THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND

by John Knox

John Knox's invaluable historical account of early Christianity and the ancient church.

42 Chapters

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Chapter 0

The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Knox's "History" has all the essential qualities of a classic. It makes appeal with perennial freshness to the heart of man. It depicts a struggle for religious freedom which never had an equal, either before or since, and yet has a counterpart in the experience of every age. It is the honest and truthful record of one of the most highly energised men that ever crossed the stage of life--a record, withal, so masterly that the reader's mind and heart attain the writer's meaning and point of view, at a bound. Its humanity is as broad as human nature; its grasp of the eternal verities is childlike yet strong; its imagination is sane yet soaring.

The literary and historical value of the "History" has been adequately estimated for us by Carlyle, in his "Essay on the Portraits of John Knox;" and here we would only emphasise its manifestation of the intellectual quality and patriotic spirit of the men who were, under God, responsible for the great reformation of religion within the realm of Scotland. Above all, we would mark the noble conception of God which possessed the hearts of the Reformers. For them, the Eternal, our God, as Knox is fond of calling Him, was a living reality; and, with holy boldness, they withstood the enemies of God, whatever the worldly position and seeming authority of these might be. God's will was supreme, and they were there to see to its execution. The sap of the Old Testament is in all their utterances.

The document known as Knox's Confession of Faith, and The Book of Discipline throw further light upon the high intellectual endowments and virile faith of the Reformers. The "Confession" is of historic value. It was the recognised creed of the Reformed Church in Scotland,

from 1560 until 1647, when it was unfortunately discarded for the Westminster Confession. Passages in The Book of Discipline touch the sublime. The work, as a whole, contains a complete and statesmanlike scheme for the ecclesiastical administration of the realm of Scotland, for the conduct of its schools and colleges, for the relief of its poor, and for the control of its social relations. This ideal constitution was tinkered and modified, in parts, before it secured the approval of those who had great possessions, snatched from the dispossessed "Papistical Kirk." But upon its broad framework there rest the Scotland and the Presbyterianism of which Scotsmen are justly proud to-day.

Originally dictated by Knox to amanuenses at intervals, between 1559 and 1571, this "History" existed only in manuscript for many years. Copied and recopied by scribes of differing abilities and of varying bias, the traditional text became overlaid with emendations in some copies, and enfeebled by excisions and suppressions in others, while of clerical errors there is no small crop in almost every one of the extant versions. Several times in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one or other of these versions was printed and put forth as Knox's work. But it was only in 1846 that, as a result of the painstaking research of the notable Scottish antiquarian scholar, Dr. David Laing, a really authentic and complete version of the "History" was issued by the Wodrow Society.

So far as scholarly research is concerned, Dr. Laing put the copestone upon the task of securing an authentic text, and his will probably be the definitive edition. In it the historians of succeeding generations may win the ore of historic fact and contemporary sentiment. But the work of Knox has a far wider appeal. Its author had his eye upon posterity when he wrote: he had a message for it. Time and again, he

makes occasion to say so. As thus:--

"This we write, that the posterity to come may understand how potently God wrought in preserving and delivering those that had but a small knowledge of His truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all. We or our posterity may see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise than laws of men will permit: we may see them forsaken by men, and, as it were, despised and punished by God. But, if we do, let us not damn the persons that punish vice for just causes, nor yet despair that the same God that casts down, for causes unknown to us, will again raise up the persons dejected, to His glory and their comfort."

Or again:--"This we put in memory, that the posterities to come may know that God once made His truth to triumph; but, because some of ourselves delighted more in darkness than in light, He hath restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage."

Note the obstacles which have checked the wider currency of the book. Knox wrote in the "Engliss tongue," with a liberal admixture of good Scots words. But English prose was then only in its birth. Knox's spelling is now hopelessly archaic, if not anarchic; his punctuation is no help, and almost a hindrance; and his style of composition, in his more sustained periods, is ponderous and involved. Nor is this all. Knox's original conception of his task seems to have been that of an exact record or chronicle of the occurrences between 1558 and 1561 of which he had personal knowledge, or documentary or other credible evidence. He has, therefore, conscientiously transcribed complete copies of letters, treaties, bonds, instructions to deputies ("credits" he calls them), and even of such lengthy documents as The Confession of Faith and The Book of Discipline, as well as of sermons preached on

sundry occasions. To the historian, all these records are invaluable; but they only serve to distract the ordinary reader's attention from the main current of the narrative. They blunt his interest, instead of whetting it.

The present edition is a serious attempt to remove the obstacles to which we have just referred. The editor has not bound himself to reproduce the ipsissima verba of Knox at every point; although quotations from documents have been transliterated with some exactness. His main object has been to make Knox's book utterly readable, and it may be claimed that the complete historical narrative is now given to the English reader. Here and there a parenthesis has been dropped, here and there a "meary tale" which carries the illustration of the argument a little further than modern ideas of decorum permit. Essential clauses of letters and other documents have been retained: nothing is omitted that will substantially further the high purpose of the history. The Confession of Faith, commonly known as Knox's, and The Book of Discipline were reckoned too important for abridgment. These have been transferred bodily to the Appendix, to avert a serious block in the narrative.

Every effort has been made to preserve Knox's vigorous phraseology intact. Obsolete and Scots words are glossed at the foot of the page on which they first occur; and a full Glossary is appended to the work.

For the rest, the editor has sought to bring the mind and heart of Knox into touch with those of the reader, without unessential distractions. Footnotes are a manner of impertinence when a wonderful story is forward, and such an one is Knox's. He himself tells us to go to "universal histories of the time," if we want exact information. Here is no dry-as-dust chronicle of days and dates. Here we have an inspired record of the dealings of God with men. Here we read of their sinning,

their shortcoming, and their struggling, of their faith and its victory, in a narrative that can be likened to nothing else in literature than the books of the Old Testament. This is a book for the heart, a human book, written by "one who neither flattered nor feared any flesh."

CUTHBERT LENNOX.

February 1905.

BOOK FIRST. [1]

1422-1558.

Early Persecutions.

In the Records of Glasgow, mention is found of one that, in the year of God 1422, was burnt for heresy. His name is not given, and of his opinions or of the order upon which he was condemned there is no evidence left. But our Chronicles make mention that, in the days of King James the First, about the year of God 1431, there was apprehended in the University of St. Andrews one named Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who was accused of heresy before such as then were called Doctors of Theology. The principal accusation against him was that, in his opinion of the Sacrament, he followed John Huss and Wycliffe, who denied that the substance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that confession should be made to priests, or prayers made to saints departed.

Paul Craw: A.D. 1431.

God gave unto the said Paul Craw grace to resist his persecutors, and not to consent to their impiety, and he was committed to the secular judge (for our bishops follow Pilate, who both did condemn, and also washed his hands) who condemned him to the fire. Therein he was consumed at St. Andrews, about the time mentioned. To declare themselves to be of the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been enemy to the truth and desireth the same to be hid from the knowledge of men, they put a ball of brass in his mouth, to the end that he should not give confession of his faith to the people, nor yet that they should understand the defence which he had against his unjust accusation and condemnation.

These practices did not greatly advance the kingdom of darkness, nor were they able utterly to extinguish the truth. In the days of King James the Second and King James the Third we find small question of religion moved within this Realm, but in the time of King James the Fourth, in the year of God 1494, thirty persons were summoned before the King and his Great Council, by Robert Blackader, called Archbishop of Glasgow. Some of these dwelt in Kyle-Stewart, some in King's-Kyle, and some in Cunningham. Amongst them were George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskymming, John Campbell of New Mills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Helen Chalmers, Lady Polkellie, and Marion Chalmers, Lady Stair.

Whereof the Lollards of Kyle were accused.

These were called the Lollards of Kyle. In the Register of Glasgow we find the Articles of Belief for which they were accused. These were as follows:--(1) Images are not to be possessed, nor yet to be worshipped. (2) Relics of Saints are not to be worshipped. (3) Laws and Ordinances of men vary from time to time, and so do those of the Pope. (4) It is not lawful to fight, or to defend the faith. (We translate according to the barbarousness of their Latin and dictament. [2]) (5) Christ gave power to Peter only, and not to his successors, to bind and loose within the Kirk. (6) Christ ordained no priests to consecrate. (7) After the consecration in the Mass, there remains bread; and the natural body of Christ is not there. (8) Tithes ought not to be given to Ecclesiastical Men--as they were then called. (9) Christ at His coming took away power from Kings to judge. (This article we doubt not to be the venomous accusation of the enemies, whose practice has ever been to make the doctrine of Jesus Christ suspect to Kings and rulers, as if God thereby would depose them from their royal seats, while, on

the contrary, nothing confirms the power of magistrates more than does God's Word.--But to the Articles.) (10) Every faithful man or woman is a priest. (11) The anointing of kings ceased at the coming of Christ. (12) The Pope is not the successor of Peter--except where Christ said, "Go behind me, Satan." (13) The Pope deceiveth the people by his bulls and his indulgences. (14) The Mass profiteth not the souls that are in purgatory. (15) The Pope and the bishops deceive the people by their pardons. (16) Indulgences to fight against the Saracens ought not to be granted. (17) The Pope exalts himself against God and above God. (18) The Pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory. (19) The blessings of the bishops--of dumb dogs they should have been styled--are of no value. (20) The excommunication of the Kirk is not to be feared. (21) In no case is it lawful to swear. (22) Priests may have wives, according to the constitution of the law. (23) True Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ every day. (24) After matrimony is contracted, the Kirk may make no divorce. (25) Excommunication binds not. (26) The Pope forgives not sins, but only God. (27) Faith should not be given to miracles. (28) We should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only. (29) We are no more bound to pray in the kirk than in other places. (30) We are not bound to believe all that the Doctors of the Kirk have written. (31) Such as worship the sacrament of the Kirk--we suppose they meant the sacrament of the altar--commit idolatry. (32) The Pope is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist. (33) The Pope and his ministers are murderers. (34) They which are called principals in the Church are thieves and robbers.

Albeit that the accusation of the Archbishop and his accomplices was very grievous, God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the King's heart to gentleness (for divers of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their

accusators, that the enemies in the end were frustrated in their purpose. When the Archbishop, in mockery, said to Adam Reid of Barskymming, "Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven?" He answered, "Not as I do the Sacraments seven." Thereat the Archbishop, thinking to have triumphed, said, "Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven." The King, wondering, said, "Adam Reid, what say ye?" The other answered, "Please your Grace to hear the end betwixt the churl and me." Therewith he turned to the Archbishop and said, "I neither think nor believe, as thou thinkest, that God is in heaven; but I am most assured that He is not only in heaven, but also on earth. Thou and thy faction declare by your works that either ye think there is no God at all, or else that He is so shut up in heaven that He regards not what is done on earth. If thou didst firmly believe that God was in heaven, thou shouldst not make thyself cheek-mate [3] to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to His Apostles. That was, to preach His Evangel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir," said he to the King, "judge ye whether the Bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven." While the Archbishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the King, willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, "Wilt thou burn thy bill?" [4] He answered, "Sir, the Bishop and ye will." With these and the like scoffs the Archbishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter.

Archbishop James Beaton.

After that diet, we find almost no question for matters of religion, for the space of nigh thirty years. For not long after, to wit, in the year of God 1508, the said Archbishop Blackader departed this life,

while journeying in his superstitious devotion to Jerusalem. Unto him succeeded Mr. James Beaton, son to the Laird of Balfour, in Fife. More careful for the world than he was to preach Christ, or yet to advance any religion, but for the fashion only, he sought the world, and it fled him not. At once he was Archbishop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermline, Arbroath, and Kilwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland. After the unhappy field of Flodden, in which perished King James the Fourth, with the greater part of the nobility of the realm, the said Beaton with the rest of the prelates, had the whole regiment [5] of the realm. By reason thereof, he held and travailed to hold the truth of God in thraldom and bondage, until it pleased God of His great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up His servant, Master Patrick Hamilton, at whom our history doth begin. Because men of fame and renown have in divers works written of his progeny, life, and erudition, we omit all curious repetition. If any would know further of him than we write, we send them to Francis Lambert, John Firth, and to that notable work, lately set forth by John Foxe, Englishman, of the Lives and Deaths of Martyrs within this Isle, in this our age.

The Coming of Patrick Hamilton.

This servant of God, the said Master Patrick, being in his youth provided with reasonable honour and living (he was titular Abbot of Ferne), as one hating the world and the vanity thereof, left Scotland, and passed to the schools in Germany; for then the fame of the University of Wittenberg was greatly divulged in all countries. There, by God's providence, he became familiar with these lights and notable servants of Christ Jesus of that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and the said Francis Lambert, and he did so grow and advance in godly knowledge, joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did so eat

him up, that he could of no long continuance remain abroad, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth, as well in public as in secret. Besides his godly knowledge, he was well learned in philosophy. He abhorred sophistry, and would that the text of Aristotle should have been better understood and more used in the schools than then it was: for sophistry had corrupted all, as well in divinity as in humanity.

Persecution of Patrick Hamilton.

In short process of time, the fame of the said Master Patrick's reasoning and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of Archbishop James Beaton. Being a conjured enemy to Jesus Christ, and one that long had had the whole regiment of this realm, he bare impatiently that any trouble should be made in that kingdom of darkness whereof, within this realm, he was the head. Therefore, he so travailed with the said Master Patrick, that he got him to St. Andrews, where, after conference for divers days, he received his freedom and liberty. The said Archbishop and his bloody butchers, called Doctors, seemed to approve his doctrine, and to grant that many things craved reformation in the ecclesiastical regiment. Amongst the rest, there was one that secretly consented with Master Patrick almost in all things, Friar Alexander Campbell, a man of good wit and learning, but corrupted by the world, as after we will hear. When the bishops and the clergy had fully understood the mind and judgment of the said Master Patrick, fearing that by him their kingdom should be damaged, they travailed with the King, who then was young and altogether at their command, that he should pass in pilgrimage to St. Duthac in Ross, to the end that no intercession should be made for the life of the innocent servant of God. He, suspecting no such cruelty as in their hearts was concluded,

remained still, a lamb among the wolves, until he was intercepted in his chamber one night, and by the Archbishop's band was carried to the Castle. There he was kept that night; and in the morning, produced in judgment, was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's truth. The Articles for which he suffered were but of pilgrimage, purgatory, prayer to saints and prayer for the dead, and such trifles; albeit matters of greater importance had been in question, as his Treatise may witness. That the condemnation should have greater authority, the Archbishop and his doctors caused the same to be subscribed by all those of any estimation that were present, and, to make their number great, they took the subscriptions of children, if they were of the nobility; for the Earl of Cassillis, being then but twelve or thirteen years of age, was compelled to subscribe to Master Patrick's death, as he himself did confess.

Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.

Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared before the old College, and Master Patrick was led to the place of execution. Men supposed that all was done but to give him a fright, and to have caused him to have recanted and become recreant to those bloody beasts. But God, for His own glory, for the comfort of His servant, and for manifestation of their beastly tyranny, had otherwise decreed. He so strengthened His faithful witness that neither the love of life nor yet the fear of that cruel death could move him a jot to swerve from the truth once professed. At the place of execution he gave to his servant, who had been chamber-child [6] to him for a long time, his gown, coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, "These will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this, thou canst receive no commodity from me, except the example of my death. That, I pray thee, bear in mind; for, albeit it be bitter to the flesh and fearful before men, it is the

entrance unto eternal life, which none shall possess who deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation."

The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made and set afire. This gave a glaise [7] to the blessed martyr of God, scrimpled [8] his left hand and that side of his face, but kindled neither the wood nor yet the coals. And so remained he in torment, until men ran to the Castle again for more powder, and for wood more able to take fire. When at last this was kindled, with loud voice he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men?" The fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more. But most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, amongst whom Campbell the Black Friar (of whom we spoke before) was principal. These continually cried, "Convert, heretic; call upon our Lady: say Salve Regina," etc. To them he answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan." But, while the foresaid Friar still roared one thing with great vehemency, he said unto him, "Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and the contrary to me thou hast confessed: I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ!" After these words, and others that could not well be understood or marked, both for the tumult and the vehemence of the fire, the witness of Jesus Christ got victory, after long suffering, on the last day of February in the year of God 1527. The said Friar departed this life within few days after, in what estate we refer to the manifestation of the general day. But it was plainly known that he died, in Glasgow, in a frenzy, and as one in despair.

Questionings arise.

When these cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey,

they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, of those who heard of that deed, there was none found who began not to inquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burnt? When his Articles were rehearsed, it was questioned whether such Articles were necessarily believed under pain of damnation. And so, within short space, many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain truth, in so much that the University of St. Andrews, and St. Leonard's College principally, by the labours of Master Gavin Logie, and the novices of the Abbey, by those of the Sub-Prior, began to smell somewhat of the truth, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition. Within a few years, both Black and Grey Friars began publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate.

Friar William Arth speaks out.

Friar William Arth, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious lives of the bishops than they could well bear. He spake further against the abuse of cursing and of miracles. The Bishop of Brechin, having his placeboes [9] and jackmen [10] in the town, buffeted the Friar, and called him heretic. The Friar, impatient of the injury received, passed to St. Andrews, and communicated the heads of his sermon to Master John Major, whose word then was held as an oracle in matters of religion. Being assured by him that such doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresy, there was a day appointed to the said Friar, to make repetition of the same sermon. Advertisement was given to all who were offended to be present. And so, in the parish kirk of St. Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said Friar, and had amongst his auditors Master John Major, Master George Lockhart, the

Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Master Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, with all the Doctors and Masters of the Universities. The theme of his sermon was, "Truth is the strongest of all things."

The Abuse of God's Curse.

Concerning cursing, the Friar said that, if it were rightly used, it was the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth; for it was the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners. "But now," said he, "the avarice of priests, and the ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended [11] ; for the priest, whose duty and office it is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday and cries, 'One has lost a spurtle. [12] There is a flail stolen from those beyond the burn. [13] The goodwife of the other side of the gate has lost a horn spoon. God's malison and mine I give to them that know of this gear, and restore it not.'" The people, he continued, mocked their cursing. After a sermon that he had made at Dunfermline, where gossips were drinking their Sunday penny, he, being dry, asked drink. "Yes, Father," said one of the gossips, "ye shall have drink; but ye must first resolve a doubt which has arisen amongst us, to wit, What servant will serve a man best on least expense?" "The good Angel," said I, "who is man's keeper, does great service without expense." "Tush," said the gossip, "we mean not such high matters. We mean, "What honest man will do greatest service for least expense?" "While I was musing," said the Friar, "what that should mean," he said, 'I see, Father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack, [14] to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dyke [15] ? That keeps our corn better than the sleeping boy, who demands three shillings of fee, a

sark, [16] and a pair of shoes in the year. Therefore, if their cursing do anything, we hold that the bishops are the cheapest servants, in that behalf, that are within the realm.'"

False Miracles.

As concerning miracles, the Friar declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false. "But now," said he, "the greediness of priests not only receives false miracles, but they even cherish and fee knaves on purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and their offering be augmented. Thereupon are many chapels founded, as if our Lady were mightier, and as if she took more pleasure in one place than in another. Of late days our Lady of Carsegreen has hopped from one green hillock to another! Honest men of St. Andrews," said he, "if ye love your wives and your daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in honest company; for, if ye knew what miracles were kythed [17] there, ye would neither thank God nor our Lady." And thus he merrily taunted the trysts of whoredom and adultery used at such devotion. Another Article in his sermon was judged more hard; for he alleged from the Common Law that the Civil Magistrate might correct the Churchmen, and for open vices deprive them of their benefices. Notwithstanding this kind of preaching, this Friar remained Papist in his heart. The rest of the Friars, fearing to lose the benediction of the bishops, to wit, their malt and their meal and their other appointed pension, caused the said Friar to fly to England, and there, for defence of the Pope and Papistry, he was cast into prison at King Harry's commandment. But so it pleaseth God to open up the mouth of Baalam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the clergy of the age.

Shortly after this, new consultation was taken that some should be burnt; for men began to speak very freely. A merry gentleman named John

Lindsay, familiar to Archbishop James Beaton, standing by when consultation was had, said, "My Lord, if ye burn any more, unless ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye will burn them, let them be burnt in how [18] cellars; for the reek [19] of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon." But, so fearful was it then to speak anything against priests, the least word spoken against them, albeit it was spoken in a man's sleep, was judged heresy. Richard Carmichael, yet living in Fife, being young and a singer in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, happened in his sleep to say, "The Devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack." He was accused by Sir George Clapperton, Dean of the said Chapel, and was for this compelled to burn his bill.

Friar Alexander Seton preaches the Evangel.

God shortly after raised up stronger champions against the priests. Alexander Seton, a Black Friar, of good learning and estimation, began to tax the corrupt doctrine of the Papistry. For the space of a whole Lent he taught the commandments of God only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors that the law of God had not been truly taught for many years, men's traditions having obscured the purity of it. These were his accustomed propositions. First: Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. Second: There is no sin where God's law is not violated. And, third: To satisfy for sin lies not in man's power, but the remission thereof comes by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father, merciful in Christ Jesus, His Son. While oftentimes this Friar put his auditors in mind of these and the like heads, and made no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, or such trifles, the dumb doctors and the rest of that forsworn rabble began to suspect him. They said nothing publicly until Lent was ended, and he had gone to Dundee. Then, in his absence, one hired for

that purpose openly damned the whole doctrine that he had taught. This coming to the ears of the said Friar Alexander, then in Dundee, he returned without delay to St. Andrews, caused immediately to jow [20] the bell, and to give signification that he would preach; as he did indeed. In this sermon, more plainly than at any other time, he affirmed whatsoever in all his sermons he had taught during the whole Lent-tide; adding that within Scotland there was no true bishop, if bishops were to be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires in bishops.

Friar Seton's Apology.

This delation [21] flew with wings to the Archbishop's ears. Without further delay, he sent for the said Friar Alexander, and began grievously to complain and sharply to accuse him for having spoken so slanderously of the dignity of the bishops, as to say that "it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly." The man, being witty, and minded of his most assured defence, said, "My Lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars." Thereat the Archbishop rejoiced, and said, "Your answer pleases me well: I never could think that ye would be so foolish as to affirm such things. Where are these knaves that have brought me this tale?" These compearing [22] and affirming the same that they did before, he still replied that they were liars. Witnesses were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, and then he turned to the Archbishop and said, "My Lord, ye may see and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seton. In very deed, my Lord, I said that Paul says, 'It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher.' Isaiah saith, that 'they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs.' And Zechariah saith, 'They are idle pastors.' I of my own head affirmed nothing, but I

declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced. If ye be not offended at Him, my Lord, ye cannot justly be offended at me. And so, yet again, my Lord, I say that they are manifest liars that reported unto you that I said that ye and others that preach not are no bishops, but belly gods."

Persecution of Friar Seton.

Albeit, the Archbishop was highly offended at the scoff and bitter mock, as well as at the bold liberty of that learned man; yet durst he not hazard for that present to execute his malice conceived. Not only feared he the learning and bold spirit of the man, but also the favour that he had with the people, as well as with the Prince, King James the Fifth. With him he had good credit; for he was at that time his confessor, and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's law, and to purity of life. The Archbishop, with his complices, foreseeing what danger might come to their Estate, if such familiarity should continue betwixt the Prince and a man so learned and so repugnant to their affections, laboured to make the said Friar Alexander odious unto the King's Grace. With the assistance of the Grey Friars, who by their hypocrisy deceived many, they readily found means to traduce the innocent as a heretic.

This accusation was easily received and more easily believed by the carnal Prince, who was altogether given to the filthy lusts of the flesh, and abhorred all counsel repugnant thereto. He did remember what a terror the admonitions of the said Alexander were unto his corrupted conscience, and without resistance he subscribed to their accusation, affirming that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he understood well enough that he smelled of the new doctrine, from such things as he had shewn to him under confession. Therefore, he promised that he should follow the counsel of the bishops in punishing him and

all others of that sect. These things understood by the said Alexander, as well by information of his friends and familiars, as by the strange countenance of the King unto him, he provided the next way to avoid the fury of a blinded Prince. In his habit, he departed the realm, and, coming to Berwick, wrote back again to the King's Grace his complaint and admonition....

Persecution flags.

