old writer, "were among the best titles given him that day." The Chancellor then rose and called upon the Provost and Magistrates to expel the congregation by force. Eventually, though with no small difficulty, this was done. To the few who remained within the service was then resumed. Such, however, was the noise caused by the multitude without, by their breaking of the windows and their battering at the doors, it was nothing better than dumb show. Nor was it only from without that the opposition continued. Again the cry of "a pope! a pope!" was raised from within, on which the bishops were glad to leave the "Book" unread, and their long-cherished work of innovation, for that day at least, undone. On leaving the church they were again exposed to the fury of the people. The

Bishop of Edinburgh and his clerk, who had been engaged to make the "responses," were singled out as the chief objects of attack. So severely was the poor clerk handled, he cried out piteously for mercy, and vowed that if they would let him escape he would never make a "response" again. The Bishop was pursued along the streets with bitter reproaches, and with loud determined cries of "The Book we will not have; the Book we will not have." Turning round on his pursuers more than once, he protested his innocence, saying, "I am not to wyte for this." At last Lord Roxburgh came to his rescue, and carried him home in his carriage, his servants surrounding it with their drawn swords. Some days after this, when the Bishop's flight was spoken of, Lord Rothes, who loved a jest, said "that he would write the King that matters were now changed at court, that whereas Lord Traquair used to have the best backing, the Bishop of Edinburgh had now the greatest number of followers." It was, however, no jesting matter to the Bishop, who was really like to have lost his life that day. In the afternoon the people returned to the church at the usual time, but neither minister nor reader came, on which they departed quietly to their own homes. Such, indeed, was the dread this outbreak of the people inspired, none of the Bishops ventured to appear on the streets

for a time. "The day thereafter," says Baillie, "I had occasion to be in the town. I found the people nothing settled; but if that service had been presented to them again, resolved to have done some mischief. The town has been put under an episcopal interdict. No prayers, no preachings, on the week days nor on Sunday." This interdict lasted for four weeks. Similar attempts were made to introduce the Liturgy in other parts of the country, but with no better success. At a meeting of the Glasgow Synod, Mr John Lindsay preached. As he was entering the pulpit, some of the women whispered in his ear "that if he should touch the Service Book in his sermon," that is, if he should speak in its favour, "he should be sent out of the pulpit." "He took the advice," says Baillie, "and let the matter alone." Mr William Annan was not so prudent as Mr Lindsay. In a sermon preached before the same Synod he defended the "Book." At his leaving the church he was assailed with cries and reproaches. Every time that he appeared on the streets, he was encountered with angry looks and hard speeches. Returning one night from the Bishop's palace, he was surrounded by some hundreds of persons, most of whom were women, who assailed him with "neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones." "They beat him," says the old historian, "sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat

were torn. However, on his cries, and lights set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds." Next morning, when mounting his horse, in order to leave the town, he stumbled and fell in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, into what the historian calls a "very foul myre." This accident converted the rage of the people into laughter, in the midst of which, happily more frightened than hurt, though in a very woful plight, he put spurs to his horse and left the town. Thus fared the minister of Ayr for his "touching the Book." The Bishop of Brechin, fared little better, if not worse, for his reading it. When the Sabbath came that he was to introduce it, he armed himself with pistols, and, accompanied by his servants, he proceeded to the church. Entering it at an earlier hour than usual, he ordered the doors to be bolted and barred, and, ascending the pulpit, read the service to his servants and family. While this mummary was going on within, the people were assembling and stood wondering at what all this might mean without. On discovering how things stood they were very much displeased, and in no good humour waited till the Bishop came out, when, notwithstanding his being armed, they fell upon him so roughly that he hardly escaped out of their hands unslain. So indignant were the people of Brechin at the conduct of the Bishop, he

was compelled to leave the place, and soon after he withdrew from the kingdom, thus, for the sake of the Book, losing a Bishopric, which he does not seem, however, to have been very well qualified to fill. When tidings of these things came to the King in London, his rage was equalled only by the mortification of Laud. How keenly they both felt, the following ludicrous incident will show. It was the ancient custom to have a fool, or jester, maintained at court, privileged to break his satirical jokes at random. The post was then held by one Archie Armstrong, who, as he saw the Archbishop of Canterbury posting to Court, in consequence of the mortifying tidings from Scotland, could not help whispering in the prelate's ear the sly question, "Who's fool now my lord?" For this jest poor Archie, having been first severely whipped, was disgraced and dismissed from court, "where," says the author from whom this account of the unlucky jester is taken, "no fool has again been admitted, at least in an avowed and official capacity."

If these things were displeasing to one party in England there was another who heard of them with pleasure. This was the great party of the Puritans, men of kindred spirits with the Presbyterians of Scotland, and in all essential respects of kindred minds. It had long been an evil time to both, but

now they saw, or thought they saw, the beginning of the END. In these few but determined words, THE BOOK WE WILL NOT HAVE, uttered as they were by a whole people, the death-bell, not of the Liturgy only, but of civil and religious oppression, had been struck, and the sound of the stroke far and wide was filling the land!