After the death of that constant witness of Jesus Christ, Master Patrick Hamilton, when God disclosed the wickedness of the wicked, as we have seen, there was one Forrest of Linlithgow taken. After long imprisonment in the Sea Tower of St. Andrews, this man was adjudged to the fire by the said Archbishop James Beaton and his doctors, for none other crime but because he had a New Testament in English. More of his story we have not, except that he died constant, and with great patience, at St. Andrews. The flame of persecution ceased after his death for the space of ten years or thereby. Not that these bloody beasts ceased by all means to suppress the light of God, and to trouble such as in any sort were suspected to abhor their corruption; but because the realm was troubled with intestine and civil wars. In these, much blood was shed; first, at Melrose, betwixt the Douglas and Buccleuch, on the eighteenth day of July, in the year of God 1526; next, at Linlithgow, betwixt the Hamiltons and the Earl of Lennox, where the said Earl, with many others, lost his life, on the thirteenth day of September in the same year; and last, betwixt the King himself and the said Douglases, whom he banished from the realm, and held in exile during the rest of his days. By reason of these, and of other troubles, the bishops and their bloody bands could not find the time so favourable unto them as they required, for executing their tyranny.

The Reformation in England.

In this mid time, the wisdom of God did provide that Harry the Eighth, King of England, should abolish from his realm the name and authority of the Pope of Rome, and suppress the Abbeys and other places of idolatry. This gave hope, in divers realms, that some godly reformation should have ensued therefrom. From this our country, divers learned men, and others that lived in fear of persecution, did repair to that realm. They found not such purity as they wished, and some of them sought other countries. But they escaped the tyranny of merciless men, and were reserved to better times, that they might fructify within His Church, in divers places and parts, and in divers vocations. Alexander Seton remained in England, and publicly, with great praise and comfort of many, taught the Evangel in all sincerity certain years. Albeit the craftiness of Winchester, and of others, circumvented the said Alexander, so as to cause him, at Paul's Cross, to affirm certain things repugnant to his former true doctrine; there is no doubt but that, as God had powerfully reigned with him in all his life, in his death, which shortly after followed, he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend.

Scots Reformers abroad.

Alexander Alesius, Master John Fyfe, and that famous man Dr. Macchabeus, [23] departed unto Germany, where by God's providence they were distributed to several places. Macdowell, for his singular prudence, besides his learning and godliness, was elected burgomaster in one of the Stadts. Alesius was appointed to the University of Leipsic; and so was Master John Fyfe. There, for their honest behaviour and great erudition, they were held in admiration by all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and estimation, Dr. Macchabeus was with Christian King of Denmark, let Copenhagen and famous men of divers nations testify. Thus did God provide for His servants, and frustrate

the expectation of these bloody beasts who, by the death of one in whom the light of God did clearly shine, intended to have suppressed Christ's truth for ever within this realm. But the contrary had God decreed; for his death was, as we have said, the cause of awakening many from the deadly sleep of ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ, the only true Light, shine unto many, from the away-taking of one. These notable men, Master John Fyfe only excepted, did never after comfort this country with their bodily presence; but God made them fructify in His Church, and raised them up lights out of darkness, to the praise of His own mercy, and to the just condemnation of them that then ruled--to wit, the King, Council, and nobility, yea, the whole people--who suffered such notable personages, without crimes committed, to be unjustly persecuted, and so exiled. Others were afterwards treated in the same manner; but of them we shall speak in their own places.

Persecution revived: 1534.

As soon as the bishops got the opportunity which they constantly sought, they renewed the battle against Jesus Christ. In the year of God 1534, the foresaid leprous Archbishop caused to be summoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Deas, Henry Cairns, and John Stewart, indwellers of Leith, with divers others, such as Master William Johnstone, and Master Henry Henderson, schoolmaster of Edinburgh. Some of these compeared in the Abbey Kirk of Holyroodhouse and abjured, and publicly burned their bills: others compeared not, and were exiled. But two were brought to judgment, to wit, David Stratoun, a gentleman, and Master Norman Gourlay, a man of reasonable erudition. Of them we must shortly speak.

David Stratoun and his Teind Fish.

In Master Norman appeared knowledge, albeit joined with weakness. But in David Stratoun there could only be espied, from the first, a hatred against the pride and avarice of the priests. The cause of his delation

was as follows. He had made himself a fishing boat to go to sea, and the Bishop of Moray, then being Prior of St. Andrews, and his factors, urged for the teind thereof. His answer was that, if they would have teind of that which his servants won in the sea, it was but reason that they should come and receive it where he got the stock. [24] So, as was constantly affirmed, he caused his servants to cast every tenth fish into the sea again. Process of cursing was led against him, for non-payment of such teinds; and when he contemned this, he was delated [25] to answer for heresy. It troubled him vehemently; and he began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a very stubborn man, and one that despised all reading, chiefly of those things that were godly. Miraculously, as it were, he appeared to be changed; for he delighted in nothing but in reading, albeit he himself could not read, and he became a vehement exhorter of all men to concord, to quietness, and to the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the Laird of Dun, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated.

The Conversion of Stratoun.

One day, the present Laird of Lauriston, then a young man, was reading to him from the New Testament, in a certain quiet spot in the fields. As God had appointed, he chanced to read these sentences of our Master, Jesus Christ: "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 he suddenly, being as one ravished, platt [26] himself upon his knees. After extending both hands and visage fixedly to the heavens for a reasonable time, he burst forth in these words: "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest Thou withdraw Thy grace from me. But, Lord, for Thy mercy's sake, let me never deny Thee or Thy truth, from fear of death or corporal pain."

Martyrdom of Stratoun and Gourlay.

The issue declared that his prayer was not vain: for when he, with the foresaid Master Norman, was produced in judgment in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, the King himself (all clad in red) being present, there was great labour to make the said David Stratoun recant, and burn his bill. But he, ever standing at his defence, alleging that he had not offended, in the end was adjudged unto the fire. When he perceived the danger, he asked grace of the King. This would the King willingly have granted unto him, but the bishops proudly answered that his hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned. And so was David Stratoun, with the said Master Norman, after dinner, upon the twenty-seventh day of August, in the year of God 1534, led to a place beside the Rood of Greenside; and there these two were both hanged and burned, according to the mercy of the papistical Kirk.

The True Light spreads: Cardinal David Beaton notwithstanding.

This tyranny notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wondrously increase within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was used to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who, frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the papistical religion openly rebuked. Dundee and Leith were the principal centres of enlightenment, and there David Beaton, cruel Cardinal, made a very strait inquisition, divers being compelled to abjure and burn their bills, some in St. Andrews, and some at Edinburgh. About the same time, Captain John Borthwick was burnt in effigy, but by God's providence he himself escaped their fury. This was done for a spectacle and triumph to Mary of Lorraine, lately arrived from France, as wife of James the Fifth, King of Scots. What plagues she brought with her, and

how they yet continue, may be manifestly seen by such as are not blind.

The Reformation in Court and Cloisters.

The rage of these bloody beasts proceeded so that the King's Court itself escaped not danger; for in it divers were suspected, and some were accused. And yet ever did some light burst out in the midst of darkness; for the truth of Christ Jesus entered even into the cloisters, as well of Friars, as of Monks and Canons. John Linn, a Grey Friar, left his hypocritical habit and the den of those murderers the Grey Friars. A Black Friar, called Friar Kyllour, set forth the history of Christ's Passion in the form of a play, which he both preached and practised openly in Stirling, the King himself being present, upon a Good Friday in the morning. In this, all things were so lovably expressed that the very simple people understood, and these confessed that, as the priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn Him, so did the bishops and men called religious blind the people, and persuade princes and judges to persecute such as professed the blessed Evangel of Christ Jesus.

Friar Kyllour and others go to the Stake: Feby. 1538.

This plain speaking so inflamed the hearts of all that bare the beast's mark, that they did not cease their machinations until the said Friar Kyllour, and with him Friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simson, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and Dean Thomas Forret, Canon Regular and Vicar of Dollar, a man of upright life, were all together cruelly murdered in one fire, on the last day of February, in the year of God 1538. This cruelty was used by the said Cardinal, the Chancellor, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the incestuous Bishop of Dunblane.

The Trial of Friar Russell and Friar Kennedy.

After this cruelty was used in Edinburgh, upon the Castle Hill, two

friars were apprehended in the Diocese of Glasgow, to the effect that the rest of the bishops might show themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God than was he of St. Andrews. The one was Jerome Russell, a Cordelier Friar, a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and good letters. The other was one Kennedy, who was not more than eighteen years of age, and was of excellent ingyne [27] in Scottish poesy. To assist the Archbishop of Glasgow in that cruel judgment, or at least to cause him to dip his hands in the blood of the saints of God, there were sent Master John Lauder, Master Andrew Oliphant, and Friar Maltman, sergeants of Satan, apt for that purpose. The day appointed for their cruelty having come, the two poor saints of God were presented before these bloody butchers. Grievous were the crimes that were laid to their charge.

At the first, Kennedy was faint, and gladly would have recanted. But, when a place of repentance was denied unto him, the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of all comfort, began to work in him. The inward comfort began to burst forth, in visage as well as in tongue and word; for his countenance began to be cheerful. With a joyful voice he said, upon his knees, "O Eternal God! how wondrous is that love and mercy that Thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others; for, even now, when I would have denied Thee, and Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have casten myself into everlasting damnation; Thou, by Thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and makest me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me the ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death; do what ye please, I praise my God I am ready."

The godly and learned Jerome, railed upon by those godless tyrants, answered, "This is your hour and that of the power of darkness: now sit

ye as judges; and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day shall come, when our innocency shall appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity."

When these servants of God thus behaved themselves, there arose a variance betwixt the Archbishop and the beasts that came from the Cardinal. The Archbishop said, "I think it better to spare these men, rather than to put them to death." Thereat the idiot Doctors, offended, said, "What will ye do, my Lord? Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal and the other bishops and we have done? If so ye do, ye show yourself enemy to the Kirk and us, and so we will repute you, be ye assured." At these words the faithless man, effrayed, [28] adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked.

The Friars are burned.

The meek and gentle Jerome Russell comforted the other with many comfortable sentences, oft saying unto him, "Brother, fear not: more potent is He that is in us, than is he that is in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never end. Therefore, let us contend to enter in unto our Master and Saviour, by the strait way which He has trod before us. Death cannot destroy us; for it is destroyed already by Him for whose sake we suffer." With these and the like comfortable sentences, they passed to the place of execution, and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire.

The Bigotry of James V.

Thus did these cruel beasts intend nothing but murder in all quarters of this realm. For so far had that blinded and most vicious man, the Prince,--most vicious, we call him, for he neither spared man's wife nor maiden, no more after his marriage than he did before,--so far, we

say, had he given himself to obey the tyranny of those bloody beasts that he had made a solemn vow, that none should be spared that was suspected of heresy, yea, although it were his own son. He lacked not flatterers enough to press and push him forward in his fury. Many of his minions were pensioners to priests; and among them, Oliver Sinclair, still surviving and an enemy to God, was the principal.

God speaks to the King.

Yet did not God cease to give to that blinded Prince documents [29] that some sudden plague was to fall upon him, if he did not repent his wicked life; and that his own mouth did confess. For, after Sir James Hamilton was beheaded, justly or unjustly we dispute not, this vision came unto him, as he himself did declare to his familiars. The said Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn sword. With this he struck both arms from the King, saying to him, "Take that, until thou receivest a final payment for all thy impiety." He showed this vision, with sorrowful countenance, on the morrow; and shortly thereafter his two sons died, both within the space of twenty-four hours; some say, within the space of six hours. In his own presence, George Steel, his greatest flatterer, and the greatest enemy to God that was in his Court, dropped off his horse, and died without word, on the same day that, in open audience of many, the said George had refused his portion of Christ's kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin Mary should not bring him there.

Men of good credit can yet report a terrible vision the said Prince saw, when lying in Linlithgow, on the night that Thomas Scott, Justice Clerk, died in Edinburgh. Affrighted at midnight, or after, he cried for torches, and raised all that lay in the Palace. He told that Thomas Scott was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had said unto him these words, "O woe to the day that ever I knew thee

or thy service; for, for serving thee against God, against His servants, and against justice, I am adjudged to endless torment." Of the terrible utterances of the said Thomas Scott before his death, men of all estates heard, and some that yet live can witness. His words were ever, "Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum"; that is, I am condemned by God's just judgment. He was most oppressed for the delation and false accusation of such as professed Christ's Evangel, as Master Thomas Marjoribanks and Master Hew Rigg, then advocates, did confess to Mr. Henry Balnaves. These came to him from the said Thomas Scott, as he and Mr. Thomas Bellenden were sitting in St. Giles's Kirk, and in the name of the said Thomas asked his forgiveness.

George Buchanan: his Arrest and Escape.

None of these terrible forewarnings could either change or mollify the heart of the indurate, lecherous, and avaricious tyrant: still did he proceed from impiety to impiety. In the midst of these admonitions he caused hands to be put on that notable man, Master George Buchanan to whom, for his singular erudition and honest behaviour was committed the charge of instructing some of his bastard children. But, by the merciful providence of God, Master George escaped the rage of those that sought his blood, albeit with great difficulty, and he remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566, to the glory of God, to the great honour of his nation, and unto the comfort of those that delight in letters and virtue. That singular work of David's Psalms in Latin metre and poesy, besides many others, can witness the rare grace of God given to the man whom that tyrant, by instigation of the Grey Friars and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided to his servant remedy by escape.

This cruelty and persecution notwithstanding, these monsters and hypocrites the Grey Friars, day by day, came further into contempt; for

not only did the learned espy their abominable hypocrisy, but men, in whom no such grace or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the same forth to the people....

When God had given unto that indurate Prince sufficient documents that his rebellion against His blessed Evangel should not prosperously succeed, He raised war against him, as He did against obstinate Saul, and in this he miserably perished, as we shall hear.

The broken Tryst.

The occasion of the war was this. Harry the Eighth, King of England, had a great desire to have spoken with our King; and with that object he travailed long until he got a full promise made to his ambassador, Lord William Howard. The place of meeting was to be at York; and the King of England kept the appointment with such solemnity and preparation as never, for such a purpose, had been seen in England before. There was great bruit [30] of that journey, and some preparation was made for it in Scotland: but in the end, by persuasion of the Cardinal Beaton and others of his faction, the journey was stayed, and the King's promise was falsified. Thereupon, sharp letters of reproach were sent unto the King, and also unto his Council. King Harry frustrated, returned to London; and, after declaring his indignation, began to fortify with men his frontiers fornent [31] Scotland. Sir Robert Bowes, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, were sent to the Borders. Upon what other trifling questions, as, for example, the Debateable Land and such like, the war broke out, we omit to write. The principal occasion was the falsifying of the promise. Our King, perceiving that the war would rise, asked the prelates and kirkmen what support they would make to the sustaining of the same; for rather he would yet satisfy the desire of his uncle than would he hazard war, when he saw that his forces were not able to

resist. The kirkmen promised mountains of gold, as Satan their father did to Christ Jesus if He would worship him. They would have gone to hell, rather than that he should have met with King Harry: for then, thought they, farewell our kingdom; and, thought the Cardinal, farewell his credit and glory in France. In the end, they promised fifty thousand crowns a year, to be well paid, so long as the wars lasted; and further, that their servants, and others that appertained unto them and were exempt from common service, should not the less serve in time of necessity.

War with England: 1542. Halden Rig.

These vain promises lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king: and so began the war. The realm was quartered, and men were laid in Jedburgh and Kelso. All men, fools we mean, bragged of victory; and in very deed the beginning gave us a fair show. For at the first warden raid, which was made on St. Bartholomew's Day, in the year of God 1542, the Warden, Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham, Sir William Mowbray, knight, a bastard son of the Earl of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels, with a great number of borderers, soldiers, and gentlemen, were taken. The Raid was termed Halden Rig. The Earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother, did narrowly escape. Our papists and priests, proud of this victory, encouraged the King. There was nothing heard but, "All is ours. They are but heretics. If we be a thousand and they ten thousand, they dare not fight. France shall enter the one part, and we the other, and so shall England be conquered within a year." If any man was seen to smile at such vanity, he was no more than a traitor and a heretic. And yet, by these means, men had greater liberty than they had before, as concerning their conscience; for then ceased the persecution.

Fala Raid.

The war continued until mid September; and then was sent down the old Duke of Norfolk, with such an army as for a hundred years before had not come into Scotland. The English were engaged in amassing their forces, and setting forward their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, until mid October, and after. Then they marched from Berwick and tended to the west, ever holding Tweed upon their one side, and never camping more than a mile from that river during the whole time they continued in Scotland, which was ten or twelve days. Day forays were run to Smailholm, Stitchel, and such places near about, but many snappers [32] they got. They burned some corn, besides that which the great host consumed, but they carried away small booty. The King assembled his force at Fala, for he had information that they had proposed to advance on Edinburgh. Taking the muster all at one hour, two days before Halloween, there were found with him eighteen thousand able men. Ten thousand men, with the Earl of Huntly and Lords Erskine, Seton and Home, were upon the borders, awaiting the English army. These were adjudged men enough to hazard battle, albeit the enemy were estimated at forty thousand.

The Lords plot against the Courtiers.

While the King lay at Fala, waiting for the guns and for information from the army, the Lords began to remember how the King had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the pensioners of the priests. It was at once concluded that they would make some new remembrance of Lauder-bridge, to see if that would for a season somewhat help the state of the country. But the Lords amongst themselves could not agree upon the persons that deserved punishment. Every man favoured his friend, and the whole escaped; and, besides, the purpose was disclosed to the King, and by him to the courtiers. After that, until they came to Edinburgh, the courtiers stood in no little

fear; but that was suddenly forgotten, as we shall hear.

The English Army retires.

While time was thus protracted, the English army, for scarcity of victuals, as was rumoured, retired over Tweed by night, and so began to skaill. [33] The King, informed of this, desired the Lords and Barons to assist him to follow them into England. With one consent, answer was given that they would hazard life and whatsoever they had to defend his person and the realm; but, as for invading England, neither had they so just title as they desired, nor could they be then able to do anything to the hurt of England, considering that they had now been long absent from their houses, their provisions were spent, their horses were wearied, and, greatest of all, the time of year did utterly forbid.

This answer seemed to satisfy the King; for in words he praised their prudent foresight and wise counsel. But the mint [34] made to his courtiers, and that bold repulse of his desires given to him in his own face, wounded his proud heart. Long had he governed as he himself chose, and he decreed a notable revenge. This, no doubt, he would not have failed to have executed had not God, by His own hand, cut the cords of his impiety. He returned to Edinburgh; and the nobility, barons, gentlemen, and commons dispersed to their own habitations. This was on the second and third days of November.

The Courtiers and Priests plot against the Lords.

Without delay, at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, a new Council was convened, a Council, we mean, of the abusers of the King. There accusation was laid against the most part of the nobility. Some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends to the Douglases, and so could there be none faithful to the King, in their opinion. The Cardinal and the priests cast faggots in the fire with all their force. Finding the King wholly given over to their devotion, they delivered

unto him a scroll containing the names of such as they, in their inquisition, deemed heretics. For this was the order of justice kept by these holy fathers in damning innocent men. Whosoever would delate any one of heresy was heard; no respect or consideration was taken as to what mind the delater bare to the person delated. Whosoever were produced as witnesses were admitted, however suspicious and infamous they were. If two or three had proven any point that by their law was holden heresy, the delated person was a heretic. There remained no more to be done but to fix a day for his condemnation, and for the execution of their corrupt sentence. The world may this day consider what man could be innocent where such judges were party. True it is that by false judgment and false witnesses innocents have been oppressed from the beginning. But never gat the Devil his freedom to shed innocent blood except in the kingdom of Antichrist, "that the innocent should die, and neither know accuser nor yet the witnesses that testified against him." But how shall the Antichrist be known, if he be not contrarious to God the Father and His Son, Christ Jesus, in law, life, and doctrine. But this we omit.

"An Answer worthy of a Prince."

The Cardinal and prelates had once before presented the same scroll unto the King, at the time of his return from the circumnavigation of the Isles. But then it was refused by the prudent and stout counsel of the Laird of Grange, who opened clearly to the King the practice [35] of the prelates, and the danger that might ensue. The King, being out of his passion, was tractable, and after consideration gave answer in the Palace of Holyroodhouse to the Cardinal and prelates, when they had uttered their malice and shown what profit might arise to the crown if he would follow their counsel. "Pack you, Jesuits; get you to your charges, reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord

betwixt my nobility and me; or else, I avow to God, I shall reform you, not by imprisonment, as the King of Denmark does, nor yet by hanging and heading, as the King of England does, but I shall reform you by sharp whingers [36] if ever I hear such motion of you again." The prelates, dashed and astonished by this answer, had ceased for a season to attempt, by rigour against the nobility, to pursue their schemes any further.

Solway Moss: how it began.

But now, being informed of all proceedings by their pensioners, Oliver Sinclair, Ross, Laird of Craigie, and others who were faithful to them in all things, they concluded to hazard once again their former suit. This was no sooner proposed than it was accepted, with no small regret made by the King's own mouth that he had so long despised their counsel; "For," said he, "now I plainly see your words to be true. The nobility desire neither my honour nor continuance; they would not ride a mile for my pleasure to follow my enemies. Will ye therefore find me the means whereby I may have a raid made into England, without their knowledge and consent--a raid that may be known as my own raid--and I shall bind me to your counsel for ever." There concurred together Ahab and his false prophets; there were congratulations and clapping of hands; there were promises of diligence, closeness, and felicity. Finally, conclusion was taken that the west border of England, which was most empty of men and garrisons, should be invaded; the King's own banner should be there; Oliver, the great minion, should be general lieutenant; but no man should be privy of the enterprise, except the council that was then present, until the very day and execution thereof. The Bishops gladly took the charge of that raid. Letters were sent to such as they would charge to meet the King, on a day and at a place appointed. The Cardinal was directed to go with the Earl of Arran

to Haddington, to make a show against the east border, when the others were in readiness to invade the west. And thus neither counsel, practice, closeness, nor diligence lacked to set forward that enterprise. And, among these consulters, there was no doubt of a good success. So was the scroll thankfully received by the King himself, and put into his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained the names of more than a hundred landed men, besides others of meaner degree. Amongst these, the Lord Hamilton himself, then second person of the realm, was delated.

It was bruited that this raid was devised by the Lord Maxwell; but we have no certainty thereof. The night before the day appointed for the enterprise, the King was found at Lochmaben. To him came companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another. No general proclamation had been made; all had been summoned by privy letters. Nor did the multitude know anything of the purpose until after midnight, when the trumpet blew, and all men were commanded to march forward, and to follow the King, who was supposed to be with the host. Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England, and these did so both faithfully and closely.

Upon the point of day, they approached to the enemies' ground; and passed the water without any great resistance made unto them. The foray went forward, fires rose, and herschip [37] might have been seen on every side. The unprepared people were altogether amazed; for, bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men, and their corn and houses upon every side sending flames of fire unto the heaven. To them it was more than a wonder that such a multitude could have been assembled and convoyed, without knowledge thereof coming to their wardens. They looked not for support, and so at the first they utterly despaired. Yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company,

twenty in another; and, as the fray proceeded, their troops increased, but to no number; for Carlisle, fearing to have been assaulted, suffered no man to issue from the gates. Thus the greatest number that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture, did not exceed three or four hundred men; and yet they made hot skirmishing, for, on their own ground, they were more expert in such feats.

About ten o'clock, when fires had been kindled and almost slokened [38] on every side, Oliver thought it time to show his glory. Incontinently, [39] the King's banner was displayed; Oliver was lifted up on spears upon men's shoulders, and there, with sound of trumpet, he was proclaimed general lieutenant, and all men were commanded to obey him, as the King's own person, under all highest pains. The Lord Maxwell, Warden, to whom properly appertained the regiment, in absence of the King, was present; he heard and saw all, but thought more than he spake. There were also present the Earls Glencairn and Cassillis, with the Lord Fleming, and many other Lords, Barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Mearns.

The Rout at Solway Moss.