THE TABLES.

Though the introduction of the Liturgy was thus prevented by the people, it was not recalled by the King, nor was the intention of yet introducing it abandoned by the prelates. So far from this, new orders were issued to the Presbyterian ministers to purchase and to practise it, under heavy pains and penalties. This, however, only served to hasten the crisis. To Baal scarcely a knee was found to bend. To the yoke of the detested Book scarcely a neck was found to bend. When the order was announced to the Presbytery of St Andrews, almost the whole members of that Presbytery refused to comply. Foremost in his opposition stood Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars. The bishops, singling him out from among his brethren, resolved to make him the victim of their displeasure. A messenger-

at-arms accordingly appeared at the manse of Leuchars charging him to buy and use the Service Book within fifteen days, under pain of being imprisoned as a rebel. "Fortunately," says the biographer of Henderson, "for the cause of civil and sacred liberty, this thunder-cloud, which had long been gathering, now broke on an electric rod, which not only withstood the bolt in safety, but turned it aside from crushing others. This event at once changed the whole aspect of affairs, converting the Presbyterian Church from a passive to an active state. Hitherto the opposition to Episcopacy had been openly owned by none. But now, in the space of a few days, the cause was espoused by every description of the community. The rioters were extolled for opening their mouths to speak when the rest of the land was silent. It was said that their memorial would be eternal, and that succeeding generations would call them blessed. Already it was predicted that, as the first Reformation originated from a stone thrown by the hand of a boy, so the second would begin from a stool aimed by a matron at the head of a bishop." Nor was it in words only the people evinced their opposition. Petitions were poured in from the whole country against it, and with complaints and denunciations the parishes and pulpits resounded. Protesting

against the change, Henderson, hurried to Edinburgh to consult with his brethren. There he found Cant and Ramsay, Rollock and Dickson, ministers of chief note among the Presbyterians, and in a few days was joined by numbers more from different parts of the country in the same circumstances with himself, and, like him, seeking advice and protection. They presented a petition to the Lords of the Privy Council to have the "yoke of the Book taken off their necks." Their petition to a certain extent was successful. The Lords of Council suspended the reading of the Service Book till new instructions should be received from London. This was a great triumph for Henderson and his brethren, and indeed for the Church of Scotland. It was but a successful blow, it is true, but that blow was the omen of a successful battle. As such the ministers regarded it, and, returning from the Council to their chambers, they there, on their bended knees, "thanked God and took courage." Nor did this unlooked-for success make them relax, either in diligence or in prayer. They remembered that "the clouds return after the rain." Though the yoke was suspended it was not broken, and it remained to be seen from the King's answer whether efforts might not be made to impose it again. They took their measures accordingly. Sir Thomas Hope, the

greatest lawyer of his age, was friendly to the cause. They asked and received his advice, that their brethren throughout the kingdom might concur with them in opinion and co-operate with them in action, legally, should they be called to act. Rollock was sent to Merse and Teviotdale, Murray to Perth and Stirling, Cant to the north, and Ramsay to Angus and Mearns. The King's answer, on which so much depended, and which was looked for with so much anxiety, at last arrived. It was unfriendly. It ordered "the Service Book to be practised in Edinburgh and the parishes adjacent." The Council and Court of Session it ordered to remove to Stirling, the ministers it ordered to depart forth of the city towards their own homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being put to the "horn," and that proclamation of this should be made at the market-cross of Edinburgh by sound of trumpet, which was done. "Had his Majesty's answer," says Bishop Guthrie, "tended to discharge the Service Book, as peaceable men expected and wished, the most part had returned home well satisfied." As it was, and acting, it may be supposed, on the advice of Sir Thomas Hope, whom Bishop Guthrie jeeringly calls their "oracle," the ministers refused to leave the city. Meanwhile, news of the arrival and contents of the King's letter travelled fast and far,

creating, wherever they came, distress and dissatisfaction, and the spirit of resistance. Distressed though our fathers were, they were not dismayed. As if moved by some mighty and mysterious impulse, without communication and without concert, multitudes from all quarters and of all ranks crowded into Edinburgh. "So general was the concourse," Bishop Guthrie says, "there were few or no shires on the south of the Grampian hills, from which came not gentlemen, burghers, ministers, and commons;" and so deep was the interest they took in the object of their concourse, Clarendon, another episcopal writer, says, "almost all the kingdom flocked to Edinburgh, as if in a cause which concerned their salvation." But a month before and the witnesses against Prelacy in Scotland were only four individuals, now to any one who saw that mighty gathering they must have seemed a whole nation. As it was impossible that so many could meet and deliberate in one place, and as it would have been inexpedient, both for public and private reasons, to have kept such numbers of people for many days from their homes and callings, they agreed to arrange themselves in four classes, namely, nobles, barons, ministers, and burgesses, and out of each of these four orders to choose four individuals to represent and to act for the whole. This was accordingly

done. From this arrangement, and from the four tables at which they met, they came to be called "The Four Tables," a name given them to this day. To the Four Tables the people cheerfully committed the cause which had brought them together, and being commended to God, returned to their own, and to many of them, far distant homes. The readiness with which they did so "indicated," says a modern writer, "a spirit more appalling to their enemies than the previous outbreaks themselves." "One advantage of this arrangement," says Baillie, "was, that we could now pursue and defend our cause against the Bishops, no more by a tumultuous assembly, but by the staid resolution of the choicest men in the kingdom. First, among these—the foremost men of their time—of the nobles were, Rothes, Balmerino, and Loudon; of the ministers, Henderson and Dickson. These were at that time to Scotland what Cromwell was to England, her

"Chief of men, who, through a cloud,
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth their glorious way pursued."

Baillie, who, though not one of the "Tables," was frequently present at their councils, says of Balmerino and Loudon, "I thought them the best spokes-

men that ever I heard open a mouth, they drew me to admiration." Equally high is the opinion he expresses of Henderson and Dickson. "The rest," says he, "had nought to do but to give our presence, for, in effect, all was done by the will and grace of the two Archbishops!"* While the Tables continued to hold their daily meetings, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were giving occasional demonstrations of their adherence to the common cause, of an equally earnest, and perhaps as effective, but of a rougher, and, sooth to say, of a more questionable kind. Early on the morning of the 18th of October, bands of the "honestest of the women" assembled at the head of Forrester's Wynd, making the streets as they passed along to resound with cries, calling on the inhabitants to "preserve the true religion." They thence marched in a body to the house in which the Town Council were assembled, which they threatened to burn except the Magistrates would join the Presbyterians. It is so happened that at this moment Dr Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, and one of the most disliked of all his order, fell in their way. "The bishop," says Bishop Guthrie, who was going to the Council-house with Francis Stewart, son to the late Earl of Bothwell, for examining some witnesses in his business, was invaded

* Such was the name he jocularly gave them.

by those women with such violence, that probably he had been torn in pieces, if it had not been that the said Francis, with the help of two pretty men that attended him, rescued him out of their hands, and hurled him in at the door, holding back the pursuers until those that were within shut the door." They then dispersed, while "Down with the Book, and all the maintainers of it!" "God defend those who defend God's cause!" and similar cries, rang along the streets. When this movement was begun, all that its leaders contemplated was the re-calling of the Service Book. He who had "led them by a way they knew not," inspired them now with the hope of effecting higher things. It was not the lopping off a few branches of Prelacy that would now satisfy them. The idea now filled their minds of laying the "axe at the root." This idea Henderson cautiously at first expressed to the Tables, and then plainly and boldly till it filled and fired the souls of his brethren as it did his own. At first heard in fear, it was now hailed with joy, and in the imaginations of all the day of their Church and country's redemption was already come. But by what means was an end so great and glorious, but so difficult, to be attained? He who had set before his countrymen the end, was prepared to state to them the means. They were these: The "Renew-

ing of the National Covenant," and the calling, in virtue of the Church's intrinsic power, of a "Free General Assembly." Such was the double banner under which he proposed to rally and unite his countrymen for the overthrow of tyranny and error, and for the establishment of truth and freedom. How that banner was displayed, and with what success, you will now be told.

THE TAKING OF THE COVENANT.

1638.

It was in the year 1581, that the National Covenant was first taken, and on Wednesday the 21st day of February 1638 it was renewed. The place was the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. Thither at the call of the Tables, as in ancient times at the summons of the Fiery Cross, the people hastened from the most distant parts of the land. On the morning of this ever-memorable day, and indeed for several days preceding, might be seen entering by the different city gates, or passing along the streets, persons of all ages—the grey-haired elder and his fair-haired sons, the thoughtful matron and the tender maiden; the aged pastor and the youthful scholar—persons of all ranks and conditions, the peer and the peasant, the baron and the burgher, the husbandman from

the field and the mechanic from the shop, the "honourable governor" and them "that handled the pen of the writer." All thoughts of gain, pleasure, and worldly occupation, by all forgotten—all filled with the same thought, and forming the same resolve of rallying round the banner which was that day to be displayed because of the truth. It was a brave and beautiful spectacle. They who saw it remembered the words of the Prophet, "In those days and at that time, saith the Lord, the children of Israel shall come, and the children of Judah together; going and weeping, they shall go and seek the Lord their God. They shall seek the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall never be forgotten;" and it seemed to them that these words were that day fulfilled. While it was yet early in the morning, the church of the Greyfriars and the churchyard were crowded. About two o'clock, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnston, with Lords Rothes, Loudon, and Sutherland, entered the church. Henderson constituted the meeting with prayer. "This he did," says an old writer, "verrie powerfullie and pertinentlie." After which Loudon, his right hand man in all the transactions of the period, explained its motive and object. The Covenant,