In the meantime, the skirmishing grew hotter than it had been before: shouts were heard on every side. Some Scotsmen were stricken down; some, not knowing the ground, laired, [40] and lost their horses. Some English horses were of purpose let loose, to provoke greedy and imprudent men to prick at them: many did so, but found no advantage. While disorder arose more and more in the army, men cried in every ear, "My Lord Lieutenant, what will ye do?" Charge was given that all men should alight and go to array; for they would fight it. Others cried, "Against whom will ye fight? Yon men will fight none otherwise than ye see them do, if ye stand here until the morn." New purpose was taken that the footmen (they had with them certain bands of soldiers) should

softly retire towards Scotland, and that the horsemen should take horse again, and follow in order. Great was the noise and confusion that was heard, while every man called his own slogan. [41] The day was nearly spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear.

The Lord Maxwell, perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, remained on foot with his friends, and, being admonished to take horse and provide for himself, answered, "Nay, I will here abide the chance that it shall please God to send me, rather than go home, and there be hanged." And so he remained on foot and was taken prisoner, while the multitude fled, to their greater shame. The enemy, perceiving the disorder, increased in courage. Before, they had shouted; but then they struck. They threw spears and dagged [42] arrows where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed. The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins, and other weapons of defence; the horsemen left their spears; and, without judgment, all men fled. The tide was rising, and the water made great stop; but the fear was such that happy was he that might get a tacker. [43] Such as passed the water and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the Solway Moss. The entry to it was pleasing enough, but all that took that way, either tint [44] their horses or else themselves and horses both.

To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, has seldom been seen. It is said that, where the men were not sufficient to take the hands of prisoners, some ran to houses and surrendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver was taken, without stroke, fleeing manfully; and so was his glory (stinking and foolish pride we should call it) suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken the two Earls foresaid, the Lords Fleming and Somerville, and many other barons and gentlemen, besides the great multitude of servants.

Worldly men may think that all this came but by misorder and fortune, as they term it; but whosoever has the least spunk [45] of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of His hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us on record by the Holy Ghost. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad, King of Aram, when he was discomfited at Samaria, than that which we have that God fought with His own arm against Scotland? In the former discomfiture, two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in the great battle, did put to flight the said Benhadad, with thirty kings in his company. But here, in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without knowledge of any back or battle to follow, did put to flight ten thousand men without resistance made. There did every man rencounter his marrow, [46] until the two hundred slew such as matched them. Here, without slaughter, the multitude fled. There those of Samaria had the prophet of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them. England, in that pursuit, had nothing. But God by His providence secretly wrought in these men that knew nothing of His working, nor yet of the causes thereof; no more than did the wall that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army know what it did. Therefore, yet again we say that such as behold not in that sudden dejection the hand of God, fighting against pride for the freedom of His own little flock, unjustly persecuted, do willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God. But the end was yet more notable.

The Blow falls on the King.

The King waited upon news at Lochmaben, and when the certain knowledge of the discomfiture came to his ears he was stricken with a sudden fear and astonishment, so that scarcely could he speak, or hold purposed

converse with any man. The night constrained him to remain where he was, and so he went to bed; but he rose without rest or quiet sleep. His continual complaint was, "Oh, fled Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en? Oh, fled Oliver!" These words in his melancholy, and as if he were carried away in a trance, he repeated from time to time, to the very hour of his death. Upon the morn, which was St. Katherine's Day, he returned to Edinburgh, as did the Cardinal from Haddington. But the one being ashamed of the other, the bruit of their communication came not to the ears of the public. The King made inventory of his poise, [47] and of all his jewels and other substance; and departed to Fife. Coming to Hallyards, he was humanely received by the Lady Grange, an ancient and godly matron: the Laird was absent. There were in his company only William Kirkaldy, now Laird of Grange, and some others that waited upon his chamber. At supper, the lady, perceiving him pensive, began to comfort him, and urged him to take the work of God in good part. "My portion of this world is short," he replied, "for I will not be with you fifteen days." His servants, repairing unto him, asked where he would have provision made for Yuletide, which then approached. He answered with a disdainful smirk, "I cannot tell: choose ye the place. But this I can tell you, ye will be masterless before Yule day, and the realm without a King." Because of his displeasure, no man durst make contradiction unto him. After he had visited the Castle of Carny, pertaining to the Earl of Crawford, where was the said Earl's daughter, one of his paramours, he returned to Falkland and took to bed. No sign of death appeared about him, but he constantly affirmed that, before such a day, he would be dead.

The Birth of Mary Stuart.

In the meantime the Queen was upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, and on the eighth day of December, in the year of God 1542,

was delivered of Mary, that then was born, and now does reign for a plague to this realm, as the progress of her whole life to this day hath declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, the King turned from such as spake with him, and said, "The devil go with it! It will end as it began: it came from a woman; and it will end in a woman." After that, he spake not many words that were sensible. But ever he harped upon his old song, "Fie, fled Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en? All is lost."

The Death of James V.

In the meantime came the Cardinal, in the King's great extremity, an apt comforter for a desperate man. He cried in his ear, "Take order, Sire, with your realm: who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? Ye have known my service, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen, and shall not I be principal of them?" Whatsoever the King answered, documents were taken that things should be as my Lord Cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man's hand was made to subscribe a blank, that they might write above the signature what pleased them best. This finished, the Cardinal posted to the Queen. At the first sight of the Cardinal, she said, "Welcome, my Lord. Is not the King dead?" Divers men are of divers opinions as to what moved her so to conjecture. Many whisper that of old his part was in the pot, and that the suspicion thereof caused him to be inhibited the Queen's company. Howsoever it may have been before, it is plain that, after the King's death, and during the Cardinal's life, whosoever might guide the Court, he got his secret business sped by that gracious lady, either by day or by night. Whether the tidings liked her or not, she mended with as great expedition of that daughter as ever she did before of any son she bare. The time of her purification was accomplished sooner than the Levitical law appoints: but she was no

Jewess, and therefore in that she offended not.

King James departed this life on the thirteenth day of December, in the year of God 1542, and on news thereof the hearts of men began to be disclosed. All men lamented that the realm was left without a male to succeed; yet some rejoiced that such an enemy to God's truth was taken away. By some he was called a good poor-man's king; by others he was termed a murderer of the nobility, and one that had decreed their utter destruction. Some praised him for suppressing theft and oppression; others dispraised him for the defiling of men's wives and of virgins.

Men spake as affection led them. And yet none spake altogether beside the truth; for all these things were in part so manifest that, as the virtues could not be denied, so could not the vices be cloaked by any craft.

The Cardinal claims the Regency.

Throughout this realm the question of government was universally moved. The Cardinal proclaimed the King's last will. Therein were nominated four Protectors or Regents, of whom he himself was the first and principal, with him being joined the Earls Huntly, Argyll, and Moray. This was done on the Monday at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. But on the Monday following the whole Regents had remission from their usurpation. By the stout and wise counsel of the Laird of Grange, the Earl of Arran, then second person to the Crown, caused assemble the nobility of the realm, and required the equity of their judgment in his just suit to be governor of this realm during the minority of her to whom he would succeed, in the event of her death without lawful succession. His friends convened, the nobility assembled, and the day of decision was appointed. The Cardinal and his faction opposed themselves to the government of one man, and especially to the regiment of any called Hamilton: "For who knows not," said the Cardinal, "that

the Hamiltons are cruel murderers, oppressors of innocence, proud, avaricious, double, and false; and, finally, the pestilence in this commonwealth." Thereto the said Earl answered, "Defraud me not of my right, and call me what ye please. Whatsoever my friends have been, unto this day no man has had cause to complain upon me, nor am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing. By God's grace I shall be as forward to correct their enormities as any within the realm can reasonably require of me. And therefore, yet again, my Lords, in God's name I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before ye have experience of my government." At these words, all that feared God or loved honesty were so moved that with one voice they cried, "That petition is most just, and unless we would act against God, justice, and equity, it cannot be denied."

The Earl of Arran is proclaimed Regent.

In despite of the Cardinal and his suborned faction, the Earl of Arran was declared Governor, and with public proclamation so announced to the people. The King's Palace, treasure, jewels, garments, horse, and plate were delivered unto him by the officers that had the former charge; and he was honoured, feared, and obeyed more heartily than ever any king was before, so long as he abode in God. Great favour was borne unto him, because it was bruited that he favoured God's Word; and because it was well known that he was one appointed to have been persecuted, as the scroll, found in the King's pocket after his death, did witness. These two things, together with an opinion that men had of his simplicity, did, in the beginning, bow unto him the hearts of many who afterwards, with dolour of heart, were compelled to change their opinions. We omit a variety of matters, such as the order taken for keeping the young Queen; the provision for the mother; and the home-calling of the Douglases. These appertain to a universal history

of the time. We seek only to follow the progress of religion, and of the matters that cannot be dissevered from the same.

Thomas Williams and John Rough preach, in despite of the Friars.

The Governor being established in government, godly men repaired unto him, and exhorted him to call to mind for what end God had exalted him; out of what danger He had delivered him; and what expectation all men of honesty had of him. At their suit, more than of his own motion, Thomas Williams, a Black Friar, was called to be preacher. The man was of solid judgment, reasonable letters for that age, and of a prompt and good utterance: his doctrine was wholesome, without great vehemence against superstition. John Rough, who after, for the truth of Christ Jesus, suffered in England, in the days of Mary of cursed memory, preached also sometimes, not so learnedly, yet more simply, and more vehemently against all impiety. The doctrine of these two provoked against them and against the Governor the hatred of all that favoured darkness more than light, and their own bellies more than God. These slaves of Satan, the Grey Friars (and amongst the rest Friar Scott, who before had given himself forth for the greatest professor of Christ Jesus within Scotland, and under that colour had disclosed and so endangered many) croaked like ravens, yea, rather they yelled and roared like devils in hell, "Heresy! heresy! Williams and Rough will carry the Governor to the devil."

Edinburgh drowned in Superstition.

The town of Edinburgh was, for the most part, drowned in superstition: Edward Hope, young William Adamson, Sibella Lindsay, Patrick Lindsay, Francis Aikman; and in the Canongate, John Mackay, Ryngzean Brown, with a few others, had the bruit [48] of knowledge in those days. One Wilson, servant to the Bishop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New Testament nor the Old, made a despiteful railing ballad against the

preachers and against the Governor, and for this he narrowly escaped hanging. The Cardinal moved both heaven and hell to trouble the Governor and to stay the preaching; but the battle was stoutly fought for a season. He was taken prisoner, and was confined first in Dalkeith, and after that in Seton. But, in the end, by means of bribes given to Lord Seton and to the old Laird of Lethington, he was restored to St. Andrews. Thence he wrought all mischief, as we shall afterwards hear.

Liberty to read the Scriptures is demanded.

At the approach of Parliament before Easter, there began to be question of abolishing certain tyrannical acts, formerly made at the instance of the prelates, for maintaining of their kingdom of darkness; to wit, the Act "that under pain of heresy, no man should read any part of the Scriptures in the English tongue, nor yet any tractate or exposition of any place of Scripture." Such articles began to come into question, we say, and men began to inquire if it was not as lawful to men that understood no Latin to use the Word of their salvation in the tongue they understood, as it was for Latin men to have it in Latin, and for Greeks or Hebrews to have it in their tongues. It was answered that the first Kirk had forbidden all tongues but these three. But men demanded when that inhibition was given; and what Council had ordained that, considering that Chrysostom complained that the people used not the Psalms, and other holy books, in their own tongues? If it be said that these were Greeks, and understood the Greek tongue, we answer that Christ Jesus commanded His Word to be preached to all nations. Now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it must be preached in the tongue they understand. If it be lawful to preach it and to hear it preached in all tongues, why should it not be lawful to read it, and to hear it read in all tongues, to the end that the people may try the

spirits, according to the commandment of the Apostle.

Beaten with these and other reasons, it was admitted that the Word might be read in the vulgar tongue, provided that the translation were true. It was demanded, what could be reprehended in the translation used? Much searching was made, but nothing could be found, except that "love," said they, was put in the place of "charity." When they were asked what difference was betwixt the one and the other, and whether they understood the nature of the Greek term Agape, they were dumb. The Lord Ruthven, father to him that prudently gave counsel to take just punishment upon that knave Davie, [49] a stout and discreet man in the cause of God, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, an old professor, reasoned for the party of the seculars. For the Clergy, Hay, Dean of Restalrig, and certain old bosses [50] with him.

An open Bible is secured.

The conclusion was that the Commissioners of Burghs and a part of the nobility required of the Parliament that it might be enacted, "That it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of other tracts containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates and kirkmen should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct." The clergy hereto long repugned; but, in the end, convicted by reason and by multitude of contrary votes, they also acquiesced. So, by Act of Parliament, it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue; and all Acts of contrary effect were abolished.

The Bible becomes fashionable.

This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of His truth; no small comfort to such as before were so holden in bondage that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer,

the Ten Commandments, or the Articles of their faith in the English tongue, without being accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. We grant that some, alas! profaned that blessed Word; for some that, perchance, had never read ten sentences in it had it most commonly in their hands. They would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, "This has lain hid under my bed-foot these ten years." Others would glory, "Oh! how often have I been in danger for this book. How secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight to read upon it." Many did this to make court; for all men esteemed the Governor the most fervent Protestant in Europe. Albeit many abused that liberty granted by God miraculously, the knowledge of God wondrously increased, and God gave His Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, disclosing the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and the abuses of that Roman Antichrist.

King Harry suggests the Betrothal of Queen Mary to Prince Edward.

The fame of our Governor was spread in divers countries, and many praised God for him. King Harry sent unto him his Ambassador, Mr. Sadler, and he lay in Edinburgh a great part of the summer. His commission and negotiation was to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland. God seemed to have offered the occasion, and to many men it appeared that from heaven He had declared His good pleasure in that proposal. For, to King Harry, Jane Seymour (after the death of Queen Katherine, and of all others that might have made his marriage suspect) had borne a son, Edward the Sixth of blessed memory, older some years than our Mistress, and unto us was left a Queen. This wonderful providence of God caused men of greatest judgment to enter into disputation with themselves, whether, with good conscience, any

man might repugn to the desires of the King of England, considering that thereby all occasion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might ensue to his realm. The offers of King Harry were so large and his demands were so reasonable that all that loved quietness were content therewith. There were sent from the Parliament to King Harry, in commission, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Learmonth, and Mr. Henry Balnaves. These remained long in England, and so travailed that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward the Sixth and Mary Queen of Scots were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the custody of Englishmen.

The Contract of Marriage is adjusted and ratified.

For the final conclusion of this head, William, Earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, were added to the former commissioners, and to them were given ample commission and good instructions. Mr. Sadler remained in Scotland. Communications passed frequently, yea, the hands of our Lords were liberally anointed. Other commodities were promised, and by some received; for divers persons taken at Solway Moss were sent home, ransom free, upon promise of their fidelity,--how this was kept, the issue will witness. In the end, all were well content (the Cardinal, the Queen, and the faction of France ever excepted), and solemnly, in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, the contract of marriage betwixt the persons foresaid, together with all the clauses and conditions requisite for the faithful observation thereof, was read in public audience, subscribed, sealed, approved, and allowed by the Governor for his part, and the Nobility and Lords for their part. That nothing should lack that might fortify the matter, Christ's sacred body, as Papists term it, was broken betwixt the said Governor and Master Sadler, Ambassador, and received by them both as a sign and token of the unity of their minds, inviolably to keep that contract, in all

points, as they looked to Christ Jesus to be saved, and to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world in after time.

The Papists refuse to acknowledge the Contract.

The Papists raged against the Governor and against the Lords that consented, and abode sweir [51] at the contract. They made a brag that they would depose the Governor, and confound all. Without delay, they raised their forces and came to Linlithgow, where the young Queen was kept. But, upon the return of the Ambassadors from England, pacification was made for that time. By the judgment of eight persons for either party, chosen to judge whether anything had been done by the Ambassadors, in contracting that marriage, for which they had not sufficient power from the Council and Parliament, it was found that all things had been done by them according to their commission, and that these should stand. So the Seals of England and Scotland were interchanged. Master James Foulis, then Clerk of Register, received the Great Seal of England; and Master Sadler received the Great Seal of Scotland. The heads of the contract we pass by.

As soon as these things were ratified, the merchants made frack [52] to sail, and to resume the traffic which had for some years been hindered by the trouble of wars. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ships richly laden with the wares of Scotland. From other towns and ports departed others. All arrived in Yarmouth; and entered not only within roads, but also within ports and places where ships might be arrested. Because of the lately contracted amity and the gentle entertainment that they received at first, they made no great expedition. Being, as they supposed, in security, they spent the time in merriness, abiding upon the wind.

The Papists turn the Tables.

In the meantime there arrived from France to Scotland the Abbot of

Paisley, called bastard brother to the Governor, but by many esteemed son to Crichton, the old Bishop of Dunkeld, and with him Master David Panter, afterwards Bishop of Ross. The bruit of the learning and honest life of these two, and of their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such that there was great hope that their presence should have been comfortable to the Kirk of God. It was constantly affirmed that, without delay, the one and the other would occupy the pulpit, and truly preach Jesus Christ. Few days disclosed their hypocrisy. What terrors, what promises, or what enchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not, but shortly after it was seen that Friar Williams was inhibited from preaching, and so departed to England. John Rough retired to Kyle, a receptacle of God's servants of old.

The men of counsel, judgment, and godliness that had travailed to promote the Governor, and that gave him faithful counsel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him, or else, by threats of hanging, were compelled to leave him. Of the former number were the Laird of Grange, Master Henry Balnaves, Master Thomas Bellenden, and Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount; men by whose labours the Governor was promoted to honour, and by whose counsel he so used himself at the beginning that the obedience given to him was nothing inferior to that possessed by any king of Scotland for many years before. Yea, it did surmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of those virtues that were supposed to have been in him. Of the number of those that were threatened were Master Michael Durham, Master David Borthwick, David Forrest, and David Bothwell. These had counselled the Governor to have in his company God-fearing men, and not to foster wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends and were of his surname. When this counsel came to the ears of the foresaid Abbot and the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the Court as

ravens to the carrion, it was said in plain words, "My Lord Governor and his friends will never be in quietness, until a dozen of these knaves that abuse his Grace be hanged."

These words were spoken in his own presence, and in the presence of some of them that had better deserved than so to have been entreated. The speaker was allowed his bold and plain speaking, and the wicked counsel being tolerated, honest and godly men left the Court and the Governor in the hands of such as led him so far from God that he falsified his promise, dipped his hands in the blood of the saints of God, and brought this commonwealth to the very point of utter ruin. These were the first-fruits of the godliness and learning of the Abbot of Paisley: hereafter we will hear more.

The Abbot and the Cardinal next threaten the Regent.

All honest and godly men once banished from the Court, the Abbot and his council began to lay before the inconstant Governor the dangers that might ensue the alteration and change of religion; the power of the King of France; and the commodity that might come to him and his house by retaining the ancient league with France. He was also called on to consider the great danger that he brought upon himself if, in any jot, he suffered the authority of the Pope to be violated or called in question within this realm; for thereon alone stood the security of his right to the succession of the Crown of this realm. By God's Word, the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Home, his first wife, would not be found lawful, his second marriage would be judged null, and he himself declared bastard. Caiaphas spake prophecy, and wist not what he spake; for at that time there were no men that truly feared God that minded any such thing. With their whole force they would have fortified the title that God had given unto him, and things done in time of darkness would never have been called in question.

Another practice was used. The Cardinal, being now at liberty, ceased not to traffic with such of the nobility as he might draw to his faction or corrupt by any means, seeking thereby to raise a party against the said Governor, and against such as stood fast for the contract of marriage and peace with England. The said Cardinal, the Earls Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, and the bishops and their bands, assembled at Linlithgow: thereafter they passed to Stirling, and took with them both the Queens, the mother and the daughter, and threatened the deposition of the said Governor, as inobedient to their Holy Mother the Kirk, as they term the harlot of Babylon, Rome.

The Regent breaks Faith with England, and receives Absolution.

The inconstant man, not thoroughly grounded upon God, was left destitute of all good counsel by his own default, and had the wicked ever blowing in his ears, "What will ye do! Ye will destroy yourself and your house for ever." Beaten with these temptations, the unhappy man surrendered himself to the appetites of the wicked. Quietly stealing away from the Lords that were with him in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, he passed to Stirling, subjected himself to the Cardinal and to his council, received absolution, renounced the profession of the holy Evangel of Christ Jesus, and violated the oath that he had made for observation of the contract and league with England.

King Harry remonstrates without avail.

At that time our Queen was crowned, and new promise was made to France. The certainty hereof coming to King Harry, our Scottish ships were stayed, the sails taken from their rays, [53] and the merchants and mariners were commanded to sure custody. New commission was sent to Master Sadler, who still remained in Scotland, to demand the reason for that sudden alteration, and to travail by all means possible that the Governor might be called back to his former godly purpose, and that he

would not do so foolishly and inhonestly, yea so cruelly and unmercifully, to the realm of Scotland. He was assured that he would not only lose the commodities offered and presently to be received, but that he would also expose Scotland to the hazard of fire and sword, and other inconveniences that might arise from the war that would follow upon the violation of his faith: but nothing could avail. The Devil kept fast the grip that he had got, yea, even all the days of his government. The Cardinal got his eldest son in pledge, and kept him in the Castle of St. Andrews until the day that God punished his pride.

War is declared by King Harry.

King Harry, perceiving that all hope of the Governor's repentance was lost, called back his ambassador, and that with fearful threatenings, as Edinburgh afterwards felt. He proclaimed war, made our ships prizes, and our merchants and mariners lawful prisoners, and this alone was no small hardship to the burghs of Scotland. But the Cardinal and priests did laugh, and jestingly said, "When we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompensed." The summer and the harvest passed over without any notable thing. The Cardinal and Abbot of Paisley parted the prey betwixt them: the abused Governor bare the name only.

The revolt of the Earl of Lennox.

In the beginning of the winter the Earl of Lennox came to Scotland, sent from France in hatred of the Governor, whom the King, by the Cardinal's advice, promised to pronounce bastard, and so make the said Earl Governor. The Cardinal further put the Earl in vain hope that the Queen Dowager would marry him. He brought with him some money, and more he afterwards received from the hands of La Broche. But, at length, perceiving himself frustrated of all expectation that he had either from the King of France, or yet from the promise of the Cardinal, he concluded to seek the favour of England, and began to draw a faction

against the Governor.

In hatred of the other's inconstancy, many favoured him in the beginning. At Yule there assembled in the town of Ayr, the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell and Somerville, the Laird of Drumlanrig, and the Sheriff of Ayr, with all the force that they and the Lords that remained constant to England might make. After Yule they came to Leith. The Governor and Cardinal, with their forces, kept Edinburgh, for they were slackly pursued. Men excused the Earl of Lennox in this matter, and laid the blame upon some that had no good will towards the regiment of the Stuarts. However it was, the said Earl of Lennox was disappointed of his purpose, and narrowly escaped; and first got himself to Glasgow, and after that to Dumbarton. Sir George Douglas was delivered to be kept as pledge. The Earl his brother was taken at the siege of Glasgow in the following Lent. It was bruited that both the brethren and others with them would have lost their heads if, by the providence of God, the English army had not arrived sooner.

Cardinal Beaton stirs up Strife betwixt his Enemies.

After the Cardinal had got the Governor wholly under his control, and had obtained his desires concerning a part of his enemies, he began to practise that such as he feared and therefore hated should be set by the ears, one against another. In that, thought the carnal man, stood his greatest security. The Lord Ruthven he hated, by reason of his knowledge of God's Word: the Lord Gray he feared, because at that time he sought the company of such as professed godliness, and bare small favour to the Cardinal. Now the worldly-wise man reasoned thus: "If I can put enmity betwixt those two, I shall be quit of a great number of unfriends; for the most part of the country will either assist the one or the other; and, otherwise occupied, they will not watch for my displeasure." Without long process, he found the necessary means; for

he laboured with John Charteris, a man of stout courage and many friends, to accept the provostship of Perth, which he purchased [54] to him by donation of the Governor, with a charge to the said town to obey him as their lawful provost. Thereat, not only the said Lord Ruthven, but also the town was offended. These gave a negative answer, alleging that such intrusion of men into office was hurtful to their privilege and freedom. This granted unto them free election of their provost from year to year, at a certain time appointed, and this they could not or would not prevent. [55]

The said John, offended hereat, said that he would occupy that office by force, if they would not give it unto him of benevolence; and so departed, and communicated the matter with the Lord Gray, with Norman Leslie, and with other friends. These he easily persuaded to assist him in that pursuit, because he appeared to have the Governor's right, and had not only a charge to the town, but also had purchased letters empowering him to besiege it and to take it by strong hand, if any resistance were made unto him. These letters made many favour his action. The other party made for defence, and the Master of Ruthven (the Lord that afterwards departed to England) undertook the maintenance of the town, having in his company the Laird of Moncrieffe, and other neighbouring friends.