written on "a fair parchment, about an elne squair," was then read. As originally sworn in 1580, it consisted chiefly of an abjuration of Popery, as now altered and accommodated to the circumstances of the times, it contained, in addition, an abjuration of Prelacy, and a solemn engagement, in which they bound themselves to continue in the profession and obedience of Presbytery, and to resist all contrary errors to the uttermost of their power, all the days of their lives; to defend the person and authority of the King, and of one another, so that whatsoever should be done to one should be considered as done to all." The first to affix his name to this memorable bond was the Earl of Sutherland, who was followed by Sir Andrew Murray. When all had subscribed who were within the church, among whom were, the Earls Rothes, Montrose, Cassillis, Eglington, Lindsay, and Loudon, the Covenant was carried out and spread upon one of the large grave-stones in the churchyard, and there it was signed by the living among the dead. The multitude assembled in the churchyard was computed to amount to 60,000. Some added to their names the words "*till death*," and some wrote them in their blood. Some shouted, but many more wept, so that, as at the rebuilding of the second temple, "the noise of the shout of joy could not be discerned from the noise of

the weeping of the people." With all this fear of God there was no fear of man. Among the thousands who came from far to sign the covenant that day was a young man, the minister of Lauder. As he entered the city by the West Port, the first person he met was the public executioner. At the sight of this grim functionary he started; and, as he mused upon the circumstance, he could not help feeling that it had a strange connection with the object on which he was bound. But he proceeded onwards to the churchyard of the Greyfriars, and, in the presence of its assembled thousands, subscribed his name. When he had done so, the young minister of Lauder said to those who were standing around him, "I know that I shall die for what I have done this day, but I cannot die in a better cause." That young man was Mr JAMES GUTHRIE, the renowned MARTYR, who, twenty years afterwards, not far from the spot on which he then stood, sealed the Covenant with his blood. When all had signed, without tumult and without confusion they dispersed throughout the city, and soon after to tell it to their children, and they to the generation that was to come, they returned to their own homes. "Such," says D'Aubigne, "was the commencement of that important affair of the Covenant which a celebrated novelist has represented in so false a light. Such was the

Grutli of Seotland. Many circumstances here, indeed, remind us of that solemn moment when Walter Furst, Stauffacher, Melehtal, and their friends lifted their three fingers to heaven and swore to save Switzerland from the tyranny of the Austrians. While great popular movements have too often been accompanied with irreligion and hatred of the gospel, it was only by bowing before God and His word that the Scotch learned to present a forehead like adamant to the powers of the earth." When the bishops heard of these things they were struck with consternation. "All," said the Archbishop of St Andrews, "that we have been attempting to build up during the last thirty years is at once thrown down;" and, looking upon all as lost, he fled to England, where soon after he died. Copies of the Covenant were circulated throughout the kingdom, in all places of which, a few excepted, it was joyfully signed. "At our townsmen's desire," says Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, "Mr Andrew Cant and Mr Samuel Rutherford were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of the people to the Covenant. Lord Eglinton was appointed to be a witness. With many a sigh and tear by all the people, the oath was made. Provost, bailies, and council, and all except three men held up their hands. There is a

great work of reformation intended among us and evidently begun." "I was present," says John Livingston, "at Lanark and several other parishes when, on Sabbath, after the forenoon's sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn; and I may truly say that in all my lifetime, excepting at the kirk of Shotts, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God. All the people generally and most willingly concurred. I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes, so that through the whole land, excepting the professed Papists and some few who adhered to the prelates, the people universally entered into the covenant of God." The place of greatest note which refused to join in this great national movement was the town of Aberdeen. "Gilead abode beyond Jordan; Dan remained in his ships; Asher continued on the sea-shore and abode in his breaches." Henderson, Cant, and Dickson, the "three Apostles of the Covenant" as they were called, were sent north to deal with the good people of *Bon Accord* and its redoubtable doctors. "Our brethren," says Baillie, "who went to Aberdeen were but coldly welcomed in that town. Its doctors sent to them a number of ensnaring demands, hoping by disputes and janglings to make their journey fruitless. Their demands, much

studied and put in print, were answered by our brethren against to-morrow, and at night given to the doctors. They refused to lend us any of their pulpits, yea, the void church was made fast and the key kept by the magistrate. However, in my Lord Marischal's close, there were three sermons delivered to a large concourse of people. Mr David Dickson in the morning at eight o'clock began, and, after sermon, answered shortly and popularly to all the doctor's demands. At twelve Mr Henderson preached, and Mr Cant at four, to no less a multitude than at the first diet. They wisely chose the time when there was no public service in the churches. After all, at a table in the close, some four or five hundred, whereof sundry were of the best quality, did subscribe." The Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, as is evident from their "demands" and "duplies," were men of great learning and subtlety. The pen, however, with all its power, is no match for the pulpit and the platform. The "ready writer," for influencing the minds of men, must yield to the "eloquent orator." The student in his closet might accord the victory to the erastian doctors; the people at their firesides, and in the market places, awarded it to the covenanting divines. "On Monday," says Baillie, "they went out to the sherriffdom, where,

with much labour, they did persuade many. The Marquis of Huntly, and the clergy of the town, had pre-occupied the hearts of the people with great prejudices against our cause. Yet, by God's help, of the half of the diocese there was obtained to the number of forty-four ministers." At Inverness the success of the Covenant was still more decided. "Rival clans which had never before met except in strife, now saluted each other as brethren, and after signing the Covenant, departed in charity and peace." The day in which the Covenant was signed in that northern capital, was declared to be the most joyful day ever seen in that district. Such was the "taking of the Covenant." On these remarkable days and deeds of our forefathers, one of our old writers—in a passage which, for the patriotism and the piety it breathes, has been frequently quoted—has the following reflections. "Behold the nobility, the barons, the burghers, the ministers, and commons of Scotland, all in tears for their breach of covenant, and their backsliding and defection from the Lord, and at the same time returning with great joy unto God, by swearing willingly and cheerfully to be the Lord's." Well might it be said of this day, "Great was the day of Jezreel. It was a day wherein the arm of the Lord was revealed—a day wherein the princes of the people were as-

sembled to swear fealty and allegiance to that Great King whose name is the Lord of Hosts. It was the day of the Redeemer's power, wherein his volunteers flowed unto him—a day wherein his youth was like the dew from the womb of the morning. If we compare our times with the above day of the right hand of the Most High, may we not take up a lamentation over ourland and say, 'Ah, Seotland, Seotland, how is thy gold become dim, how is thy most fine gold changed!' Where is that zeal for the Redeemer's honour and glory that was once warm in the breasts of thy nobles, barons, ministers, and commons? Where is that heroic courage and resolution for the cause of Christ, as well as for the liberties of the nation, that did at this time animate all ranks of persons throughout the land? Ah, how much sunk in degeneracy and dejection from the Lord! 'Can these dry bones live?' The Lord only knoweth. The residue of the Spirit is with Him."*

THE GLASGOW, OR REFORMING ASSEMBLY OF 1638.

Thirty-six years had elapsed since the last Free Assembly of the Kirk in Seotland. By advice of the Tables, the Covenanters petitioned the King to

* Wilson of Perth.

have one now summoned, declaring their determination, should he refuse, to call one themselves, in virtue of the Kirk's intrinsic right. "The Son of God," they said, "the King and Head of the Kirk, hath graciously promised, 'Where two or three are gathered together in his name, to be in the midst of them,' which as well proves the Divine authority of General Assemblies as of Synods and Presbyteries, and hence the councils of old used this for their warrant, and the fathers convened in these general councils, used to pray for the presence and assistance of Christ upon the ground of this promise. Among other urgent reasons for holding an Assembly at that time they mentioned—

1. The corruption of doctrine by Arminian and Popish errors.
2. The abounding of abuses and enormities through the government of bishops.
3. The discipline of the Kirk established by Acts of Assemblies overturned.
4. Disunion among ministers, and doubts in consequence about the truth of religion among the people.
5. Faithful pastors thrust out of their ministry by the bishops and their underlings, knowing that there is no Assembly to control or to censure them.

"Therefore," said they, "a General Assembly we must have, except we are willing to suffer both the religion and the Kirk of Christ to perish." Finding them thus resolute, and

that he could no longer with safety delay, the King consented that an Assembly should be called, and appointed it to meet at Glasgow on the 17th of November 1638. Great now was the joy of the Covenanters, and as the time drew on great was their anxiety, that an Assembly so much desired, and on which so much depended, should “be kept after the due order.” That it might be so, the Tables, which still continued their sittings, met and issued the following instructions, which contained their last advice to their brethren :—1. That all the noblemen who had subscribed the Covenant should meet at Glasgow on the 17th of November, being the Saturday preceding the day fixed upon for the opening of the Assembly. 2. That the elders chosen as members of Assembly should assemble on the same day, and with them four gentlemen to assist them with their advice in the common cause. 3. That each burgh should appoint two, four, or six, according to their number and quality, of the most judicious among them for the same purpose. 4. That particular congregations take care that no minister commissioner be absent for want of necessary charges. 5. That the 4th of November being Sabbath, with some following days, should be spent in fasting and prayer over all the land for a blessing on the Assembly. Never had the approach of any Assembly created such an