The Fight for the Provostship of Perth.

The said John made frack for the pursuit; and upon the Magdalene's day, in the morning, anno 1543, approached with his forces, the Lord Gray taking upon him the principal charge. Norman Leslie, with his friends, should have come by ship, with munition and ordnance, and they were in readiness. But because the tide served not soon, the other, thinking himself of sufficient force for all that were in the town, entered by the bridge. They found no resistance until the foremost were well

within the Fish Gate, when the Master of Ruthven, with his company, stoutly rencountered them, and so rudely repulsed them that such as were behind gave back. The place of the retreat was so strait, that men durst not fight, and could not flee at their pleasure, for Lord Gray and his friends were upon the bridge. The slaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the sword threescore men. The Cardinal had rather that the unhap had fallen on the other side; but, howsoever it was, he thought that such trouble was for his comfort and advantage. The knowledge of this came unto the ears of the party that had received the discomfiture, and was unto them no small grief. Many of them had entered into that action for his pleasure, and thought they should have had his fortification and assistance. Finding themselves frustrated, they began to look more narrowly to themselves, and did not so much attend upon the Cardinal's devotion, as they had been wont to do. Thus was a new jealousy engendered amongst them; for whosoever would not play to him the good valet was reputed amongst his enemies.

Treachery of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal drew the Governor to Dundee; for he understood that the Earl of Rothes and Master Henry Balnaves were with the Lord Gray in the Castle of Huntly. The Governor sent command to the said Earl and Lord, with the foresaid Master Henry, to come unto him to Dundee, and appointed the next day, at ten o'clock forenoon. This hour they decreed to keep; and for that purpose assembled their folks at Balgavie. They were more than three hundred men, and the Cardinal, informed of their number, thought it not good that they should join with the town, for he feared his own estate; and so he persuaded the Governor to pass forth from Dundee before nine o'clock, and to take the straight road to Perth. The Lords, perceiving this, began to fear that they were come to pursue them, and so put themselves in order and array, and marched

forward of purpose to have bidden [56] the uttermost.

The crafty fox, foreseeing that his security stood not in fighting, ran to his last refuge, that is, to manifest treason; and consultation was taken as to how the force of the others might be broken. And at the first, the Laird of Grange and the Provost of St. Andrews, knowing nothing of treason, were sent to ask, "Why they molested my Lord Governor in his journey?" Thereto they answered that "nothing was less their intention; for they had come at his Grace's commandment, to keep the hour in Dundee appointed by him. When they saw this prevented, and knew the Cardinal to be their unfriend, they could not but suspect their coming forth of the town contrary to previous arrangement. They had therefore put themselves in order, not to invade, but to defend in case they were invaded." This answer being reported, there was sent to them the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Master David Panter, and the Lairds of Buccleuch and Coldinknowes, to desire certain of the other company to talk with them. This was easily obtained, for they suspected no treason. After long communication, it was demanded whether the Earl and Lord and Master Henry foresaid would not be content to talk with the Governor, provided that the Cardinal and his company were off the ground? They answered that the Governor might command them in all things lawful, but that they had no will to be at the Cardinal's mercy. Fair enough promises were made for their security. Then the Cardinal and his band were commanded to depart; and, according to the purpose taken, he did so.

The Governor remained, and another with him; and, without company, the said Earl, Lord, and Master Henry came to him. After many fair words given unto them all, protesting that he would have them agreed with the Cardinal, and that he would have Master Henry Balnaves the worker and instrument thereof, he drew them forward with him towards Perth,

whither the Cardinal had ridden. When it was too late, they began to suspect, and desired to have returned to their folk. But it was answered, "They should send back from the town, but they must needs go forward with my Lord Governor." And so, partly by flattery and partly by force, they were compelled to obey. As soon as ever they were within the town they were apprehended, and upon the morn all three were sent to Black Ness. There they remained so long as it pleased the Cardinal's graceless Grace, and that was until bond of manrent [57] and of service set some of them at liberty. Thus the Cardinal with his craft prevailed on every side; so that the Scots proverb was true in him, "So long runs the fox, as he foot has."

The Persecution at Perth.

We cannot affirm whether it was on this journey, or at another date, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent persons in Perth. Indeed, we do not study to be curious; we travail to express the actual facts, rather than scrupulously and exactly to record day and date, although we do not omit these when we are certain of them. The truth in regard to the cruel deed at Perth is this. On St. Paul's Day, before the first burning in Edinburgh, the Governor and Cardinal came to Perth, and there, upon envious delation, a great number of honest men and women were called before the Cardinal, and accused of heresy. Albeit they could be convicted of nothing more than suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon Friday, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; and this cruel and most unjust sentence was unmercifully put into execution. The husband was hanged, and the wife, having a sucking babe upon her breast, was drowned. "O Lord, the land is not yet purged from such beastly cruelty; neither has Thy just vengeance yet stricken all that were criminal of their blood. But the day approaches when the punishment of that cruelty and of

others will evidently appear."

The names of the men that were hanged were James Hunter, William Lamb, William Anderson, and James Ronaldson, burgesses of Perth. At that same time there were banished Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Pyper, Lawrence Pullar, and divers others whose names have not come to our knowledge. That sworn enemy to Christ Jesus, and unto all in whom any spunk of true knowledge appeared, had divers persons in prison about that same time. Amongst these was John Roger, a Black Friar--godly, learned, and one that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns. Him that bloody man caused to be murdered in the ground of the Sea-Tower of St. Andrews, thereafter causing his body to be cast over the crag, sparsing [58] a false bruit that the said John, seeking to flee, had broken his own craig. [59]

The English invade Scotland, and sack Edinburgh and Leith.

Thus Satan ceased not, by all means, to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's Evangel. But potent is He against whom they fought; for, when the wicked were surest of their triumph, God began to show His anger. On the third day of May, in the year of God 1543, without knowledge of any of those in Scotland who should have had the care of the realm, there was seen a great fleet of ships approaching the Forth. Posts came to the Governor and Cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, informing them of the multitude of ships seen, and of the course they took. This was upon the Saturday, before noon. Some said there was no doubt they were Englishmen and would land. The Cardinal scripped [60] and said, "It is but the Island fleet: they are come to make a show, and put us in fear. I shall lodge in my eye all the men-of-war that shall land in Scotland." The Cardinal sat still at his dinner, as if there had been no apparent danger. Men ran together to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle Hill, some to the

Crags and other eminent places. But no one asked what forces we had for resistance, if we should be invaded. Soon after six o'clock at night, more than two hundred sails were arrived and had cast anchor in the Road of Leith. Shortly thereafter, the Admiral shot a fleet boat, and this sounded the depth of water from Granton crags unto the east of Leith, and then returned to her ship. Men of judgment foresaw what this meant. But no credit was given to any that said, "They mind to land." And so everybody went to bed, as if these ships had been a guard for their defence.

Upon the point of day, upon Sunday, the fourth of May, the fleet made ready for landing, and arranged their ships so that a galley or two laid their snouts to the crags. The small ships, called pinnaces and light horsemen, approached as near as they could. The great ships discharged their soldiers into the smaller vessels, and these, by boats, set upon dry land, before ten o'clock, ten thousand men, as was judged, and more. The Governor and Cardinal, seeing then what they could not, or at least would not, believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as fast as horse would carry them; nor did they afterwards approach within twenty miles of the danger. The Earl of Angus and George Douglas were that night freed of ward in Black Ness, and the said Sir George in merriness said, "I thank King Harry and my gentle masters of England."

The English army entered Leith betwixt twelve and one, found the tables covered, the dinners prepared, and abundance of wine and victuals, besides other substance. The like riches within the like bounds were not to be found, either in Scotland or England. Upon the Monday, the fifth of May, there came to them from Berwick and the Border, two thousand horsemen; and, after these had rested somewhat, the army, upon the Wednesday, marched towards the town of Edinburgh, spoiled and burnt

the same, and also the Palace of Holyroodhouse. The horsemen took the House of Craigmillar, and got great spoil therein; for, it being judged the strongest house near the town, other than the Castle of Edinburgh, men sought to place their movables therein for safety. But the courageous Laird gave it over without shot of hackbut, and for his reward was caused to march upon foot to London. He is now captain of Dunbar and Provost of Edinburgh.

The Englishmen seeing no resistance, hurled [61] cannons up the causeway to the Butter-throne, or above, and hazarded a shot at the fore-entry of the Castle. But that was to their own discomfiture; for, without trench or gabion, they were exposed to the force of the whole ordnance of the said Castle. This opened fire, and not all in vain; for the wheel and axletree of one of the English cannons were broken, and some of their men were slain. So, with small honour, they left off that enterprise, which was taken in rashness rather than of any advised counsel. When for the most part of the day the English had spoiled and burned, they returned to Leith towards the night; upon the morrow returning to Edinburgh, and executing the rest of God's judgments for that time. When they had consumed both towns, they laded the ships with spoil thereof, and returned to Berwick by land, using the country for the most part at their own pleasure.

This was a part of the punishment which God laid upon the realm for the infidelity of the Governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath.

But this was not the end; for the realm was divided into two factions: the one favoured France; the other the league lately contracted with England. In nothing did the one thoroughly trust the other. The country was in extreme calamity; for divers strongholds, such as Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langholm, were delivered to the English. And the most part of the borders were confederate with England. Albeit Sir Ralph

Evers and many other Englishmen were slain at Ancrum Moor, in February, in the year of God 1544, and in the year after some of the said strongholds were recovered, this was not accomplished without great loss and detriment to the commonwealth.

France comes to the Aid of Cardinal Beaton.

In the month of June, in the year of God 1545, Monsieur de Lorge Montgomery, with bands of men of war, came from France for a further destruction to Scotland; and upon their brag was an army raised and pushed forward towards Wark, even in the midst of harvest. The Cardinal's banner was that day displayed, and all his dependents were charged to be under it. Many had promised to follow the standard, but in the issue it was left so bare that for shame it was shut up in the pock [62] again, and after a show the army returned, with more shame to the realm than scathe to their enemies. The black book of Hamilton makes mention of great vassalage [63] done at that time by the Governor and the French. But such as with their eyes saw the whole progress knew that to be a lie, and do repute it amongst the venial sins of that race, which is to speak the best of themselves they can.

The following winter so nurtured the French men that they learned to eat, yea to beg, cakes which at their entry they scorned. Without jesting, they were so miserably treated, that few returned to France again with their lives. The Cardinal had then almost fortified the Castle of St. Andrews, and he made this so strong, in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France. The Earl of Lennox, as we have said, disappointed of all things in Scotland, passed to England, where he received protection from King Harry, who gave him Lady Margaret Douglas to wife. Of her was born Harry, [64] umquhile [65] husband to our Jezebel mistress.

John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley.

While the inconstant Governor was sometimes dejected and sometimes raised up again by the Abbot of Paisley, who before was called "chaster than any maiden," the latter began to show himself; for, after he had by craft taken the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, he took also possession of his eme's [66] wife, the Lady Stenhouse. The woman is and has been famous, and is called Lady Gylton. Her Ladyship was holden always in property; but how many wives and virgins he has had since that time in common, the world knows, albeit not all, and his bastard birds bear some witness. Such is the example of holiness that the flock may receive of the papistical bishops.

Master George Wishart comes to Scotland.

In the midst of all the calamities that came upon the realm after the defection of the Governor from Christ Jesus, there came to Scotland, in the year of God 1544, that blessed martyr of God, Master George Wishart, in company of the commissioners before mentioned. A man of such graces was never before him heard of within this realm; yea, and such graces are yet rarely found in any man, notwithstanding the great light of God that since his days has shined upon us. He was not only singularly learned, as well in godly knowledge as in all honest human science, but he was also so clearly illuminated with the spirit of prophecy that he saw not only things pertaining to himself, but also such things as some towns and the whole realm afterwards felt. These he forespake, not in secret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places shall be declared.

He is driven from Dundee.

He began teaching in Montrose. Thence he went to Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epistle to the Romans, until, by procurement of the Cardinal, Robert Mill, then one of the principal men in Dundee, and a man that of old had professed

knowledge and for the same had suffered trouble, did, in the Queen's and Governor's name, give inhibition to the said Master George that he should trouble their town no more; for they would not suffer it. This was said unto him in the public place. After musing for some time, with his eyes bent to heaven, he looked sorrowfully to the speaker and to the people, and said, "God is witness that I never minded your trouble but your comfort. Yea, your trouble is more dolorous unto me, than it is unto yourselves. But I am assured that the refusal of God's Word and the chasing from you of His messenger shall not preserve you from trouble; it shall bring you into it. God shall send unto you messengers who will not be afraid of horning, [67] nor yet of banishment. I have offered unto you the Word of salvation, and at the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you. Now ye yourselves refuse me, and therefore must I leave my innocency to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth. But if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, do ye acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for He is merciful. If ye turn not at the first, He shall visit you with fire and sword." These words pronounced, he came down from the preaching place.

Master George goes to Kyle.

The Lord Marischall and divers gentlemen were present in the kirk, and these would have had the said Master George remain, or else have gone with him into the country. But for no request would he any longer tarry, either in the town or on that side of Tay. With all possible expedition he passed to the west-land, where he began to offer God's Word. This was gladly received by many, until Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, by instigation of the Cardinal, came with his gatherings to the town of Ayr, to make resistance to the said Master George, and did first occupy the kirk. The Earl of Glencairn being informed of this,

repaired with diligence to the town with his friends, and so did divers gentlemen of Kyle (amongst whom was the Laird of Leifnorris, a man far different from him that now liveth, in manners and religion) of whom to this day many yet live, and have declared themselves always zealous and bold in the cause of God. When all were assembled, conclusion was taken that they would have possession of the kirk. But Master George utterly repugned, saying, "Let him alone; his sermon will not do much hurt. Let us go to the Market Cross." This they did, and there he made so notable a sermon that the very enemies themselves were confounded. The Archbishop preached to his jackmen and some old bosses of the town. The sum of all his sermon was: "They say that we should preach: why not? Better late thrive than never thrive: hold us still for your Bishop, and we shall provide better for the next time." This was the beginning and the end of the Archbishop's sermon. With haste he departed from the town, nor did he return to fulfil his promise.

The said Master George remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, until he should get sure knowledge of the state of Dundee. He preached commonly at the kirk of Galston and much in the Barr. He was required to come to the kirk of Mauchline, and did so. But the Sheriff of Ayr manned the kirk, for preservation of a tabernacle that was there, beautiful to the eye. The persons that held the kirk were George Campbell of Monkgarswood, who yet liveth, Mungo Campbell of Brounsyde, George Reid in Daldilling, and the Laird of Templeland.

Some zealous men of the parish, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, offended that they should be debarred their parish kirk, determined to enter by force. But the said Master George drew the said Hugh aside, and said unto him, "Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upon the fields as in the kirk; and I find that He Himself preached in the desert, at the sea side, and other places judged profane, more often

than He did in the Temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me; the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." And so, withdrawing the whole people, he came to a dyke at the side of a moor, upon the south-west side of Mauchline, and upon this he climbed. The whole multitude stood and sat about him, God giving a pleasing and hot day. He continued in preaching more than three hours. In that sermon, God wrought so wonderfully with him that one of the most wicked men that was in that country, Lawrence Rankin, Laird of Sheill, was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance that all men wondered. His conversion was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all after-times.

The Plague comes to Dundee: Wishart returns.

While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word came that the plague of pestilence had arisen in Dundee. This had begun within four days after Master George was inhibited from preaching, and was so vehement that it almost passed credibility to hear what number died every four-and-twenty hours. This certainly understood, Master George took his leave of Kyle, with the regret of many. No request could make him remain. "They are now in trouble," he said, "and they need comfort. Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that Word, which before, for the fear of men, they set at light price." On his coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave signification that he would preach. The most part were either sick or were in company with those that were sick, and for this reason he chose the head of the East Port of the town for his preaching place. Those who were whole sat or stood within the Port, the sick and suspected without. The text of his first sermon was taken from the hundred-and-seventh Psalm, "He sent His Word and healed them;" joining

therewith these words, "It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but Thy Word healeth all." In this sermon he most comfortingly treated of the dignity and utility of God's Word; the punishment that comes for contempt of the same; the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to Him; yea, the great happiness of them whom God takes from this misery, even in His own gentle visitation, a happiness that the malice of man can neither eke nor pare. [68]

By this sermon Master George so raised up the hearts of all that heard him that they regarded not death, but judged those more happy that should depart, than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. Master George did not hesitate to visit them that lay in the very extremity of sickness. Them he comforted as well as he might in such a multitude. He also caused that all things necessary for those that could use meat or drink should be ministered; and in that respect the town was wondrously benefited; for the poor were no more neglected than were the rich.

The Cardinal attempts to assassinate Wishart at Dundee.

While Master George Wishart was spending his life to comfort the afflicted, the Devil ceased not to stir up his own son the Cardinal again. He, by money, corrupted a desperate priest named Sir John Wighton to slay the said Master George, who did not look to himself in all things so circumspectly as worldly men would have wished. One day, the sermon ended, and the people departing, suspecting no danger and therefore not heeding the said Master George, the priest that was corrupted stood waiting at the foot of the steps, his gown loose, and his drawn whinger in his hand under his gown. The said Master George, who was most sharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near said, "My friend, what would ye do?" Therewith he clapped his hand upon

the priest's hand wherein the whinger was, and took this from him. The priest, abashed, fell down at his feet and openly confessed the truth. The noise coming to the ears of the sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force;" and burst in at the gate. But Master George took him in his arms and said, "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me. He has hurt me in nothing, but has done great comfort both to you and me, he has let us understand what we may fear in times to come. We will watch better." Thus he appeased both the one part and the other, and saved the life of him that sought his.

When the plague was so ceased that there were almost none sick, Master George took his leave of the people of Dundee; saying that God had almost put end to that battle, and he found himself called to another. The gentlemen of the west had written unto him that he should meet them at Edinburgh; for they would demand disputation with the bishops, and he should be publicly heard. Thereto he willingly agreed; but first he passed to Montrose to salute the kirk there. There he remained, occupied sometimes in preaching but for the most part in secret meditation, in which he was so earnest that he would continue in it night and day.

Further Treachery of the Cardinal.

While Master George was so occupied with his God, the Cardinal drew a secret draught for his slaughter. He caused to be written unto him a letter, purporting to be from his most familiar friend, the Laird of Kynneir, desiring him to come unto him with all possible diligence, for he was stricken with a sudden sickness. In the meantime the traitor had provided threescore men, with jacks [69] and spears, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of the town of Montrose, for his despatch. The letter coming to his hand, he made haste at the first, for the boy had brought a horse; and so with some honest men, he passed forth of the

town. But suddenly he stayed and, musing a space, turned back. "I will not go," he said; "I am forbidden by God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what ye find." Diligence made, they found the treason, as it was; and this being shown with expedition to Master George, he answered, "I know that I shall finish my life in that bloodthirsty man's hands; but it will not be in this manner."

The Agony of Master George Wishart.

When the time at which he had appointed to meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh approached, Master George took his leave of Montrose, and, sorely against the judgment of the Laird of Dun, entered on his journey. He returned to Dundee, but did not remain, going on to the house of a faithful brother named James Watson, who dwelt in Invergowrie, two miles distant from the said town. That night, according to information given to us by William Spadin and John Watson, both men of good credit, he passed forth into a yard, a little before day. The said William and John followed privily, and took heed what he did. When he had gone up and down in an alley for some time, with many sobs and deep groans, he platt upon his knees, and remaining thus, his groans increased. From his knees, he fell upon his face; and then the persons forenamed heard weeping, and an indistinct sound, as it were of prayers. In this agony he continued for nearly an hour, and afterwards began to be quiet, when he arose and came in to his bed.

They that had watched got in before Master George, as if they had been ignorant of his absence until he came in; and then they began to ask where he had been. But that night he would answer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and, when he dissimulated, they said, "Master George, be plain with us; we heard your groans; yea, we heard your bitter mourning, and saw you both upon your knees and upon your

face." With dejected visage, he said, "I had rather ye had been in your beds. It would have been more profitable for you, for I was scarcely well employed." They insistently urged him to let them know something for their comfort, and he then said, "I will tell you that I am assured that my travail is near an end. Therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not, when the battle waxes most hot." When they wept, and said, that was "small comfort unto them;" he answered, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Evangel, as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the Apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it. Yea, it shall not lack the very copestone, whatsoever the enemy imagine to the contrary." Neither shall this be long; there shall not many suffer after me, before the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas! if the people shall thereafter be unthankful, fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that shall follow." With these words he marched forward in his journey towards Perth; and so to Fife, and then to Leith.

Master George arrives in Leith.

Arrived in Leith, and hearing no word of those that had appointed to meet him, to wit, the Earl of Cassillis and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, Master George kept himself secret for a day or two. But beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being asked the cause, he said, "What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? Unto this time, God has used my labours for the instruction of others, and for the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man that is ashamed, and dare not show himself before men." From these and like words, they that heard him understood that his desire was to preach; and therefore said they, "Most comfortable it were unto us to hear you; but, because we know the danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire

you." "Only dare ye and others hear," said he, "and then let my God provide for me, as best pleaseth Him." Finally, it was concluded that he should preach in Leith on the next Sunday. This he did, taking the text, "The parable of the sower that went forth to sow seed." (Matthew xiii.) This was fifteen days before Yule.

For Safety he is removed to the Lothians; preaches at Inveresk.

The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who then were earnest professors of Christ Jesus, thought it not expedient that Master George should remain in Leith, as the Governor and Cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh. Therefore they took him with them, and kept him sometimes in Brunstone, sometimes in Longniddry, and sometimes in Ormiston; for those three Lairds diligently waited upon him. On the Sunday following, he preached in the kirk of Inveresk, beside Musselburgh, both before and after noon. There was a great congregation of people, amongst them being Sir George Douglas, who said publicly after the sermon, "I know that my Lord Governor and my Lord Cardinal shall hear that I have been at this preaching. Say unto them that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine that I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the uttermost of my power." These words greatly rejoiced the people and the gentlemen then present.

We cannot pass by one notable thing in that sermon. Amongst others, there came two Grey Friars, who, standing in the entry of the kirk door, made some whispering to such as came in. This perceived, the preacher said to the people that stood nigh them, "I heartily pray you to make room for those two men. It may be that they be come to learn." Unto them he said, "Come near,"--they stood in the very entry of the door,--"for I assure you ye shall hear the Word of truth, which shall this same day seal unto you your salvation, or your condemnation." He

then proceeded with his sermon, supposing that they would have been quiet. But, when he perceived that they still troubled the people that stood nigh them (for vehement was he against the false worshipping of God), he turned unto them the second time, and with an awful countenance said, "O sergeants of Satan and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion,--God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy. Within this realm ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." This sentence he pronounced with great vehemence, in the midst of the sermon; and, turning to the people, he said, "Yon wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger." Then he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end.

That day's travail ended, he came to Longniddry; and on the two next Sundays he preached in Tranent, with the like grace and like confluence of people. In all his sermons, after his departure from Angus, he forespake the shortness of the time that he had to travail, and of his death, the day whereof, he said, approached nigher than any would believe.

Master George goes to Haddington.

Towards the close of those days that are called the holy days of Yule, he passed, by the consent of the gentlemen, to Haddington, where it was supposed the greatest confluence of people might be found, both by reason of the town and of the country adjacent. On the first day, before noon, the audience was reasonable, and yet nothing in comparison with that which used to be in that kirk. But, in the afternoon and on the next forenoon, the audience was so slender that many wondered. The reason was thought to have been that the Earl Bothwell, who in these bounds had great credit and obedience, had, by procurement of the

Cardinal, given inhibition to the town, as well as to the country, that they should not hear Master George, under the pain of his displeasure. On the first night he lay within the town with David Forrest, now called the general, a man that long has professed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended. On the second night he lay in Lethington, the Laird whereof was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion.