excitement. All felt it was the crisis of the Kirk, and many felt it was the crisis of the kingdom. "If God be with us," said Baillie, "we hope to have our Church and State in a better case than they have been for thirty years bygone. If He desert us, we are in great danger of becoming an enslaved province, a field of blood. Between this great hope and this great fear we now hang. How all will go He knows to whom we are all in this land now fast praying. We are resolved to keep the 21st in Glasgow, and to go on, by God's grace, as we shall answer to him, oppose who will." Glasgow was now the chief centre of attraction, and multitudes of all ranks and from all parts of the country continued to enter it for several days. On Tuesday the 16th of November, the Earl of Eglinton arrived with the ministers and elders from the west. On Saturday came the noblemen and ministers from the east; and on the afternoon of the same day, with a numerous retinue of nobles and followers, came the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commissioner. At a private meeting held on Monday the 19th, it was agreed that Hamilton should be Moderator, and Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, Clerk of the Assembly. It was not without some hesitation that they resolved to place Henderson in the Moderator's chair. They expected to have much debating with the Bishops

and the subtle doctors of Aberdeen; and as Henderson was their readiest and most expert debater, they saw that, by making choice of him for their Moderator, they would deprive themselves of his aid as a debater. At last, however, they found they had no alternative. So they resolved to make choice of him, a choice which, as we shall now see, did equal honour to both.

On Wednesday the 21st of November, the Assembly met in the High Kirk, or Cathedral of St Mungo. At the east end, in his chair of state, sat the Commissioner; at his feet, before him, and on each side of the throne, sat the Lords of Privy Council,—Traquair, the treasurer; Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal; Lorne—now Argyle, his father having died shortly before,—Mar, Moray, Angus, Lauderdale, Glencairn, Perth, Tullibardine, Galloway, Haddington, Kinghorne, Southesk, Linlithgow, Dumfries, Queensberry, and Belhaven. At a long table on the floor sat the Lords of the Covenant, properly so called, among whom were Loudon, Eglinton, Rothes, Montrose, Cassillis, and Lothian. A small table was placed in front of the Commissioner, for the Moderator and Clerk. At the west end in the gallery sat the young nobles, among whom were the Lords Montgomery, Fleming, Boyd, Erskine, Livingston, Maitland, Drumlanrig, Keir, and Elcho.

The ministers occupied the centre of the church, and the spectators filled the distant aisles and galleries. When all had taken their seats, it was observed that there was not a gown to be seen, which was considered an unlucky omen for the Bishops. It is usual for every new Assembly to be opened with a sermon by the Moderator of the preceding one, but most of those who had seen the last Free Assembly were in their graves, and its Moderator among the rest. In these circumstances, Mr John Bell, the oldest minister of Glasgow, "for the reverence of his person," was requested to preach, which he did from Rev. i. 12 and 13, "I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst one like unto the Son of Man," &c. "Mr John," says Baillie, who was present, "had a very good sermon, and sharp enough against Episcopacy and the late innovations. The pity was, the good old man was not heard by a sixth part of the beholders. That service ended, he came down to a little table, and opened the Synod with prayer, which I seconded with tears, and many more I trust with me." When the Assembly was formally constituted, it was found to consist of one hundred and forty ministers, with ninety-nine ruling elders. Among the ministers returned to sit in this Assembly who were famous for their learning, genius, and piety, were Hender-

son and Diekson, Rutherford and Baillie. Besides these, and scarcely less inferior to them, were Calderwood and Row, the historians of the church, both of them aged men, who had lived in the days of Knox and Melville, who had at least seen the former, and who had heard the majestic and resistless eloquence of the latter. It was indeed a singular and a happy lot for these aged men, who had seen the "glory of the first house," to be spared to see the "glory of the second." Of the ruling elders, seventeen were noblemen, nine were knights, twenty-five were landed proprietors, and the rest burgesses and commoners, but the meanest of whom were men who had earned "for themselves a good degree," and who, for the share they had in the proceedings of this memorable Assembly, will be held in long and grateful remembrance. "My heart is toward the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek. After thee Benjamin among thy people, out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulon they that handle the pen of the writer." When the members had given in their commissions, in which they were empowered and instructed by their respective presbyteries to sit in the Assembly, "and to vote, reason, and conclude in their name in

all things to be proposed, according to the Word of God and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as they should be answerable to God and the Church ;" and the roll having been made up, the Assembly rose, and thus ended the proceedings of its first session. Next day, after a long and stormy discussion with the Commissioner and his friends on a point of form, they proceeded to the choice of a Moderator, when Henderson was elected by the unanimous voice of the Assembly. The Moderator then constituted the court by prayer, in the " name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Head of the Church, after which he addressed the members in a speech which Baillie describes as " a pretty harangue," adding, " whether offhand or premeditated, I know not." At the third diet, the Moderator proposed that they should proceed to the election of a clerk. " I see not," said the Commissioner, " the necessity for this, since there is a clerk present, against whom nothing can be said why he may not fill the office in his father's lifetime." " Please your Grace," said the Moderator, " the clerk's son cannot be called the clerk, nor can the office go by deputation." Mr Thomas Sandilands, the clerk's son, being present, and being allowed to speak, said, " that his father had been elected by the Assembly in 1616, and had filled the office ever