John Knox's first Appearance.

On the day following, before the said Master George passed to the sermon, a boy came to him with a letter from the west land. This read, he called for John Knox, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian. With him he began to enter into purpose, [70] saying that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to weary of God. The cause of his complaint was that the gentlemen of the west had written to him that they could not keep diet at Edinburgh. The said John Knox, wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before sermon, for that was never his custom, said, "Sir, the time of sermon approaches: I will leave you for the present to your meditation;" and so left him. The said Master George paced up and down behind the high altar for more than half an hour; his very countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he passed to the pulpit, but the audience was small.

The last Sermon of Master George Wishart: his Arrest.

Master George should have begun to have treated of the second table of the Law; but thereof in that sermon he spake very little, and began in this manner: "O Lord, how long shall it be that Thy holy Word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation. I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee two or three thousand people would have been at a vain clerk play; [71] and now, to hear the messenger of the

Eternal God, of all thy town or parish there cannot be numbered a hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plague be that shall ensue this thy contempt: with fire and sword thou shalt be plagued; yea, thou Haddington, in special, strangers shall possess thee, and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not known, and will not know, the time of God's merciful visitation." That servant of God continued for nearly an hour and a half in such vehemency and threatening, and during this he foretold all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as afterwards our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, "I have forgotten myself and the matter that I should have entreated; but let these my last words as concerning public preaching remain in your minds, until God send you new comfort." Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the second table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto His works of mercy; and so ended, as it were making his last testament that the spirit of truth and of true judgment was both in his heart and mouth. Before midnight he was apprehended in the house of Ormiston, by the Earl Bothwell, who for money was become butcher to the Cardinal....

Master George is betrayed into the Hands of the Cardinal.

The servant of God, Master George Wishart, was carried first to Edinburgh; thereafter brought back to the House of Hailes, which was the principal place that then the Earl of Bothwell had in Lothian. As gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him. For the Cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the Queen, with whom the said Earl was then in the glondours, [72] promised favours in all his lawful suits to women, if he would deliver the said Master George to be kept in the Castle of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the first, by reason of his

promise: [73] but an effeminate man cannot long withstand the assaults of a gracious Queen. And so the servant of God was transported to Edinburgh Castle, where he remained not many days. For that bloody wolf, the Cardinal, ever thirsting for the blood of the servant of God, so travailed with the abused Governor, that he was content that God's servant should be delivered to the power of that tyrant.

Thus, small inversion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Caiaphas and of his fellows, and adjudged Christ to be crucified. The servant of God being delivered into the hand of that proud and merciless tyrant, triumph was made by the priests. The godly lamented, and accused the foolishness of the Governor; for, by retaining the said Master George, he might have caused Protestants and Papists to have served: the one to the end that the life of their preacher might have been saved; the other, for fear that he should have set him at liberty again, to the confusion of the bishops. But, where God is forsaken, what can counsel or judgment avail?

The Bishops and Clergy are convoked to the Trial of Wishart.

How the servant of God was treated, and what he did from the day that he entered within the Sea-Tower of St. Andrews, which was in the end of January, in the year of God 1546, until the first of March in the same year, when he suffered, we cannot certainly tell. We understand that he wrote something when in prison; but that was suppressed by the enemies.

The Cardinal delayed no time, but caused all bishops, yea all the clergy that had any pre-eminence, to be convocated to St. Andrews against the penult [74] of February, for consultation. The question was no less resolved in his own mind than was Christ's death in the mind of Caiaphas; but, that the rest should bear the burden with him, he desired that, before the world, they should subscribe to whatsoever he did.

In that day was wrought no less a wonder than that at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends, by both of them consenting to Christ's condemnation. There was no difference between the two cases, except that Pilate and Herod were brethren under their father the Devil in the estate called temporal, and these two of whom we are to speak were brethren, sons of the same father the Devil, in the estate ecclesiastical. If we interlace merriness with earnest matters, pardon us, good reader. The fact is so notable that it deserveth long memory.

A merry Tale of the Cardinal and Archbishop Dunbar.

The Cardinal was known to be proud; and Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, was known for a glorious fool; and yet, because for some time he had been called the King's Master, [75] he was Chancellor of Scotland. The Cardinal had come to Glasgow this same year, in the end of harvest, upon what purpose we omit. But while they remained together, the one in the town, the other in the Castle, question arose as to precedence in the bearing of their croziers. The Cardinal alleged that, by reason of his cardinalship and of his office of Legatus Natus and primate within Scotland in the kingdom of Antichrist, he should have the pre-eminence, and that his crozier should not only go before, but should alone be borne, wheresoever he was. Good Gukstoun Glaikstour, [76] the foresaid Archbishop, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory. He was an Archbishop, and, within his own diocese and in his own Cathedral seat and Church, ought to give place to no man. The power of the Cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertained but to his own person, and not to his bishopric; for it might be that his successor should not be Cardinal. But his dignity was annexed to his office, and did appertain to all that ever should be archbishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both

the prelates, the decision was as we shall hear. Coming forth, or going in, at the choir door of Glasgow Kirk there began a strife for position betwixt the two cross-bearers. From glooming they came to shouldering; from shouldering they went on to buffets, and from dry blows, by neifs and neifeling; [77] and then for charity's sake they cried, "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus," and assayed which of the croziers was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence; and, that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground went both the croziers.

And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game, for rochets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, [78] and side gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other. Many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, for they could not buckle each other by the birse, [79] as bold men would have done. But fie on the jackmen that did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other then had all gone right. The sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. However merrily this be written, it was bitter bourding [80] to the Cardinal and his court. It was more than irregularity. Yea, it might well have been judged lese-Majesty to the son of perdition, the Pope's own person; and yet the other in his folly, as proud as a peacock, would let the Cardinal know that he was a bishop when the other was but Beaton, before he got Arbroath!

Pilate and Herod patch the Quarrel.

This enmity was judged mortal, and without all hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent servant of God buried in oblivion all that bragging and boasting; for the Archbishop of Glasgow was the first unto whom the Cardinal wrote, signifying unto him what was done, and earnestly craving of him that he would assist with his presence and counsel, that such an enemy unto their estate might be suppressed.

Thereto the other was not slow, but kept time appointed, sat next to the Cardinal, voted and subscribed first in the rank, and lay over the east block-house with the said Cardinal, until the martyr of God was consumed by fire. For we must note that as all these beasts consented in heart to the slaughter of that innocent, so did they approve it with their presence, having the whole ordnance of the Castle of St. Andrews bent towards the place of execution, ready to have shot if any would have made defence or rescue to God's servant.

Upon the last day of February, [81] by the commandment of the Cardinal and his wicked Council, the Dean of the town was sent to the prison where lay the servant of God, the said Master George Wishart. Him he summoned to appear before the judge upon the following morning, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. The said Master George answered: "What needeth my Lord Cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound in irons? May not my Lord compel me to answer to his extortionate power; or believeth he that I am not prepared to render account of my doctrine? To manifest what kind of men ye are, it is well that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men."

Master George Wishart before the Cardinal's Tribunal.

Upon the next morn, my Lord Cardinal caused his servants to dress themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapscall, [82] splent, [83] spear, and axe, more seemly for war than for the preaching of the true Word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the Archbishops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the Castle and a hundred men dressed in manner foresaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered

the Abbey Church door, a poor man, vexed with great infirmities, asked his alms. To him he flung his purse. When he had come before the Cardinal, the sub-prior of the Abbey, Dean John Winram, stood up in the pulpit and made a sermon to all the congregation there assembled, taking his matter out of the thirteenth chapter of Matthew.

The Sub-prior preaches on Heresy.

His sermon was divided into four principal parts. The first was a short and brief declaration concerning the evangelist. The second was of the interpretation of the good seed; and because he called the Word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was and how it should be known. He defined in this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion, defended with pertinacity, clearly repugning to the Word of God." The third part of his sermon was concerning the cause of heresy within that realm and all other realms. "The cause of heresy," quoth he, "is the ignorance of those who have the cure of men's souls. To them it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome, as saith Paul, 'a bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but harberous, [84] one that loveth goodness, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of the doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him.'"

The fourth part of his sermon was as to how heresies should be known. "Heresies be known on this manner. As the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect, by use of the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere,

and undefiled Word of God." At the last, he added that "heretics should be put down in this present life. The Gospel appeared to repugn this proposition--'let them both grow unto the harvest.' The harvest is the end of the world: nevertheless, he affirmed, they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law."

A fed Sow accuses and curses Master George.

When the Sub-prior ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. Right against him stood up one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursing written on paper. Of these he took out a roll both long and full of cursings, threatenings, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the Pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience hearing these sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menaces, his face running down with sweat and he frothing at the mouth like a bear, he spat at Mr. George's face, saying "What answerest thou, thou runagate, traitor, and thief, to these sayings, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Master George, hearing this, sat down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner.

His Oration in Reply to his Accusers.

"Many and horrible sayings, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here unto me a Christian man this day, words which, not only to teach but also to think, I thought it ever great abomination.

Wherefore, I pray you quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my

sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my Lords, I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is that through preaching of the Word of God, His glory is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for the advancement of the glory of God, that ye hear me preaching truly the pure and sincere Word of God, without any dissimulation. The second reason is that your health springeth of the Word of God, for He worketh all things by His Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears when I am teaching truly the Word of God. The third reason is that your doctrine speaketh forth many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abominable words, coming by the inspiration not of God, but of the Devil, on no less peril than my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable, that you should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, so that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and the safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me, and in the meantime I shall recite my doctrine without any choler.

"First, and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm, I have taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; and I shall show faithfully what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent."

Suddenly then, with a high voice, cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the Church. We forethink [85] that thou hast been a

preacher so long." Then said the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty and in Holy Scripture so exercised that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. The accuser, John Lauder, with hoggish voice answered, "Is not my Lord Cardinal the second person within this realm, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop of Mirepoix, Commendator of Arbroath, Legatus Natus, Legatus a Latere?" And so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass,--"Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently to thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?"

This humble man answered, "I refuse not my Lord Cardinal, but I desire the Word of God to be my judge, and the Temporal Estate, with some of your Lordships, my auditors; because I am here my Lord Governor's prisoner." Whereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by, mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge!" speaking seditious and reproachful words against the Governor and other the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics. Incontinent, without delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled my Lord Cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

Shortly declared, the following were the articles, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak; for when he intended to mitigate their lesings [86] and show the manner of his doctrines, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

1. Thou, false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the

people, despisest the holy Church, and in like case contemnest my Lord Governor's authority. And we know for surety that, when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my Lord Governor's authority to desist, thou wouldest not obey, but persevered in the same. And therefore the Bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the Devil's hand, and gave thee commandment that thou shouldest preach no more. Yet, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately.--My Lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful, for the threats and menacings of men, to desist from the preaching of the Evangel. It is written, "We shall rather obey God than men." I have also read in the Prophet Malachi, "I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, says the Lord:" believing firmly that He would turn your cursings into blessings.

2. Thou, false heretic, didst say that a priest standing at the altar saying Mass was like a fox wagging his tail in July.--My Lords, I said not so. These were my sayings. The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God; for God is a secret searcher of men's hearts. Therefore, who will truly adorn and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour Him.

Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

3. Thou, false heretic, preachest against the Sacraments, saying that there are not seven Sacraments.--My Lords, if it be your pleasure, I taught never of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are shown to us by the Evangel, I profess openly. Except it be the Word of God, I dare affirm nothing.

4. Thou, false heretic, hast openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament; and thou sayest that we should only confess to

God, and to no priest.--My Lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the Evangel, cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture; as when David saith, "I thought I would acknowledge my iniquity against myself unto the Lord; and He forgave the trespasses of my sins." Here, confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And further, St. James saith, "Acknowledge your sins one to another, and so let you to have peace amongst yourselves." Here the Apostle meaneth nothing of auricular confession, but that we should acknowledge and confess ourselves to be sinners before our brethren and before the world, and not esteem ourselves as the Grey Friars do, thinking themselves already purged.

When he had said these words, the horned bishops and their accomplices cried, and girned [87] with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speech, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion."

5. Thou, heretic, didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and that it was contrary to general councils, and the estates of Holy Church.--My Lords, I believe there be none so unwise here that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So, likewise, I would that we understood what things we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause, I believe ye have confirmation.

Then said Master Bleiter, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. A child answered him, "The Devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

6. Thou, false heretic, traitor, and thief, saidst that the Sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread, baken upon the ashes, and nothing else; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God....--O Lord God! So manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the altar, my Lords, I never taught anything against the Scripture, which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefor to suffer death.

The lawful use of the Sacrament is most acceptable unto God: the great abuse of it is very detestable unto Him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhine. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacity in not believing that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen fulfilled all the prophecies which were spoken of Him; moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah. By many other testimonies of the Scripture, I vanquished him, and proved that Messias was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered me, "When Messias cometh, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the Law, which was given to our fathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger among you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them; but among us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, it is forbidden by the Law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above or in the earth beneath or in the sea under the earth, but one God only to honour: your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, ye adore and worship a piece of bread baken upon the ashes, and say that it is your God." I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spat on the ground. What he meant to say further in this matter, they would not hear.

7. Thou, false heretic, didst say that extreme unction was not a sacrament.--My Lords, forsooth, I never taught anything of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a sacrament or no.

8. Thou, false heretic, saidst that the holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou contemnest conjuring, and sayest that Holy Church's cursing availeth not.--My Lords, as for holy water, of what strength it is, I never taught in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the Word of God, I would commend. But in so far as they are not conformable to the commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

9. Thou, false heretic and runagate, hast said that every layman is a priest; and thou sayest that the Pope hath no more power than any other man.--My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of whom one sayeth, "He hath made us kings and priests;" the other sayeth, "He hath made us the kingly priesthood." Wherefore, I have affirmed that any man, being cunning and perfect in the Word of God and the true faith of Jesus Christ, has his power given him from God, and that not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the Word of God--the Word which is called the power of God, as St. Paul witnesseth evidently enough. And again I say that any unlearned man, not exercised in the Word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, of whatsoever estate or order he be, hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he lacketh the instrument by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the Word of God.

After he had said these words all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," saith he, "my Lords? Though these my sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your

Lordships, they are nevertheless very weighty to me, and of a great value; because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God."

In the meantime many godly men, beholding the wodness [88] and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of the said Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

10. Thou, false heretic, saidst that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics, who say that it is not in man's will to do anything, but that concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be.--My Lords, I said not so, truly: I say that unto as many as believe in Christ firmly is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, "If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free." Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bound servants of sin: "He that sinneth is bound to sin."

11. Thou, false heretic, sayest it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday, as on Sunday.--May it please your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of St. Paul that "to the clean, all things are clean." Of the contrary, "To filthy men, all things are unclean." A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the Word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God: so that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man, all things are sanctified by the prayer of the Word of God.

After these sayings of Master George, all the bishops, with their accomplices, said, "What witness need we against him: hath he not openly here spoken blasphemy?"

12. Thou, false heretic, dost say that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this or no: say shortly.--For the weakness and the infirmity of the hearers, without doubt, plainly, saints should not be honoured or called upon. My Lords,

there are two things worthy of note: the one is certain and the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scriptures that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, "Thou shall only worship and honour thy Lord God with all thy heart." But as to praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether or no they hear invocation made unto them. Therefore, I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine that they should leave the unsure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Master Christ: He only is our Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God, His Father: He is the door, by which we must enter in: He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer: He is the truth and life. There is no doubt but he that goeth out of this way shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, he is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the Word of God I taught openly and in no corners, and now ye shall witness the same, if your Lordships will hear me. I dare not be so bold as affirm anything unless it agree with the Word of God.

These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

13. Thou, false heretic, hast preached plainly that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing that any man, after this life, will be punished in purgatory.--My Lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of Scripture, I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereto. Therefore, I was ashamed ever to teach of that which I could not find in Scripture.

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by the which ye may prove any such place,

show it now before this audience." But that dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

14. Thou, false heretic, hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying that whosoever was bound by such vows did vow themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, thou hast taught that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole.--Of sooth, my Lords, I have read in the Evangel that there are three kinds of chaste men: some are gelded from their mother's womb; some are gelded by men; and some have gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven's sake: verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the Evangel have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity, ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves.

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines, than one married wife.

15. Thou, false heretic and runagate, sayest that thou wilt not obey our General or Provincial Councils.--My Lords, I know not what your General Councils are. I never studied that matter; but gave my labours to the pure Word of God. Read here your General Councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read of them. If they agree with the Word of God, I will not disagree.

Then the ravening wolves became mad, and said, "Whereunto do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Amongst these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Scott, who, standing behind John Lauder's back, hasted him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry for Master George's witty and godly answers; "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the Devil may abide the sign of

the Cross when it is named."

16. Thou, heretic, sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made by men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space, as betwixt the priest's hands.--My Lords, Solomon saith, "If the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend Thee, how much less this house that I have builded." And Job consenteth to the same sentence, saying, "Seeing that He is higher than the heavens, what canst thou build unto Him? He is deeper than the hell, then how shalt thou know Him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea." God cannot be comprehended into one space, because He is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but, on the contrary, I ever affirmed that churches should be sustained and upholden, and that the people should be congregated in them to hear the Word of God preached. Moreover, wheresoever there is the true preaching of the Word of God and the lawful use of the Sacraments, undoubtedly God is there Himself. Thus, both these sayings are true together. God cannot be comprehended into any one place: and, "Wheresoever there are two or three gathered in His name, there is He present in the midst of them."

Then said he to his accuser, "If thou thinkest any otherwise, then I say, show further thy reasons before this audience." He, without all reason, was dumb, and could not answer a word.

17. Thou, false heretic, contemnest fasting, and sayest thou shouldest not fast.--My Lords, I find that fasting is commanded in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the Gospel if I contemned fasting. Not only so, I have learned by experience that fasting is good for the health and conservation of the body. But God knoweth only who fasteth the true fast.

18. Thou, false heretic, hast preached openly, saying, that the souls

of men shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day.--God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive him that sayeth such things of me. I wot and know surely, by the Word of God, that the soul of him that hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ and believeth firmly in Him, shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life. That life is renewed in grace from day to day and augmented; nor shall it ever perish or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ its Head. To this life, all that believe in Him shall come, and then shall remain in eternal glory. Amen.

When the bishops, with their accomplices, had accused this innocent man, in manner and form aforesaid, they incontinently condemned him to be burned as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and the true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences. They thought, verily, that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformably to the sayings of Jesus Christ in the Gospel of St. John, chapter sixteen: "They shall excommunicate you; yea, and the time shall come that he which killeth you shall think that he hath done to God good service."

The following is the prayer of Master George. "O immortal God! how long shalt Thou suffer the wodness and great credulity of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon Thy servants, who do further Thy Word in this world. They desire to do the contrary, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and truth, whereby Thou hast showed Thee unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of Thy name. O Lord, we know surely that Thy true servants must needs suffer, for Thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as Thou hast showed to us by Thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire Thee, merciful Father, that Thou wouldest preserve, defend, and help Thy congregation, which Thou hast chosen

before the beginning of the world, and give them Thy grace to hear Thy word, and to be true servants in this present life."

Then, by and by, the common people were removed (for their desire was always to hear that innocent speak) and the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God.

When all this was done and said, my Lord Cardinal caused his tormentors to pass again with the meek lamb unto the Castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, there came two Grey fiends, Friar Scott and his mate, saying, "Sir, ye must make your confession unto us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the Sub-prior of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence; but what he said in this confession I cannot show.

When the fire and the gallows were made ready at the west part of the Castle, near to the Priory, my Lord Cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded his men to bend all the ordnance of the Castle against the place of execution, and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth from the Castle with their soldiers, to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth from the Castle gate, there met him certain beggars asking his alms, for God's sake. To these he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you alms. But may the merciful Lord, who feedeth all men, vouchsafe of His benignity and abundant grace to give you necessaries, both for your bodies and souls." Then met him two false fiends--I should say, Friars--saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady that she may be a mediatrix for you to her Son." To

them he answered meekly, "Cease: tempt me not, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

Master George Wishart is brought to the Stake.

When he came to the fire he sat down upon his knees, and rose again; and thrice he said these words, "O Thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words: "I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the Word of God because of the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me. I exhort you that ye love the Word of God, your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the Word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, urge upon those of my brethren and sisters who have heard me oft before that they cease not nor leave off to learn that Word of God which I taught them, according to the grace given unto me--not for my persecution or troubles in this world, which lasteth not. And show unto them that my doctrine was no wives' fables, after the constitution made by men; if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have gotten greater thanks from men. But, for the Word's sake, and for the true Evangel, given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage; ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not; and so I pray you to do, if any persecution come unto you for the Word's sake. Do not fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day; but I know surely that this night, before six

o'clock, my soul shall sup with my Saviour, for whom I suffer this."
Then Master George prayed for them that accused him, saying, "I beseech Thee, Father of Heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all mine heart: I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day, ignorantly." And last of all, he said to the people on this manner, "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at least may be ashamed to do evil and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, and that they shall not eschew."
Many faithful words said he in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then, last of all, the hangman that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And then by and by he was put upon the gibbet, and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not refrain from piteous mourning and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter.
Vengeance on the Cardinal is vowed.
After the death of this blessed martyr of God, the people began, in plain speaking, to damn and detest the cruelty that was used. Yea, men of great birth, estimation, and honour, avowed at open tables that the blood of the said Master George should be revenged, or else it should cost life for life. Amongst these John Leslie, brother to the Earl of Rothes, was the chief; for he spared not to say in all companies, "This same whinger," drawing his dagger, "and this same hand, shall be

priests to the Cardinal." These bruits came to the Cardinal's ears; but he thought himself stout enough for all Scotland; for in Babylon, that is, in his new block-house, he was secure, as he thought; and upon the field he was able to match all his enemies. To write the truth, the most part of the nobility of Scotland had either given unto him their bonds of manrent, or else were in confederacy, and promised amity with him....

After Easter, the Cardinal came to Edinburgh to hold the seinye, [89] as the Papists term their unhappy assembly of Baal's shaven sort. It was bruited that something was purposed against him at that time by the Earl of Angus and his friends, whom he mortally hated, and whose destruction he sought. But it failed, and so returned he to his strength; yea, to his god and only comfort, as well in heaven as in earth. And there he remained without the least fear of death, promising unto himself no less pleasure than did the rich man of whom mention is made by our Master in the Evangel. He did not only rejoice and say, "Eat and be glad, my soul, for thou hast great riches laid up in store for many days;" but also, "Tush, a fig for the feud, and a button for the bragging of all the heretics and their assistants in Scotland. Is not my Lord Governor mine? Witness his eldest son there in pledge at my table? Have I not the Queen at my own devotion? (He alluded to the mother of Mary that now mischievously reigns.) Is not France my friend, and am not I friend to France? What danger should I fear?" Thus, in vanity, the carnal Cardinal delighted himself a little before his death....

Early upon Saturday morning, the twenty-ninth of May 1546, there were sundry companies in the Abbey kirk-yard, in St. Andrews, not far distant from the Castle. The gates of the Castle being opened, and the draw-bridge let down for admission of lime and stones and other things

necessary for building, for Babylon was almost finished, William Kirkaldy of Grange, younger, and with him six persons, got entrance, and held purpose with the porter, inquiring "If my Lord was walking?" He answered, "No." While the said William and the porter talked, and his servants pretended to look at the work and the workmen, Norman Leslie approached with his company; and, because they were in no great number, they easily got entrance. They directed their course to the very middle of the close, and immediately thereafter came John Leslie, somewhat rudely, and four persons with him. The porter, taking fright, would have drawn the bridge; but the said John, being entered thereon, stayed and leapt in. When the porter made for his defence, his head was broken, the keys were taken from him, and he cast into the fosse; and so the place was seized.

Shouts arose; the workmen, to the number of more than a hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket gate. The first thing, William Kirkaldy took the guard of the privy postern, fearing that the fox should escape. Then went the rest to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, put more than fifty persons to the gate. The number that enterprised and did this was but sixteen persons. The Cardinal, awakened with the shouts, asked from his window what that noise meant. It was answered that Norman Leslie had taken his Castle. This understood, he ran for his postern; but, perceiving the passage to be guarded, he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two-handed sword, and gart [90] his chamber-child move chests and other impediments to the door.

In the meantime came John Leslie and bade the door be opened. The Cardinal asking, "Who calls?" he answered, "My name is Leslie." He again asked, "Is that Norman?" The other said, "Nay; my name is John." "I will have Norman," said the Cardinal; "for he is my friend."

"Content yourself with such as are here; ye shall get none other." With the said John were James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Master George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael, a stout [91] gentleman. While they forced at the door, the Cardinal hid a box of gold under coals that were laid in a secret corner. At length he asked, "Will ye save my life?" The said John answered, "It may be that we will." "Nay," said the Cardinal, "Swear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open unto you." Then answered the said John, "It that was said, is unsaid;" and cried, "Fire, Fire," for the door was very stark. [92] Then was brought a chimley [93] full of burning coals. This perceived, the Cardinal or his chamber-child opened the door, and the Cardinal sat down in a chair and cried, "I am a priest, I am a priest; ye will not slay me."

Assassination of Cardinal Beaton: 29th May 1546.

John Leslie, according to his former vows, struck the Cardinal once or twice, and so did the said Peter. But James Melvin, a man of nature most gentle and most modest, perceiving that they were both in choler, withdrew them, and said, "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity." Presenting the point of his sword at the Cardinal, he said, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart, which, albeit the flame of fire consumed it before men, yet cries a vengeance upon thee. We are sent from God to revenge it: for here, before my God, I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, nor the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have brought on me in particular, doth move me to strike thee, I do so only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and His holy Evangel." And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stog sword; [94] and so the Cardinal fell, never word heard out of his

mouth, but "I am a priest, I am a priest: fie, fie: all is gone."

The death of this tyrant was dolorous to the priests, dolorous to the Governor, most dolorous to the Queen Dowager; for in him perished faithfulness to France, and comfort to all gentlewomen, especially to wanton widows: his death must be revenged.... The Archbishop, to declare the zeal that he had to revenge the death of him that was his predecessor (and yet he would not have had him living again) still blew the coals. And first, he caused to be summoned, then denounced, accursed, and last, proclaimed rebels, not only the first enterprisers, but all such as did accompany them. And last of all, the siege of the Castle was decided upon.

The Reforming Party is besieged in the Castle of St. Andrews.

The siege began in the end of August; for on the twenty-third day thereof the soldiers departed from Edinburgh, and it continued until near the end of January. At that time, they had no other hope of winning it but by hunger; and of that they were despaired, for those within had broken through the east wall, and made a plain passage by an iron gate to the sea. This greatly relieved the besieged, and abased the besiegers; for they could not stop them of victuals, unless they should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be.

The English ships had been there once already, and had brought William Kirkaldy from London, and had taken with them to the Court of England, John Leslie and Master Henry Balnaves, for the perfecting of all contracts. King Harry had promised to take them into his protection, upon condition that they should keep the Governor's son, my Lord of Arran, and stand friends to the contract of marriage before mentioned. These things clearly understood by the Governor and by his Council, the priests, and the shaven sort, they concluded to make an Appointment, to

the end that they might either get the Castle betrayed, or else some principal men of the company taken unawares.

A treacherous Truce.

The heads of the coloured Appointment were:--1. That they should keep the Castle of St. Andrews, until the Governor and the authority of Scotland should get unto them a sufficient absolution from the Pope, Antichrist of Rome, for the slaughter of the Cardinal foresaid. 2. That they should deliver pledges for delivery of that House as soon as the absolution should be delivered unto them. 3. That they, their friends, familiars, servants, and others pertaining to them, should never, for the slaughter foresaid, be pursued at law or by the law, by the authority. Also, that they should bruik [95] spiritual or temporal commodities, possessed before the said slaughter, even as if it had never been committed. 4. That they of the Castle should keep the Earl of Arran, so long as their pledges were kept. There were other such articles, and all were liberal enough; for the Governor and his Council never intended to keep a word of them, as the issue did declare.

John Rough resumes Preaching.

The Appointment was made, and all the godly were glad; for they had some hope that thereby God's Word should somewhat bud, as indeed it did. For John Rough, who had entered the Castle soon after the Cardinal's slaughter, and had continued with them during the siege, began to preach in St. Andrews. Albeit he was not the most learned, his doctrine was without corruption, and therefore well liked by the people.

John Knox comes to the Castle of St. Andrews.

At the Easter following, John Knox came to the Castle of St. Andrews. Wearied of removing from place to place, by reason of the persecution that came upon him by this Archbishop of St. Andrews, he had determined

to have left Scotland, and to have visited the schools of Germany. Of England he had no pleasure then. There, albeit the Pope's name had been suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour. But the said John had the care of some gentlemen's children, whom for certain years he had nourished in godliness, and their fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrews, that he himself might have the protection of the Castle, and their children the benefit of his tuition. So came he thither at the time mentioned, and, having in his company Frances Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, then eldest son to the Laird of Ormiston, he began to exercise them after his accustomed manner.

Besides their grammar and other human authors, he read to his pupils a catechism of which he caused them to give an account publicly, in the Parish Kirk of St. Andrews. Moreover, he read unto them the Evangel of John, and that lecture he delivered in the chapel within the Castle, at a certain hour. Those of the place, but especially Master Henry Balnaves and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him that he would take the preaching place upon him. But he utterly refused, alleging that he would not run where God had not called him; meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation.

John Knox is called to the Office of Preacher.

Whereupon, advising privily among themselves, and having with them Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, they decided to give a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of their preacher. And so, upon a certain day, a sermon was delivered concerning the election of ministers--what power the congregation (however small, passing the number of two or three) had over any man in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and

not to hear the voice of such as desired to be instructed. Then the said John Rough, preacher, directed his words to the said John Knox, saying, "Brother, ye must not be offended if I speak unto you that which I have in charge from all those that are here present, namely this: In the name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but that--as ye seek the glory of God, the increase of Christ's Kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye well enough understand to be oppressed by the multitude of labours--ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces with you."

In the end, the preacher said to those that were present, "Was not this your charge to me? And do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was; and we approve it." Thereat the said John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behaviour, from that day until the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart. No man saw in him any sign of mirth, nor yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, for many days together.

John Knox denounces the Roman Kirk: his Challenge.

Another necessity caused him to enter the public place, besides the vocation foresaid. Dean John Annan, a rotten Papist, had long troubled John Rough in his preaching: and the said John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten the said Dean John from all defences, so that he was compelled to fly to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the Church, "which authority," said he, "damned all Lutherans and heretics; and therefore he needed no further

disputation." John Knox answered, "Before we hold ourselves convicted, or ye can sufficiently prove us so, we must define the Church, by the right notes of the true Church given to us in God's Scriptures. We must discern the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ from the Mother of Confusion, spiritual Babylon, lest imprudently we embrace a harlot instead of the chaste spouse; yea, to speak it in plain words, lest we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that we submit ourselves to Jesus Christ. For, as for your Roman Kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, that man of sin of whom the Apostle speaks, than do I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Kirk of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself to prove, by word or writing, that the Roman Church is this day further degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the Apostles than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when it consented to the innocent death of Christ."

These words were spoken in open audience, in the parish Kirk of Saint Andrews, after the said Dean John Annan had spoken as it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The people, hearing the offer, cried with one consent, "We cannot all read your writings, but we may all hear your preaching; therefore we require you, in the name of God, that ye let us hear the probation of that which ye have affirmed; for if it be true, we have been miserably deceived." And so, the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his mind in the public preaching place.

The first Public Sermon of John Knox is made in the Parish Kirk of St. Andrews.

The day approaching, the said John took the text written in Daniel, the

seventh chapter, beginning thus: "And another King shall rise after them, and he shall be unlike unto the first, and he shall subdue three kings, and shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws. And they shall be given into his hands until a time, and times, and dividing of times."

1. In the beginning of his sermon, he shewed the great love of God towards His Church, whom it pleaseth Him to forewarn of dangers to come, many years before they come to pass. 2. He briefly treated of the state of the Israelites, who then were in bondage in Babylon for the most part; and made a short discourse concerning the four Empires, the Babylonian, the Persian, that of the Greeks, and that of the Romans; in the destruction whereof rose up that last Beast, which he affirmed to be the Roman Church,--for all the notes that God hath shewn to the prophet do appertain to none other power than has ever yet been, except to it alone, and unto it they do so properly appertain, that such as are not more than blind may clearly see them. 3. But before he began to open the corruptions of the Papistry, he defined the true Kirk, shewed the true notes of it, whereupon it was builded, why it was the pillar of truth, and why it could not err, to wit, "Because it heard the voice of its own pastor, Jesus Christ, would not hear a stranger, neither yet would be carried about with every kind of doctrine."

Every one of these heads sufficiently declared, he entered on the contrary proposition; and, upon the notes given in his text, he shewed that the Spirit of God in the New Testament gave to this king other names, to wit, "The Man of Sin," "The Anti-Christ," "The Whore of Babylon." He shewed that this man of sin, or Anti-Christ, was not to be restricted to the person of any one man only, no more than by the fourth beast was to be understood the person of any one Emperor. But by

such means the Spirit of God sought to forewarn His chosen of a body and a multitude having a wicked head, who should not only be sinful himself, but should be occasion of sin to all that should be subject unto him,--as Christ Jesus, is cause of justice to all the members of His body. He is called the Anti-Christ, that is to say, one contrary to Christ, because he is contrary to Him in life, doctrine, laws, and subjects.

Then began he to decipher the lives of divers Popes, and the lives of all the shavelings for the most part; their doctrine and laws he plainly proved to be directly repugnant to the doctrine and laws of God the Father and of Christ Jesus, His Son. This he proved by comparing the doctrine of justification expressed in the Scriptures, which teach that man is "justified by faith only," and "that the blood of Jesus Christ purges us from all our sins;" and the doctrine of the Papists, which attributeth justification to the works of the law, yea, to such works of man's invention as pilgrimage, pardons, and other such baggage. That the papistical laws were repugnant to the laws of the Evangel, he proved by the laws made concerning observation of days, abstaining from meats, and from marriage which Christ Jesus made free, and the forbidding whereof Saint Paul called "the doctrine of devils."

In handling the notes of that Beast, given in the text, he willed men to consider if these notes, "There shall one arise unlike to the other, having a mouth speaking great things and blasphemous," could be applied to any other but the Pope and his Kingdom; for "if these," said he, "be not great words and blasphemous, 'the Successor of Peter,' 'the Vicar of Christ,' 'the Head of the Kirk,' 'Most Holy,' 'Most Blessed,' 'that cannot err;' that 'may make right of wrong, and wrong of right;' that 'of nothing, may make somewhat;' that 'hath all truth in the shrine of his breast;' yea, 'that has power over all, and none power over him;'

nay, 'not to say that he does wrong, although he draw ten thousand million of souls with himself to hell:' if these," said he, "and many other, able to be shown in his own canon law, be not grave and blasphemous words, and such as never mortal man spake before, let the world judge.

"And yet," said he, "there is one note most evident of all. John, in his Revelation, says that 'the merchandise of that Babylonian harlot, among other things, shall be the bodies and souls of men.' Now, let the very Papists themselves judge if ever any before them took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in purgatory, as they affirm to the people that they do by the merits of their Mass and of their other trifles, daily." In the end, he said, "If any here"--and there were present Master John Major, the University, the Sub-prior, and many Canons, with some Friars of both the Orders--"will say that I have alleged Scripture, teaching, or history, otherwise than it is written, let them come unto me with sufficient witness, and by conference I shall let them see not only the original where my testimonies are written, but I shall prove that the writers meant what I have spoken."

The People comment on Knox's Sermon against Papistry.

Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, there were divers bruits. Some said, "Others sned [96] the branches of the Papistry, but he strikes at the root, to destroy the whole." Others said, "If the doctors and Magistri Nostri do not now defend the Pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, the Devil may have my part of him, and of his laws also." Others said, "Master George Wishart spoke never so plainly, and yet he was burned: even so will he be." In the end, others said, "The tyranny of the Cardinal made not his cause the better, nor yet did the suffering of God's servant make his cause the worse, and therefore we

would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else ye will be disappointed. Men now have other eyes than they had then." This answer gave the Laird of Nydie, a man fervent and upright in religion.

John Knox is called on to defend his Doctrine.

The bastard Archbishop, who was not yet execrated (consecrated, they call it) wrote to the Sub-prior at Saint Andrews, who, sede vacante, was Vicar-general, that he wondered that he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught, and did not oppose himself to the same. Upon this rebuke, there was appointed a Convention of Grey Friars and black fiends with the said Sub-prior, Dean John Winram, in Saint Leonard's yards. Thereunto was first called John Rough, and certain Articles were read unto him; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cause of their Convention, and why they were called, was set forth, and the following Articles were read:--(1) No mortal man can be the head of the Church. (2) The Pope is an Anti-Christ, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body. (3) Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God: but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof. (4) The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be administered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by His Apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them; nothing ought to be diminished from them. (5) The Mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper. (6) There is no purgatory in which the souls of men are pained or purged after this life. Heaven remains for the faithful, and hell for the reprobate and unthankful. (7) Praying for the dead is vain, and prayer to the dead is idolatry. (8) There are no bishops unless they preach themselves, without any substitute. (9) By God's law the teinds do not

appertain of necessity to the Kirk-men.

"The strangeness," said the Sub-prior, "of these Articles, which are gathered from your teaching, have moved us to call for you to hear your own answer." John Knox said, "I, for my part, praise my God that I see so honourable, and apparently so modest and quiet, an audience. But because it is long since I have heard that ye are one that is not ignorant of the truth, I must crave of you, in the name of God, yea, and I appeal to your conscience before that Supreme Judge that, if ye think any Article there expressed to be contrary unto the truth of God, ye oppose yourself plainly unto it, and suffer not the people to be therewith deceived. But if in your conscience ye know the doctrine to be true, then I will crave your patronage thereto, that, by your authority, the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt by reason of our youth."

Sub-prior. I came not here as a judge, but only to talk familiarly, and therefore I will neither allow nor condemn; but, if you like, I will reason. Why may not the Kirk, for good causes, devise ceremonies to decorate the Sacraments and other of God's services?

Knox. Because the Kirk ought to do nothing that is not of faith, and ought not to go before. She is bound to follow the voice of the true Pastor.

Sub-prior. It is in faith that the ceremonies are commended, and they have proper significations to help our faith. The hardess [97] in baptism signifies the richness of the law, and the oil the softness of God's mercy. Likewise, every one of the ceremonies has a godly signification, and therefore they both proceed from faith, and are done in faith.

Knox. It is not enough that man invent a ceremony, and then give it a signification, according to his pleasure. The ceremonies of the

Gentiles, and to-day the ceremonies of Mahomet, might be so justified. If anything proceed from faith, it must have the Word of God for assurance; for ye are not ignorant that "faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." Now, if ye would prove that your ceremonies proceed from faith and do please God, ye must prove that God in expressed words has commanded them. Else ye shall never prove that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they please God. Ye will but show that they are sin, and do displease Him, according to the words of the apostle, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

Sub-prior. Will ye bind us so strait that we may do nothing without the express Word of God? What! If I ask a drink, do you think that I sin? I have not God's Word for this. (It would appear that he gave this answer to shift over the argument upon Friar Arbuckle.)

Knox. I would we should not jest in so grave a matter; neither would I that ye should begin to elude the truth with sophistry; but, if ye do, I will defend myself as best I can. As to your drinking, I say that, if ye either eat or drink without assurance of God's Word, in so doing ye ill-please God, and ye sin in your very eating and drinking. For, says the Apostle, speaking even of meat and drink, "the creatures are sanctified unto man, even by the Word and by prayer." The word is this: "All things are clean to the clean," and so forth. Now, let me hear thus much of your ceremonies, and I shall give you the argument; but I wonder that ye compare profane and holy things so indiscreetly. The question was not, and is not of meat and drink, wherein the Kingdom of God consists not, but the question is of God's true worshipping, without which we have no society with God. It is doubtful if, in the use of Christ's Sacraments, we may take the same freedom as we may do in eating and drinking. One meat I may eat, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may change one for another, as

often as I please. May we do the same in matters of religion? May we cast away what we please, and retain what we please? If I recollect aright, Moses, in the name of God, says to the people of Israel, "All that the Lord thy God commands thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God: add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it." By this rule, I think, the Kirk of Christ should measure God's religion, and not by that which seems good in their own eyes.

Sub-prior. Forgive me, I spake but in mows, [98] and I was dry. And now, Father (said he to the Friar), follow the argument. Ye have heard what I have said, and what is answered unto me again.

Arbuckle, Greyfriar. I shall prove plainly that ceremonies are ordained by God.

Knox. Such as God has ordained, we allow, and with reverence we use them. But the question is of those that God has not ordained, such as, in Baptism, are spittle, salt, candle, cuid [99] (except to keep the bairn from cold), hardess, oil, and the rest of the papistical inventions.

Arbuckle. I will even prove that these ye damn be ordained of God.

Knox. The proof thereof I would gladly hear.

Arbuckle. Says not Saint Paul, that "another foundation than Jesus Christ may no man lay. But upon this foundation some build gold, silver, and precious stones; some hay, stubble, and wood." The gold, silver, and precious stones are the ceremonies of the Church, which do abide the fire, and consume not away. This place of Scripture is most plain.

Knox.--I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, for I find His promise sure, true, and stable. Christ Jesus bids us "not fear, when we shall be called before men, to give confession of His truth;" for He promises that "it shall be given unto us in that hour what we shall speak." If I

had sought the whole Scripture, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpose, nor more potent to confound you. Now, to your argument. The Ceremonies of the Kirk, say ye, are gold, silver, and precious stones, because they are able to abide the fire; but I would learn of you, what fire is it that your Ceremonies abide? And in the meantime, until ye be advised how to answer, I will show my mind, and make an argument against yours upon the same text. First, I have heard the text adduced for a proof of purgatory; but for defence of Ceremonies, I have never heard or yet read of its use. Omitting whether ye understand the mind of the Apostle or not, I make my argument, and say, that which may abide the fire may abide the Word of God. Your Ceremonies cannot abide the Word of God: ergo they cannot abide the fire; and if they cannot abide the fire, they are not gold, silver, nor precious stones. Now, if ye find any ambiguity in the term "fire," which I interpret to be the Word, find me a fire by the which things builded upon Jesus Christ should be tried, other than God and His Word, which are both called fire in the Scriptures, and I shall correct my argument.

Arbuckle. I stand not thereupon; but I deny your minor argument, to wit, that our Ceremonies may not abide the trial of God's Word.

Knox. I prove that that which God's Word condemns, abides not the trial of God's Word. But God's Word condemns your Ceremonies: therefore they do not abide the trial thereof. As the thief abides the trial of the inquest, and is thereby condemned to be hanged, even so may your Ceremonies abide the trial of God's Word, but not otherwise. And now I make plain in few words that wherein ye may seem to doubt, to wit, that God's Word damns your Ceremonies. This thing is evident; for the plain and straight commandment of God is, "Not that thing which appears good in thy eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy

God has commanded thee, that do thou: add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it." Now, unless ye be able to prove that God has commanded your Ceremonies, this His former commandment will damn both you and them.

The Friar, somewhat abashed what first to answer, fell into a foul mire while he wandered about in the mist: for, alleging that we may not be so bound by the Word, he affirmed that the Apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their Epistles; but that they did ordain the Ceremonies after they received Him. (Few would have thought that so learned a man would have given so foolish an answer; and yet it is even as true as that he bare a grey cowl.) John Knox, hearing the answer, started and said, "If that be true, I have long been in an error, and I think I shall die therein." The Sub-prior said to him, "Father, what say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that; for then farewell the ground of our faith." The Friar, astonished, made the best shift that he could to correct his fall; but it could not be. John Knox brought him often again to the ground of the argument; but he would never answer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the Kirk.

Thereto the said John answered oftener than once that "the spouse of Christ had neither power nor authority against the Word of God." Then said the Friar, "If so be, ye will leave us no Kirk." "Indeed," said the other, "in David I read that there is a church of the malignants, for he says, 'Odi ecclesiam malignantium.' That church ye may have without the Word, and therein ye may do many things directly fighting against the Word of God. If ye choose to be of that Church, I cannot impede you. But, as for me, I will be of none other Church than that which hath Christ Jesus to be pastor, which hears His voice, and will not hear a stranger."

In this Disputation many other things were merely skiffed over; for the

Friar, after his fall, could speak nothing to a purpose. For purgatory he had no better proof than the authority of Virgil in his sixth Æneid; and the pains thereof to him were an evil wife. How John Knox answered that and many other things, he did witness in a treatise that he wrote in the galleys. This contained the sum of his doctrine and the confession of his faith, and was sent to his familiars in Scotland; with the exhortation that they should continue in the truth which they had professed, notwithstanding any worldly adversity that might ensue. Thus much of the Disputation have we inserted here, to the intent that men may see how Satan ever travails to obscure the light; and how God by His power, working in His weak vessels, confounds his craft and discloses his darkness.

After this, neither Papists nor Friars had great heart for further disputation or reasoning; but they invented another shift, which appeared to proceed from godliness. It was an ordinance that learned men in the Abbey and in the University should preach in the Parish Kirk, Sunday about. The Sub-prior began, next came the Official called Spittal (sermons penned to offend no man), and all the rest followed in their ranks. John Knox smelled out the craft, and in the sermons which he made upon the week-days he prayed to God that they should be as busy in preaching when there should be more myster [100] in it than there was then. "Always," said he, "I praise God that Christ Jesus is preached, and nothing is said publicly against the doctrine ye have heard. If in my absence they shall speak anything which in my presence they do not, I protest that ye suspend your judgment until it please God ye hear me again."

Signs follow the Ministry of John Knox: the Backsliding of Sir James Balfour.

God so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not

only all those of the Castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed Christ, by participation at the Lord's Table, in the same purity as now it is administered in the churches of Scotland. Among them was he that now either rules, or misrules, Scotland: Sir James Balfour [101] (sometimes called Master James), the chief and principal Protestant that then was to be found in this realm. We write this because we have heard that the said Master James alleges that he never was of this our religion, but was brought up in Martin Luther's opinion of the Sacrament, and therefore cannot communicate with us. His own conscience, and two hundred witnesses besides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine that the said John Knox taught. But there is no great wonder if those that never were of us (as none of Montquhanie's sons have shewn themselves to be) depart from us. It is proper and natural that the children follow the father; and let the godly liver of that race and progeny be shewn. If in them be either fear of God or love of virtue, further than the present commodity persuades them, men of judgment are deceived. But to return to our History.

The Regent and the Queen-Dowager violate the Appointment: a French Army comes to their Aid.

The priests and bishops, enraged at these proceedings in Saint Andrews, ran now to the Governor, now to the Queen, [102] now to the whole Council, and there might have been heard complaints and cries, "What are we doing? Shall we suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine? Fie upon you, and fie upon us." The Queen and Monsieur D'Oysel (who then was a secretis mulierum in the Court) comforted them, and counselled them to be quiet, because they should see remedy before long. And so it proved; for upon the second last day

of June there appeared in sight of the Castle of Saint Andrews twenty-one French galleys, with a powerful army, the like whereof was never seen in that firth before.

By these means the Governor, the Archbishop, the Queen and Monsieur D'Oysel had treasonably broken the terms of the Appointment. To excuse their treason, they had, eight days before, presented to the party in the Castle of St. Andrews an absolution bearing to be sent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clause, Remittimus Irremissible, that is, we remit the crime that cannot be remitted. When this had been considered by the most of the company that was in the Castle, answer was given that the Governor and Council of the Realm had promised them a sufficient and assured absolution, such as that did not appear to be; and that therefore they could not deliver the house, nor did they think that any reasonable man would require them so to do, considering that the promise made had not been truly kept.