since, and that now being infirm and sick, he had appointed him to act in his place." "That might be," said the Moderator, "but his father had not been chosen by the voice of a Free Assembly." In the end it was agreed that the old man should be compensated for any pecuniary loss he might sustain, and that the office should be filled by another. The votes being taken, Mr Archibald Johnston, then a young and rising advocate, and afterwards the famous Lord Warriston, with only one dissentient voice, was elected, "who," says an old record, "after acknowledging the weightiness of the charge, and his insufficiency for it, embraced it as having a calling from God and the honourable Assembly." In a battle there is what is called the crisis. This period, in the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly, was brought on by the proposal of the Moderator to the Assembly to put the question, "Whether or not it was competent to sit in judgment on the Bishops." The Commissioner, knowing well how it would be answered, urged that it might not be put. The Moderator persisted. "Then," said the Commissioner, "I behove to be gone." "I wish," said the Moderator, "the contrary from the bottom of my heart, and that your Grace would continue to favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the Assembly." He was

followed by Rothes, Loudon, and others, who contended for the competency of the court to proceed with the trial. "If the Bishops," said Loudon, "decline the judgment of the Assembly, there is no judgment-seat fit for them but the King of Heaven's." "We protest," he continued, "that we have no personal prejudice against them but in so far as they have wronged the Church—for this we have a right to sit in judgment on them, and they ought in conscience to submit." Here the Commissioner, interrupting the noble Earl, said, "I stand to the King's prerogative as supreme judge over all causes, civil and ecclesiastical. To him the lords of the clergy have appealed, and I will not suffer their cause to be further argued here." According to some accounts, he forbade any further proceedings, "and ordered the Assembly to dissolve." "What now," says D'Aubigne, "were the Presbyterians to do? They had received from the mouth of their Master the rule of their conduct. Jesus said, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' " "All that belongeth to us," said Henderson, "we are ready to render unto his Majesty, our lives, our goods, and our liberties, all, all, but what belongs to God and to the liberties of His house the piety of his Majesty will not demand them of us, and, if he

did, we could not sacrifice them. Even if your Grace should leave the Assembly, it will continue to sit until it has performed its duty." Hamilton then, with tears in his eyes, and his voice quivering with emotion, requested the Moderator to close the Assembly with prayer. The Moderator refused. Then, rising for the last time, the Commissioner declared the Assembly dissolved, and protesting that no act passed after his departure should be lawful, followed by his knights, councillors, and pages, he withdrew. Yet did not the Assembly feel itself deserted, nor was it greatly discouraged. In the name of its Invisible King it had met, and in his name it went on with its proceedings. When the Commissioner left the Assembly it was nearly dark. Having ordered lights to be introduced, the Moderator rose and said,—“All that are here know how this Assembly was called. They also know that we have acknowledged the power of Christian kings for convening Assemblies and their power in them. Yet must not that derogate from Christ's right, for He has given warrant to call Assemblies whether kings consent or not. And now, seeing that his Grace the Lord Commissioner has been so zealous of his master's commands, have not we as good reason to be as zealous for the commands of our Master and for maintaining the liberties and privi-

leges of His kingdom. You all know that the work which we have now in hand has had many difficulties, and yet hitherto the Lord hath helped and borne us through them all. Shall we be discouraged, then, at our being deprived of human authority? Ought not what has now happened rather to be a powerful motive for us to double our determination to answer the ends for which we are here convened?" We can readily believe that Knox or Melville would have addressed the Assembly in a higher strain of eloquence than this. Yet, while these two great masters of eloquence might have delivered addresses more stirring, they could not have delivered one more suitable. It was a word in season, and, judging from the effect it had on the audience, it may be said that "drops from heaven fell." When Henderson, Dickson, Rollock, and others had made an end of speaking, an incident occurred which their addresses without doubt contributed to produce, and which was well fitted to give courage to their hearts and life to their cause. Lord Erskine, a young noble, rose in his place and requested to be permitted to address the Assembly. His request being granted, he came forward, and, with tears in his eyes, confessed his sin and sorrow in not having sooner subscribed the Covenant, which in these words he now expressed his willingness to

do:—"My lords, and other gentlemen here assembled, my heart has been long with you, but I have quenched the inward light of my conscience, I have dallied with God, which I dare not do any longer. I entreat that you will receive me into the Covenant, and that you will pray to Christ for me that my sin may be forgiven." The young noble then subscribed the Covenant, when, touched by his words and example, several others did so likewise. Among these were Mr Patrick Forbes, son of John Forbes, who suffered so much for the part he took in the Aberdeen Assembly, and another young man, both of them preachers of the gospel, who had been with the army in Holland; where, hearing of the approaching Assembly, they had come home expressly to attend it. The son of such an eminent sufferer and witness for the truth was received with unusual satisfaction. The Moderator, addressing him from the chair, said, "Come forward, Mr Patrick, before you were the son of a most worthy father, but now of that worthy father you have shewn yourself a worthy son." The trial of the "fourteen prelates," as they were called, was now proceeded with. Two, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Caithness, having offered to subscribe the Covenant and submit themselves to the Assembly, were simply deprived of their episcopal functions, and suspended for a time from the ministry.