On the day after the galleys arrived, the house was summoned. This was denied, and they prepared for siege. They began to assault by sea, and shot for two days. But they neither got advantage nor honour; for they dang [103] the slates off houses, but neither slew man nor did harm to any wall. The Castle handled them so that Saint Barbara (the gunners' goddess) helped them nothing; for they lost many of their rowers, men chained in the galleys, and some soldiers, both by sea and land. And further, a galley that approached nearer than the rest was so dung with the cannon and other ordnance, that she was stopped under water, and so almost drowned. Indeed, so she would have been, were it not that the rest gave her succour in time, and drew her first to the west sands, beyond the shot of the Castle, and thereafter to Dundee. There they remained until the Governor, who then was at the siege of Langhope, came unto them, with the rest of the French faction.

By land the siege of the Castle of St. Andrews was made complete on the nineteenth day of July. Trenches were cast; and ordnance was planted upon the Abbey Kirk, and upon Saint Salvator's College. This so annoyed the Castle that they could keep neither their block-houses, the sea tower head, nor the west wall; for in all these places men were slain by great ordnance. Yea, they mounted the ordnance so high upon the Abbey Kirk, that they might discover the ground of the close in divers places. Moreover, the pest was within the Castle, and divers died thereof. This affrighted some that were therein more than did the external force without. John Knox was of another opinion, for he ever said that their corrupt life could not escape the punishment of God: that he continually asserted, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory, and during the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances, he lamented, and ever said that they saw not what he saw. When they bragged of the strength and thickness of their walls, he said that they should prove but egg-shells. When they vaunted, "England will rescue us," he said, "Ye shall not see them; but ye shall be delivered into your enemies' hands, and shall be carried to a strange country."

The Castle is stormed, and surrenders upon Terms.

Upon the second last day of July, at night, the ordnance was planted for the assault; nineteen cannons, whereof four were cannons-royal, called double cannons, besides other pieces. The cannonade began at four o'clock in the morning, and before ten o'clock of the day, the whole south quarter, betwixt the fore-tower and the east block-house, was made assaultable. The lower trance was condemned, divers were slain in it, and the east block-house was shot off from the rest of the place between ten and eleven o'clock. Then fell a shower of rain that continued nearly an hour. The like of it had seldom been seen. It was

so vehement that no man might abide without shelter. The cannons were left alone. Some within the Castle were of opinion that men should have ished, [104] and put all in the hands of God. But because William Kirkaldy was coming with the Prior of Capua, on commission from the King of France, nothing was enterprised. And so an Appointment was made, and the Castle surrendered upon Saturday, the last of July.

The heads of the Appointment were:--That the lives of all within the Castle should be saved, as well English as Scottish. That they should be safely transported to France; and in case that, upon conditions that should be offered unto them by the King of France, they could not be content to remain in service and freedom there, they should, upon the expense of the King of France, be safely conveyed to such country as they should require, other than Scotland. They would have nothing to do with the Governor, nor with any Scotsman; for these had all traitorously betrayed them, "and this," said the Laird of Grange, elder, a simple man of most stout courage, "I am assured God will revenge before long."

The Company of the Castle are carried to France, and cast into Prison and the Galleys.

The galleys, well furnished with the spoil of the Castle, returned to France, after certain days. Escaping a great danger (for they all chapped [105] upon the back of the Sands), they arrived first at Fecamp, and thereafter passed up the water of Seine, and lay before Rouen. There the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were dispersed, and put in sundry prisons. The rest were left in the galleys, and there miserably treated. Amongst these was the foresaid Master James Balfour, with his two brethren, David and Gilbert, men without God. We write this because we hear that the said Master James, principal misguider now of Scotland, denies that he had anything to do

with the Castle of St. Andrews, or that ever he was in the galleys. In breach of express promises (but Princes have no fidelity further than for their own advantage), these things were done at Rouen, and then the galleys departed to Nantes, in Brittany, where they lay upon the water of Loire the whole winter.

The Papists rejoice, and the Regent receives the Pope's Thanks.

Then was the joy of the Papists both of Scotland and France in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph--

Priests content ye noo; priests content ye noo;
For Norman and his company has filled the galleys fou.

The Pope wrote his letters to the King of France, and to the Governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature, the Cardinal of Scotland; and desiring them to continue in their severity as they had begun, that such things should not be attempted again. And so were all these that were taken in the Castle condemned to perpetual prison; and the ungodly believed that Christ Jesus should never have triumphed in Scotland after that.

In Scotland, that summer, there was nothing but mirth; for all things went with the priests, at their own pleasure. The Castle of St. Andrews was rased to the ground, the block-houses thereof were cast down, and the walls round about were demolished. Whether this was done to fulfil their law, which commands that places where Cardinals are slain shall so be used, or else for fear that England should have taken it, as afterwards they took Broughty Craig, we remit to the judgment of such as were consulted.

The Duke of Somerset invades Scotland.

This same year, 1547, in the beginning of September, an army of ten thousand men from England entered Scotland, by land, and some ships with ordnance came by sea. The Governor and the Archbishop, informed of

this, gathered together the forces of Scotland and assembled at Edinburgh. The Protector of England, with the Earl of Warwick, and their army, remained at Preston, and about Prestonpans: for they had certain offers to propose unto the nobility of Scotland. These concerned the promises formerly made by them to King Harry. Before his death, he had gently required them to stand fast; and had undertaken that, if they would do so, they should have no trouble from him or his kingdom, but rather the help and comfort that he could give them in all things lawful. On this subject, a letter was now directed to the Governor and Council; but this fell into the hands of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, thinking that it could not be for his advantage that it should be divulged, suppressed it by his craft.

The Battle of Pinkie Cleuch.

Upon Friday, the ninth of September, the English army marched towards Leith, and the Scottish army marched from Edinburgh to Inveresk. The whole Scottish army was not assembled, and yet skirmishing began; for nothing was expected but victory without a stroke. The Protector, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Gray, and all the English captains were playing at the dice: no men were stouter than the priests and canons, with their shaven crowns and black jacks. The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Gray, who had the chief charge of the horsemen, perceiving the host to be molested by the Scottish prickers, and that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience (for they were divided from the great army), sent forth certain troops of horsemen, and some of their borderers, either to fight them, or else to put them out of their sight, so that they might not annoy the host. The skirmish grew hot, and at length the Scotsmen gave back, and fled without once turning. The chase continued far, both towards the east and towards the west. Many were slain, and he that now is Lord Home was afterwards

surrendered to the Englishmen. The loss of these men neither moved the Governor, nor yet the Archbishop, his bastard brother. They would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they were hands enough (no word of God): the English heretics had no faces; they would not abide.

Upon the Saturday, the armies of both sides arrayed themselves. The English army took the mid part of Falside Hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as the water would allow. The Scottish army stood at first in a reasonably strong position and in good order, having betwixt them and the English army the water of Esk, otherwise called Musselburgh Water. At length, on the Governor's behalf, with sound of trumpet, order was given that all men should march forward, and go over the water. Some say that this was procured by the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Master Hugh Rigg, for preservation of Carberry. Men of judgment did not like the move; for they thought it no wisdom to leave their strong position. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge were given, and, thus urged, they obeyed unwillingly. The Earl of Angus was in the vanguard, and had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the Westland, with many others that for love resorted to him and especially those that were professors of the Evangel; for they supposed that England would not make great pursuit of him. He passed first through the water, and arrayed his host directly before the enemies. The Earl of Huntly, and his Northland men followed. Last came the Duke, having in his company the Earl of Argyll, with his own friends, and the body of the realm.

The Englishmen, perceiving the danger, and that the Scotsmen intended to take the top of the hill, made haste to prevent the peril. The Lord Gray was commanded to give the charge with his men of arms. This he

did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely; for the Earl of Angus's host stood even as a wall. These received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears (which were longer than those of the Englishmen) so rudely that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt being done to this Scots army, except that the spears of the two foremost ranks were broken. This discomfiture received, the rest of the horsemen fled; yea, some passed beyond Falside Hill. The Lord Gray himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly refused to charge again; for, he said, "It was like running against a wall." The galleys, the ships, and the ordnance planted upon the mid hill shot terribly. The cross-fire of the ordnance of the galleys affrighted the Scots army wondrously. While every man laboured to draw from the north, whence the danger appeared, they began to reel, and at that point the English footmen were marching forward, albeit some of their horsemen were in flight. The Earl of Angus's army stood still, expecting that either Huntly or the Duke would rencounter the next battle; but it had been decreed that the favourers of England, and the heretics, as the priests called them, and the Englishmen should have the struggle to themselves for the day.

Panic arose, and, in an instant, those who before were victors and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as we have said, cast their spears from them and fled. Thus was God's power so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, in one instant, both the armies were fleeing. From the hill, from those that hoped for no victory upon the English part, the shout arose, "They flee, they flee." At the first it could not be believed, but at last it was clearly seen that all had given back; and then began a cruel slaughter, which was the greater by reason of the late displeasure of the men at arms. The chase and slaughter extended almost to Edinburgh, upon the one

part, and be-west Dalkeith upon the other. The number of the slain upon the Scottish side was judged to be nigh ten thousand men. The Earl of Huntly was taken, and carried to London; but he relieved himself, being surety for many ransoms. Whether he did so honestly or unhonestly we know not; but, as the bruit passed, he used policy with England. In the same battle was slain the Master of Erskine, dearly beloved of the Queen, who made great lamentation for him, and bare his death in mind for many days. When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, waiting for tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling, with Monsieur D'Oysel, who was as fleyed [106] as "a fox when his hole is smoked." Thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured Governor and such as assisted him to defend an unjust quarrel; albeit many innocents fell with the wicked. The English army came to Leith, and, after securing their prisoners and spoil, returned to England with this unlooked-for victory.

During the following winter, great hardships were inflicted upon all the Borders of Scotland. Broughty Craig was taken by the Englishmen, besieged by the Governor, but still kept. There Gavin, the best of the Hamiltons, was slain, and the ordnance lost. The Englishmen, encouraged, began to fortify the hill above Broughty House. The position was called the Fort of Broughty, and was very noisome [107] to Dundee. This it burned and laid waste; as it did the most part of Angus, which was not assured and under friendship with England.

At the Easter following, Haddington was fortified by the Englishmen. The most part of Lothian, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waste. Thus did God plague in every quarter; but men were blind, and would not, or could not, consider the cause. The Lairds of Ormiston and Brunstone were banished, and afterwards forfeited, and so were all those of the Castle of St. Andrews.

The sure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared a navy and army. The navy was such as never was seen to come from France for the support of Scotland.... They arrived in Scotland in May 1549. Preparations were made for the siege of Haddington; but it was another thing that they meant, as the issue declared.

The Parliament at Haddington: Queen Mary is sold to France.

The whole body of the realm having assembled, the form of a Parliament was held in the Abbey of Haddington. The principal head was the marriage to the King of France of the Princess, who had formerly been contracted to King Edward; and her immediate transfer to France, by reason of the danger to her from the invasion of our old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with buds, [108] some were deceived by flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent, for the French soldiers were the officers of arms in that Parliament. The Laird of Buccleuch, a bloody man, sware, with many "God's wounds," that "they that would not consent should do worse." The Governor got the Duchy of Châtelherault, with the order of the Cockle, a full discharge of all intromissions with the treasure and substance of King James the Fifth, and possession of the Castle of Dumbarton, until issue of the Queen's body should be seen. Upon these and other conditions, he stood content to sell his sovereign. Huntly, Argyll, and Angus were likewise made knights of the Cockle; and, for that and other good deeds received, they also sold their interest. In short, none was found to resist that unjust demand; and so the Queen was sold to go to France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of the liquor that should remain with her all her lifetime, for a plague to this realm, and for her final destruction. Therefore, albeit there now comes out from her a fire that consumes many, let no man wonder. She is the hand of God,

who, in His displeasure, is punishing our former ingratitude....

The Siege of Haddington.

Once it was decided that our Queen, without further delay, should be delivered to France, the siege continued. There was great shooting, but no assaulting; and yet they had fair occasion offered unto them. For the Englishmen, approaching the town with powder, victuals, and men for the comforting of the besieged, lost an army of six thousand men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken prisoner, and the most part of the Borderers were either captured or slain. The town might justly have despaired of any further succour, but yet it held good; for the stout courage and prudent government of General Sir James Wilford did so inspire the whole captains and soldiers that they determined to die upon their walls. From the time that the Frenchmen had gotten the bone for which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow. The siege was raised, and the Queen was conveyed by the west seas to France; and so the Cardinal of Lorraine got her into his keeping, a morsel meet for his own mouth....

That winter Monsieur de Dessé remained in Scotland with the bands of Frenchmen. They fortified Inveresk, to prevent the English from invading Edinburgh and Leith. Some skirmishes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing was done, except that the French almost took Haddington, as we shall see.

The French Fruits: Arrogance of the French Soldiery.

Thinking themselves more than masters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, the French thought that they could do no wrong to any Scotsman. A certain Frenchman having delivered a culverin to George Tod, a Scotsman, to be stocked, he was bringing it through the street, when another Frenchman claimed it. He would have reft it from the said George; but he resisted, alleging that the Frenchman did

wrong. Parties began to assemble to succour of the Scotsman, as well as to that of the Frenchman. Two of the Frenchmen were stricken down, and the rest were chased from the Cross to Niddrie's Wynd head. The Provost, being upon the street, apprehended two of the French, and was carrying them to the Tolbooth; when from Monsieur de Dessé's lodging and close issued forth Frenchmen, to the number of threescore persons. These, with drawn swords, resisted the said Provost. But the town, assembling, repulsed them, until they came to the Nether Bow. There Monsieur de La Chapelle, with the whole bands of Frenchmen in arms, rencountered the said Provost and repulsed him (for the town was without weapons for the most part), and then attacked all that they met. In the throat of the Bow were slain David Kirke and David Barbour, who were at the Provost's back, and then were slain the said Provost himself, who was Laird of Stenhouse and captain of the Castle, James Hamilton, his son, William Chapman, a godly man, Master William Stewart, William Purves, and a woman, named Elizabeth Stewart. Thereafter the soldiers tarried within the town, by force, from five o'clock until after seven at night, and then retired to the Canongate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole town, yea, the Governor and Nobility, commoved at the unworthiness of this bold attempt, craved justice upon the malefactors, and threatened that they would otherwise execute justice on the whole. The Queen, craftily enough, Monsieur de Dessé, and Monsieur D'Oysel laboured for pacification, and did promise that "unless the Frenchmen, by themselves alone, should do such an act as might recompense the wrong that they had done, they should not refuse that justice should be executed, with rigour."

These fair words pleased our fools, and the French bands were the next night directed to Haddington. They approached the town a little after

midnight, so secretly that they were never espied until the foremost were within the base court, and the whole company in the churchyard, not two pair of butt-lengths from the town. The soldiers, Englishmen, were all asleep, except the watch, which was slender, and yet the shout was raised, "Bows and bills: bows and bills," which in all towns of war signifies need of extreme defence, to avoid present danger. The affrighted arose; weapons that first came to hand serving for the need. One amongst many came to the east port, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be. Crying to his fellows that were at the gate making defence, "Ware before," he fired a great piece, and thereafter another. God so conducted this discharge that, after it, no further pursuit was made. The bullets rebounded from the wall of the Friar Kirk, to the wall of St. Catherine's Chapel, which stood directly fornent it, and from the wall of the Chapel to the Kirk wall again, so often that there fell more than a hundred of the French, at those two shots only. The firing was continued, but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harm done, except the destruction of some drinking beer, which lay in the said Chapel and Kirk. Herein was ample satisfaction for the slaughter of the said captain and Provost, and for the slaughter of such as were slain with him. This was the beginning of the French fruits.

This winter also did the Laird of Raith most innocently suffer, the head of the said nobleman being stricken from him; especially because he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God's Word, and was a great friend to those that were in the Castle of St. Andrews. Of their deliverance, and of God's wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we must now speak, lest, in suppressing the record of so notable a work of God, we might justly be accused of ingratitude.

Of the Scots Prisoners in France, and their Deliverance.

The principals being confined in several houses, as before we have said, there was great labour to make them have a good opinion of the Mass. Chiefly was there travail with Norman Leslie, the Laird of Grange, and the Laird of Pitmilly, who were in the Castle of Cherbourg. Pressed to go to Mass with the captain, they answered that "The captain had commandment to keep their bodies, but he had no power to command their conscience." The captain replied that "He had power to command and to compel them to go where he would." They answered that "They would not refuse to go to any lawful place with him; but they would not, either for him or for the King, do anything that was against their conscience." The captain said, "Will ye not go to the Mass?" They answered, "No; and if ye would compel us, we will displease you further; for we will so use ourselves there that all those that are present shall know that we despite it."

Similar answers, and somewhat sharper, did William Kirkaldy, Peter Carmichael, and such as were with them in Mount St. Michael, give to their captain; for they said they would not only hear Mass every day, but that they would help to say it, provided that they might stick the priests. Master Henry Balnaves, who was in the Castle of Rouen, was most sharply assaulted of all; for, because he was judged learned, learned men were appointed to travail with him, and with them he had many conflicts. But, God so assisting him, they departed confounded, and he, by the power of God's Spirit, remained constant in the truth and profession of the same, without any wavering or declining to idolatry.

These that were in the galleys were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the Mass; but the French could never make the poorest of that company give reverence to that idol. Yea, when,

upon the Saturday night, they sang their Salve Regina, the whole Scotsmen put on their caps, their hoods, or such things as they had to cover their heads; and when others were compelled to kiss a painted board, which they called "Notre Dame," they were not pressed more than once; for this was what happened. Soon after the arrival at Nantes, their great Salve was sung, and a glorious painted Lady was brought to be kissed, and was presented to one of the Scotsmen then chained, amongst others. He gently said, "Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; and therefore I will not touch it." The patron and the arguesyn [109] with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, "Thou shalt handle it;" and so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands. He, seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about, cast it into the river, saying, "Let our Lady now save herself: she is light enough; let her learn to swim." After that no Scotsman was urged with that idolatry. These are things that appear to be of no great importance; and yet, if we do rightly consider, they express the same obedience as God required of His people Israel when they should be carried to Babylon. He gave charge unto them that, when they should see the Babylonians worship their gods of gold, silver, metal, and wood, they should say, "The gods that have not made the heaven and the earth shall perish from the heaven, and out of the earth."

John Knox prophesies of himself: his Confidence in God's Deliverance.

Master James Balfour being in the same galley as John Knox, and being wondrously familiar with him, would often ask his opinion whether he thought that they should ever be delivered. His answer ever was, from the day that they entered the galleys, that God, for His own glory, would deliver them from that bondage, even in this life. The second time that the galleys returned to Scotland, when they were lying

betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, and the said John was so extremely sick that few hoped his life, the said Master James willed him to look to the land, and asked if he knew it? He answered, "Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of the place in which God first in public opened my mouth to His glory. I am fully persuaded that, however weak I may now appear, I shall not depart this life until my tongue shall glorify His godly name in the same place." The said Master James reported this in presence of many famous witnesses, many years before the said John set his foot in Scotland this last time.

William Kirkaldy, then younger of Grange, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Leslie, who were all together in Mount St. Michael, wrote to the said John, asking his counsel as to whether they might, with safe conscience, break their prison? His answer was that if, without the blood of any shed or spilt by them for their deliverance, they could set themselves at freedom, they might safely take it: but that he would never consent to their shedding any man's blood for their freedom. He added, further, that he was assured that God would deliver them and the rest of that company, even in the eyes of the world; but not by such means as we had looked for; that was, by the force of friends or by their other labours. He affirmed that they should not be delivered by such means, but that God would so work in the deliverance of them, that the praise thereof should redound to His glory only. He therefore urged every one to take any occasion for deliverance that God might offer, provided that nothing was done against God's express commandment. John Knox was the more earnest in giving his counsel, because the old Laird of Grange, and others, were averse from their purpose, fearing lest the escaping of the others should be an occasion of their own worse treatment. Thereto the said John answered that such fear proceeded not from God's Spirit, but only from a blind love of self. No

good purpose was to be stayed for things that were in the hands and power of God. In one instant, he added, God delivered all that company into the hands of unfaithful men, but so would He not relieve them. Some would He deliver by one means, and at one time, and others must, for a season, abide upon His good pleasure. In the end, they embraced this counsel. Upon the King's Even, when Frenchmen commonly drink liberally, the foresaid four persons, having the help and conduct of a boy of the house, bound all those that were in the Castle, put them in sundry houses, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the captain, and departed without harm done to the person of any, or without touching anything that appertained to the King, the Captain, or the house.

Great search was made through the whole country for them. But it was God's good pleasure so to conduct them that they escaped the hands of the faithless, albeit it was with long travail, and endurance of great pain and poverty; for the French boy left them, and took with him the small poise that they had. Having neither money, nor knowledge of the country, and fearing that the boy should discover them, as in very deed he did, of purpose they divided themselves, changed their garments, and went in sundry parties. The two brethren, William and Robert Leslie (who now are become, the said Robert especially, enemies to Christ Jesus and to all virtue) came to Rouen. William Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, in beggars' garments, came to Le Conquet, and for the space of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled as poor mariners, from port to port, till at length they got a French ship, and landed in the west. From thence they came to England, where they met with the said John Knox, he and Alexander Clark having been delivered that same winter.

John Knox in England and on the Continent.

The said John was first appointed preacher to Berwick, then to

Newcastle; and lastly, he was called to London and the south parts of England, where he remained until the death of King Edward the Sixth. Then he left England, and went to Geneva, where he remained in his private study, until he was called to be preacher to the English congregation at Frankfort. This call he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable servant of God, John Calvin. He remained at Frankfort until some of the learned, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with him. These men, because they despaired of prevailing before the magistrate there in the overt purpose of establishing their corruptions, accused him of treason committed against the Emperor, and against their sovereign Queen Mary, in that, in his Admonition to England, he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The magistrate, perceiving their malice and fearing that the said John should fall into the hands of his accusers by one means or another, gave secret warning to him to depart from the city; for they could not save him if he were required by the Emperor, or by the Queen of England, in the Emperor's name. So the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Dieppe, and thereafter to Scotland, as we shall hear.

In the winter that the galleys remained in Scotland, there were delivered Master James Balfour, his two brethren, David and Gilbert, John Auchinleck, John Sibbald, John Gray, William Guthrie, and Stephen Bell. The gentlemen that remained in prisons were, by the procurement of the Queen-Dowager, set at liberty in the month of July 1550. These were shortly thereafter recalled to Scotland, their peace was proclaimed, and they themselves were restored to their lands, in despite of their enemies. And that was done in hatred of the Duke, and because France began to thirst to have the regiment of Scotland in her

own hands. Howsoever it was, God made their enemies set them at liberty and freedom. There still remained a number of common servants in the galleys, but these were all delivered when the contract of peace was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Boulogne. So was the whole company set at liberty, none perishing except James Melvin, who departed from the miseries of this life in the Castle of Brest in Brittany.

This we write, that the posterity to come may understand how potently God wrought in preserving and delivering those that had but a small knowledge of His truth, and for the love of the same hazarded all. We or our posterity may see a fearful dispersion of such as oppose themselves to impiety, or take upon them to punish the same otherwise than laws of men will permit: we may see them forsaken by men, and, as it were, despised and punished by God. But, if we do, let us not damn the persons that punish vice for just causes, nor yet despair that the same God that casts down, for causes unknown to us, will again raise up the persons dejected, to His glory and their comfort....

Haddington proves the Truth of Master George Wishart's Foreboding.

Haddington being in the hands of the English, and much herschip being done in the country (for what the Englishmen did not destroy, the French consumed), God did begin to fight for Scotland; for to the town named He sent so contagious a pest, that with great difficulty could the English garrison have their dead buried. They were oft reinforced with new men, but all was in vain. Hunger and pest were within the town, and the enemy, with a camp-volant, [110] lay about them and intercepted all victuals, unless these were brought by a convoy from Berwick; and the Council of England was compelled, in spring, to withdraw its forces from that place. So, after spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied by such as first

should take possession--and those were the Frenchmen, with a mean number of the ancient inhabitants. Thus did God perform the words and the threatening of His servant Master George Wishart, who said that, for their contempt of God's messenger, they should be visited with sword and fire, with pestilence, strangers, and famine.

Peace proclaimed (April 1550): the Papists resume Persecution.