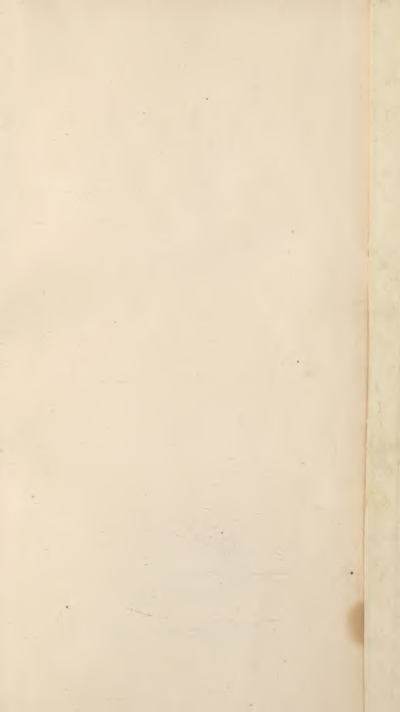
Four were deposed, and eight were excommunicated, having been found guilty not only of usurping and exercising lordly dominion over their brethren, but of holding dangerous errors, and of being immoral in their lives. They were proved to be Sabbath-breakers, tavern haunters, card and dice players, and profane swearers, so that Baillie might well say "they were such men as would not have been suffered to remain priests in Pagan Rome." After a sermon by Henderson on the words, "The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," he pronounced the sentence of deposition and excommunication in the presence of the Assembly, and of a great concourse of people, which, we are told by Baillie, "he did in a very grave and dreadful manner." When information of his sentence was carried to the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was struck with terror and fainted away. Besides deposing the Bishops, the Assembly passed many other memorable acts. It cast out the Five Articles of Perth, and declared them to have been abjured in substance by the Covenant as it was sworn in 1580 and 1590. The Book of Canons, and the Book of Prayer, it condemned as contrary to the standards of the Kirk. The Assemblies since 1610, it annulled as having been neither free nor lawful. It de-

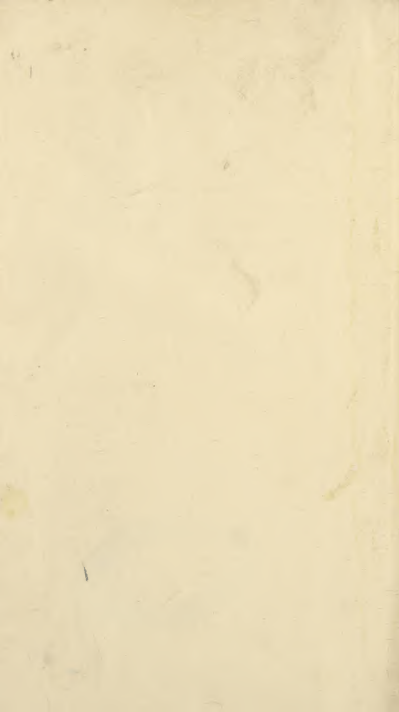
clared that all Episcopacy, different from that of a pastor over a particular congregation, was contrary to the Word of God, and abjured by the Confession of Faith, and therefore, that it ought to be removed out of the Kirk of Scotland. Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provincial or General Assemblies, it restored to their full integrity as at first constituted by the Books of Discipline. It enacted that Presbyteries visit the congregations within their bounds once a year, and that schools and colleges be also visited, and masters tried concerning their religion, morals, and qualifications for discharging their calling; that no minister be absent more than forty days from his parish without liberty; that Presbyteries have the power of admission of ministers, and that in the presenting of pastors, respect be had to the congregation, and that no person be intruded in any office of the Kirk contrary to the WILL of the PEOPLE. In fine, Presbyteries were directed to plant a school in every parish, and to see that the schoolmaster be supported according to the ability of the parish. The proceedings of the Assembly came to a close on the 20th of December, having continued for twenty-six days. In his concluding address, the Moderator "acknowledged," says Baillie, "the great goodness of God; thanked much the town of Glasgow, and gave them a fair commendation for their care and

pains to give contentment; also, Argyle, for the comfort of his assistance from the beginning to the end." After prayer and singing the 133d Psalm, in which all present, ministers, elders, and people engaged, and having pronounced the blessing, he added these remarkable words, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." "The Assembly of 1638," says D'Aubigne, with whose words we close this chapter, and for the present this book, "was perhaps the most important that the Church of Scotland had ever held. Presbyterianism was established on its primitive basis. This epoch is therefore called in Scottish history the Second Reformation."

THE END.







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