After this, peace was contracted betwixt France and England and Scotland; and a separate contract of peace was made betwixt Scotland and Flanders, with all the Easterlings; so that Scotland had peace with the world. But yet the Bishops would make war with God. As soon as they got any quietness, they apprehended Adam Wallace, a simple man, without great learning, but zealous in godliness and of an upright life. He with his wife, Beatrice Livingston, frequented the company of the Lady Ormiston, for the instruction of her children during the trouble of her husband, who then was banished. That bastard, called Archbishop of St. Andrews, took the said Adam from the place of Winton, and carried him to Edinburgh. And, in the kirk of the black thieves, alias Friars, he was brought to trial before the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, divers others besides, and the Bishops and their rabble.

The faithful Testimony and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace.

Master John Lauder was accuser, and alleged that he took upon him to preach. He answered that he never considered himself worthy of so excellent a vocation, and therefore never took upon him to preach; but that he would not deny that, sometimes at the table and sometimes in other privy places, he had read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God pleased to give him, to such as pleased to hear him.

"Knave," quoth one, "what have ye to do to meddle with the Scriptures?"

"I think," said he, "it is the duty of every Christian to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation, where it is to be

found, and that is within his Old and New Testament." "What then," said another, "shall we leave to the bishops and kirkmen to do, if every man shall be a babbler upon the Bible?" "It becometh you," said he, "to speak more reverently of God and of His blessed Word. If the judge were incorrupt, he would punish you for your blasphemy. To your question, I answer that, albeit ye and I and other five thousand within this realm should read the Bible, and speak of it what God should give us to speak, yet should we leave more to the bishops to do than either they will or yet can well do. We leave to them to preach the Evangel of Jesus Christ publicly, and to feed the flock which He hath redeemed with His own blood, and hath commended to the care of all true pastors. When we leave this unto them, methinks we leave to them a heavy burden; and we do them no wrong if we search our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but dumb dogs, and unsavoury salt that has altogether lost its season." The Bishops, offended, said, "What prating is this? Let his accusation be read."

And then was begun, "False traitor, heretic, thou didst baptize thine own bairn. Thou saidst there is no purgatory. Thou saidst that to pray to saints and for the dead is idolatry and a vain superstition, and so on. What sayest thou of these things?" He answered, "If I should be bound to answer, I would require an upright and indifferent judge." The Earl of Huntly disdainfully said, "Foolish man, wilt thou desire another judge than my Lord Duke's Grace, great Governor of Scotland, and my Lords the bishops, and the clergy here present?" Thereto he answered, "The bishops can be no judges of me; for they are open enemies to me and to the doctrine that I profess. And, as for my Lord Duke, I cannot tell if he has the knowledge that should be in him that should judge and discern betwixt lies and the truth, the inventions of men and the true worshipping of God. I desire God's Word," and with

that he produced the Bible, "to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that ye shall all hear. If by this book I shall be convicted to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, anything that repugns to God's will, I refuse not to die; but if I cannot be convicted, as I am assured by God's Word I shall not be, then I in God's name desire your assistance, that malicious men may not execute unjust tyranny upon me." The Earl of Huntly said, "What a babbling fool this is. Thou shalt get none other judges than these that sit here." Thereto the said Adam answered, "The good will of God be done. But be ye assured, my Lord, with such measure as ye mete to others, with the same measure it shall be meted to you again. I know that I shall die, but be ye assured that my blood will be required of your hands."

Alexander Earl of Glencairn, yet alive, then said to the Bishop of Orkney, and others that sat near him, "Take you yon, my lords of the clergy; for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death." And so, without fear, the said Adam prepared to answer. As to the baptizing of his own child, he said, "It was and is as lawful to me, for lack of a true minister, to baptize my own child, as it was to Abraham to circumcise his son Ishmael and his family. And as for purgatory, praying to saints, and praying for the dead, I have read both the New and Old Testaments often, but I neither could find mention nor assurance of them; and, therefore, I believe that they are but mere inventions of man, devised for covetousness's sake." "What sayest thou of the Mass?" speired [111] the Earl of Huntly. He answered, "I say, my Lord, as my Master Jesus Christ says, 'That which is in greatest estimation before men is abomination before God.'" Then all cried out, "Heresy! heresy!" And so this simple servant of God was adjudged to the fire; which he patiently sustained that same afternoon, upon the Castle

Hill.

Thus the Papists began again to pollute the land, which God had lately plagued. Their iniquity was not yet come to that full ripeness in which God willed that it should be made manifest to this whole realm that they were faggots prepared for the everlasting fire, and men whom neither plagues might correct, nor the light of God's Word convert from their darkness and impiety.

The Duke is deposed, and the Queen-Dowager is made Regent: 1554.

Peace contracted, the Queen-Dowager passed by sea to France, and took with her divers of the nobility of Scotland, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marischall, and Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell and Fleming, and Sir George Douglas; together with all the King's natural sons, and divers barons and gentlemen of ecclesiastical estate, the Bishop of Galloway and many others, with promises that they should be richly rewarded for their good service. What they received we cannot tell; but few made ruse [112] at their returning. The Dowager practised somewhat with her brethren, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Governor afterwards felt the weight of this: for shortly after her return he was deposed from the government--justly by God, but most unjustly by men--and she made Regent in the year of God 1554. A crown was put upon her head--as seemly a sight, if men had eyes, as to put a saddle upon the back of an unruly cow. Then did she begin to practise practice upon practice, how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and she brought to immortal glory....

The Death and Virtues of Edward VI.

Thus did light and darkness strive within the realm of Scotland; the darkness ever before the world suppressing the light, from the death of that notable servant of God, Master Patrick Hamilton, unto the death of Edward Sixth, the most godly and most virtuous King that hath been

known to have reigned in England or elsewhere these many years bypast, who departed the misery of this life on the sixth of July 1553. The death of this Prince was lamented by all the godly within Europe; for the graces given unto him by God, by nature as well as through erudition and godliness, passed the measure that is commonly given to other Princes in their greatest perfection, and yet he exceeded not sixteen years of age. What gravity beyond his years, what wisdom passing all expectation of man, and what dexterity in answering all questions proposed, were in that excellent Prince, the Ambassadors of all countries did bear witness. Yea, some that were mortal enemies to him and to his realm, amongst whom the Queen-Dowager of Scotland was not the least, could and did so testify. The said Queen-Dowager, returning from France through England, communed with him at length, and gave record, when she came to this realm, that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward than she would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe. His liberality towards the godly and learned, persecuted in other realms, was remarkable. Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Poles, Greeks, and Hebrews can yet give sufficient document [113] of this. Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Joannes Alasco, and many others were honourably entertained upon his public stipends, as their patents can witness, and as they themselves during their lives never would have denied.

The superstitious Cruelty of Mary of England, and of the Queen Regent.

After the death of this most virtuous Prince, of whom the godless people of England, for the most part, were not worthy, Satan intended nothing less than that the light of Jesus Christ should have been utterly extinguished within the whole Isle of Britain. For there was raised up after him, in God's hot displeasure, that idolatrous Jezebel, mischievous Mary, of the Spaniards' blood; a cruel persecutrix of God's

people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficiently witness. And in Scotland, at that same time, as we have heard, there reigned that crafty practiser, Marie of Lorraine, then named Regent of Scotland; who, bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, did only abide the opportunity to cut the throats of all those within the realm of Scotland in whom she suspected any knowledge of God. Satan thought that his kingdom of darkness was in quietness and rest, in the one realm as well as in the other; but that provident eye of the Eternal our God, who continually watches for preservation of His Church, did so dispose all things, that Satan shortly after found himself far disappointed in his conclusions. For in the cruel persecution carried on by that monster, Mary of England, godly men were dispersed among divers nations, and then it pleased the goodness of our God to send some of these unto us, for our comfort and instruction.

John Knox follows William Harlaw and John Willock to Scotland.

First came a simple man, William Harlaw, who, although his erudition excels not, is yet, for his zeal, and diligent plainness in doctrine, to this day worthy of praise, and remains a faithful member within the Church of Scotland. After him came that notable man, John Willock, with some commission from the Duchess of Embden to the Queen Regent. But his principal purpose was to ascertain what work God had for him in his native country. These two did sometimes assemble the brethren in several companies, and by their exhortations those began to be greatly encouraged, and did show that they had an earnest thirst of godliness.

Last came John Knox, in the end of harvest, in the year of God 1555. Lodged in the house of that notable man of God, James Syme, he began to exhort secretly in that same house; and thereto repaired the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, and some certain personages of the town.

The good Testimony of Elizabeth Adamson, Mistress Barron.

Amongst these was Elizabeth Adamson, spouse to James Barron, burgess of Edinburgh, who had a troubled conscience, and delighted much in the company of the said John, because he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies, than did the common sort of teachers that she had heard before, for she had heard none but Friars. She did with much greediness drink of that fountain, and at her death she expressed the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all those that repaired to her. Albeit she suffered most grievous torment in her body, from her mouth there was heard nothing but praising of God, except that sometimes she would lament the troubles of those that were troubled by her. When her sisters asked what she thought of the pain which she then suffered in body, in comparison with that with which sometimes she had been troubled in spirit, she answered, "A thousand years of this torment, and ten times more joined unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an hour that I suffered in my spirit. I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, that He has delivered me from that most fearful pain; and welcome be this, even so long as it pleaseth His godly Majesty to discipline me therewith."

A little before her departure, the said Elizabeth desired her sisters and some others that were beside her to sing a psalm. Amongst others, she appointed the Hundred and Third Psalm, beginning, "My soul, praise thou the Lord always." This ended, she said, "At the teaching of this Psalm, my troubled soul first began effectually to taste of the mercy of God, which now to me is more sweet and precious than were all the kingdoms of the earth given to me to possess for a thousand years." The priests urged her with their ceremonies and superstitions, but to them she answered, "Depart from me, ye sergeants of Satan; for I have

refused, and in your own presence do refuse, all your abominations. That which ye call your Sacrament and Christ's body, as ye have deceived us to believe in times past, is nothing but an idol, and has nothing to do with the right institution of Jesus Christ. Therefore, in God's name, I command you not to trouble me." They departed, alleging that she raved, and wist not what she said. Shortly thereafter she slept in the Lord Jesus, to the no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. We could not omit mention of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession before the great light of God's Word did universally shine throughout this realm.

John Knox argues that the Mass is Idolatry.

At the first coming of the said John Knox, divers who had a zeal to godliness made small scruple to go to the Mass, or to communicate with the abused sacraments in the papistical manner. Perceiving this, he began, in privy conference as well as in preaching, to show the impiety of the Mass, and how dangerous it was to participate in any way with idolatry. The consciences of some were affrighted, and the matter began to agitate from man to man. So the said John was called to supper by the Laird of Dun for that purpose, and there were convened David Forrest, Master Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lethington, younger, a man of good learning, and of sharp wit and reasoning. The question was proposed, and it was answered by the said John that it was nowise lawful to a Christian to present himself to that idol. Nothing was omitted that might make for the temporiser, and yet was every head fully answered, and especially one wherein they thought their great defence stood, to wit, that Paul, at the commandment of James and the elders of Jerusalem, went to the temple and feigned to pay his vow with others. After a full discussion, William Maitland concluded, saying, "I see perfectly that our shifts

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

The answer of John Knox to the act of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was that Paul's act had nothing to do with their going to the Mass. To pay vows was sometimes God's commandment, and was never idolatry: but the Mass was from the beginning, and still remained odious idolatry. "Secondarily," said he, "I greatly doubt whether either James's commandment or Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Ghost...." After these and like reasonings, the Mass began to be abhorred by such as before had frequented it for the fashion, and for avoidance of slander, as then they termed it.

John Knox preaches in different Parts, and administers the Lord's Table.

At the request of the Laird of Dun, John Knox followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily occupied in preaching; and the principal men of that country were among his audiences. After his return, his residence was most in Calder. The Lord Erskine that now is, the Earl of Argyll, then Lord of Lorne, and Lord James Stewart, then Prior of St. Andrews, and now Earl of Moray, came to Calder and so approved his doctrine that they expressed a desire that it should have been public. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh; and, after Yule, on the invitation of the Laird of Barr and Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Barr, in the house of the Carnell, in the Kinyeancleuch, in the town of Ayr, and in the houses of Ochiltree and Gadgirth, and in some of them he ministered the Lord's Table.

Before Easter, the Earl of Glencairn sent for him to his place of Finlayston; where, after preaching, he likewise ministered the Lord's Table. Besides Glencairn himself, his lady, two of his sons, and

certain of his friends were partakers. When he returned to Calder, divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, assembled there, for the preaching as well as for the right use of the Lord's Table, which they had never practised before. Thence he departed the second time to the Laird of Dun. His teaching was then with greater liberty, and the gentlemen required that he should likewise minister unto them the Table of the Lord Jesus, whereof were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of Mearns. To the praise of God, these do, to this day, constantly adhere to the doctrine which then they professed, to wit, that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves to maintain, to the uttermost of their powers, the true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity.

John Knox is summoned to Answer for his Doctrine: the Diet abandoned.

The Friars from all quarters flocked to the bishops with the bruit, and the said John Knox was summoned to appear in the Kirk of the Black Friars in Edinburgh on the fifteenth day of May 1556. The said John decided to obey the summons, and for that purpose John Erskine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, assembled in the town of Edinburgh. But that diet was not held; for the bishops either perceived informality in their own proceedings, or feared that danger might ensue upon their extreme measures. On the Saturday before, they cassed [114] their own summons; and the said John, on the day appointed by the summons, taught in Edinburgh in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging, and there he continued teaching for ten days, both before and after noon.

John Knox writes to the Queen Regent.

The Earl of Glencairn allured the Earl Marischall, with Harry Drummond, his counsellor for that time, to hear an exhortation, one night. They

were so well satisfied, that they both desired the said John to write unto the Queen Regent a letter that might move her to hear the Word of God. He obeyed, and wrote that which was afterwards printed, and is called "The Letter to the Queen Dowager." This was delivered into her own hands by the said Alexander, Earl of Glencairn. When she had read this letter, she delivered it to that proud prelate, Beaton, [115] Archbishop of Glasgow, a day or two after, and said in mockage, "Please you, my Lord, read a pasquil."

John Knox is recalled to Geneva, and leaves the Realm: he is burned in Effigy.

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came unto him from the English Kirk in Geneva, in God's name commanding him, as their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort. Upon this, the said John prepared to obey the summons. He bade farewell in almost every congregation in which he had preached, and exhorted us to prayers, to reading of the Scriptures, and to mutual conference, until such time as God should give unto us greater liberty. By the procurement and labours of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, he visited the old Earl of Argyll in the Castle of Campbell, and there he taught certain days. The Laird of Glenorchy, being one of his auditors, desired the Earl of Argyll to detain him; but he, purposed upon his journey, would not at that time stay for any request. He added that, if God so blessed these small beginnings and they continued in godliness, they should find him obedient whensoever they pleased to command him; but that he must needs visit once that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave. In the month of July he left this realm and passed to France, and so to Geneva. Immediately after, the bishops summoned him, and, for non-compearance, burned him in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh, in the year of God 1555.

The Regent declares War on England: the Nobles decline to move.

In the winter that the said John abode in Scotland, there appeared a comet, the course of which was from the south and south-west to the north and northeast. It was seen during the months of November, December, and January, and was called "the fiery besom." Soon after, Christian, King of Denmark, died, and war rose betwixt Scotland and England; for the Commissioners of both realms, who for almost six months had treated upon the conditions of peace and were upon a near point of conclusion, were disappointed. At Newbattle, the Queen Regent, with her Council of the French faction, decreed war, without giving any intimation to the Commissioners for Scotland. Such is the fidelity of Princes, guided by priests, whenever they seek to serve their own affections. But the nobility of Scotland, after consultation amongst themselves, went to the pavilion of Monsieur D'Oysel, and to his face declared that in nowise would they invade England. They commanded the ordnance to be retired; and this was done without further delay. This put an affray [116] in Monsieur D'Oysel's breath, and kindled such a fire in the Queen Regent's stomach as was not well slockened until her breath failed. And thus was that enterprise frustrated, although war continued.

The Evangel begins to flourish in Scotland.

During this period the Evangel of Jesus Christ began wondrously to flourish. William Harlaw began publicly to exhort in Edinburgh; John Douglas, who had been with the Earl of Argyll, preached in Leith, and sometimes exhorted in Edinburgh; Paul Methven began publicly to preach in Dundee; and so did divers others in Angus and Mearns. And last, in God's good pleasure, John Willock arrived the second time from Embden; and his return was so joyful to the brethren that their zeal and godly courage daily increased. Albeit he contracted a dangerous sickness, he

did not cease from labour, but taught and exhorted from his bed. Some of the nobility (of whom some are fallen back, among whom the Lord Seton is chief), with many barons and gentlemen, were his auditors. These were instructed in godliness by him, and wondrously comforted. They kept their conventions, and held councils with such gravity and closeness, that the enemies trembled. The images were stolen away in all parts of the country; and in Edinburgh the great idol called Saint Giles was first drowned in the Nor' Loch, and then burned. This raised no small trouble in the town.

Images are stolen, and the Prelates practise with the Regent.

The Friars rowping [117] like ravens upon the bishops, the bishops ran to the Queen. She was favourable enough to them, but she thought it could not be to her advantage to offend such a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the Evangel and the name of Protestants. Yet she consented to summon the preachers; and the Protestants, neither offended nor yet afraid, determined to keep the day of summons, as that they did. When the prelates and priests perceived this, they procured that there should be made a proclamation that all men that were come to the town without commandment of the authority, should with all diligence repair to the Borders, and there remain fifteen days: for the Bishop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme, said to the Queen, "Madam,

Because they are come without order,

I red ye, send them to the Border."

Now, God had so provided that the Quarter of the Westland, in which were many faithful men, were that same day returned from the Border. Understanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the priests, they assembled and made passage for themselves until they came to the very privy chamber, where the Queen Regent and the bishops were. The gentlemen began to complain of their strange entertainment, considering

that her Grace had found in them faithful obedience in all things lawful. When the Queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, James Chalmers of Gadgirth, said, "Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these Jefwellis, [118] and of that bastard (meaning the Archbishop of St. Andrews) that stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants that they may feed their idle bellies: they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us: shall we suffer this any longer? Nay, Madam: it shall not be." And therewith every man put on his steel bonnet.

Then was heard nothing on the Queen's part but, "My joys, my hearts, what ails you? Me means no evil to you nor to your preachers. The bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. Me know nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and me will hear the controversy that is betwixt the bishops and you. They shall do you no wrong. My Lords," said she to the bishops, "I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously moved, she turned again, and said, "O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your mind? and should ye not love your neighbours as yourselves?" With these and the like fair words, she kept the bishops from buffets at that time.

The downcasting of Saint Giles's Image, and Discomfiture of Baal's Priests.

The day of summons being discharged, the brethren universally began to be further encouraged. But the bishops could not be quiet; and Saint Giles's day approaching, they gave charge to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh, either to get again the old Saint Giles, or else at their own expense to make a new image. The Council answered that to them the charge appeared very unjust; for they understood that God in

some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed. Where He had commanded images to be set up, they had not read; and they desired the Bishop to find a warrant for his commandment. The Bishop, offended, admonished them under pain of cursing; but they prevented [119] this by a formal appellation, appealing from him, as from a partial and corrupt judge, unto the Pope's Holiness. Greater things shortly following, that passed into oblivion.

Yet the priests and Friars would not cease to have that great solemnity and manifest abomination which they accustomably had upon Saint Giles's day. They would have that idol borne; and therefore all necessary preparation was duly made. A marmoset idol was borrowed from the Grey Friars, a silver piece of James Carmichael being laid in pledge. It was fast fixed with iron nails upon a barrow, called their fertour. [120]

There assembled priests, Friars, Canons, and rotten Papists, with tabors and trumpets, banners and bagpipes, and who was there to lead the ring, but the Queen Regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of that feast. West about it went, and came down the High Street, and down to the Canon Cross. The Queen Regent dined that day in Sandy Carpetyne's house, betwixt the Bows, and so, when the idol returned again, she left it, and went to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wondrously inflamed, and, seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were determined to be revenged. They were divided into several companies, of which not one knew of another. There were some temporisers that day (amongst whom David Forrest, called the General, was one) who, fearing the chance would be taken to do as it befell, laboured to stay the brethren. But that could not be.

Immediately after the Queen had entered the lodging, some of those that were in the enterprise drew nigh to the idol, as if willing to help to bear him, and getting the fertour upon their shoulders, began to

shudder, thinking that thereby the idol should have fallen. But that was provided for and prevented by the iron nails, as we have said; and so one began to cry, "Down with the idol; down with it;" and without delay it was pulled down. One took him by the heels and, dadding [121] his head on the causeway, left Dagon without head or hands, and cried, "Fie upon thee, thou young Saint Giles, thy father would have tarried four such." The priest's patrons made some brag at the first; but when they saw the feebleness of their god, priests and Friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch. Then might have been seen so sudden a fray as seldom has been amongst that sort of men within this realm. Down went the crosses, off went the surplice, and the round caps cornered with the crowns. [122] The Grey Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first reached the house; such a sudden fray amongst the generation of Antichrist within this realm never came before. By chance, there lay upon a stair a merry Englishman, who, seeing that the discomfiture was without blood, thought he would add some merriness to the matter, and so cried he over the stair, and said, "Fie upon you, why have ye broken order? Down the street ye passed in array and with great mirth. Why flee ye now, villains, without order? Turn and strike everyone a stroke for the honour of his god. Fie, cowards, fie, ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages again!" But exhortations were then unprofitable; for, after Baal had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confused army.

The Queen Regent laid this up amongst her other mementoes, until she might see the time proper to revenge it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be apprehended; for the brethren assembled themselves in such sort, in companies, singing psalms and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astonished....

The most part of the Lords that were in France at the Queen's marriage, although they got their congé from the Court, yet forgot to return to Scotland. For whether it was by an Italian posset, or by French figs, or by the potage of their potinger, who was a Frenchman, there departed from this life the Earl of Cassillis, the Earl of Rothes, Lord Fleming, and the Bishop of Orkney, whose end was even according to his life.... When word of the departing of so many patrons of the papistry, and of the manner of their departing, came to the Queen Regent, she said, after astonishment and musing, "What shall I say of such men? They lived as beasts, and as beasts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterprise."

The Dean of Restalrig, Hypocrite, begins to Preach.

While these things were happening in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite, Master John Sinclair, then Dean of Restalrig, and now Lord President and Bishop of Brechin, began to preach in his Kirk of Restalrig. At the beginning he kept himself so indifferent that many were of the opinion that he was not far from the Kingdom of God. Such as feared God had begun to have a good opinion of him, and the Friars and others of that sect had begun to whisper that if he did not take heed to himself and to his doctrine he would be the destruction of the whole estate of the Kirk. But his hypocrisy could not long be cloaked; for, when he learned of this change in public opinion, he promised a sermon, in which he should give his judgment upon all such heads as were then in controversy in the matters of religion. The bruit hereof secured him a great audience at the first; but he so handled himself that day that no godly man did credit him after that. Not only gainsaid he the doctrine of Justification and of prayer, which before he had taught, but he also set up and maintained the Papistry to the uttermost prick; yea, holy water, pilgrimage, purgatory, and pardons were of such

virtue in his conceit that he looked not to be saved without them.

In the meantime, the clergy made a brag that they would dispute. But Master David Panter, who then lived and lay at Restalrig, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming that if ever they disputed--except where they themselves were both judge and party, and where fire and sword should obey their decree--their cause was wrecked for ever. Their victory, he said, stood neither in God nor in His Word, but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own councils, together with sword and fire, "and thereto," said he, "these new start-up fellows will give no place. They will call you to your account book, the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the Devil will be proven to be God. And therefore, if ye love yourselves, never enter into disputation; nor yet call ye the matter in question; but defend your possession, or else all is lost." Caiaphas could not give a better counsel to his companions; but God disappointed both them and him, as we shall hear afterwards.

The Recall of John Knox.

At this same time, some of the nobility directed letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth.... These letters were delivered to the said John in Geneva, in the month of May immediately thereafter. Upon their receipt, he took consultation with his own church as well as with that notable servant of God, John Calvin, and with other godly ministers. All, with one consent, said that he could not refuse that vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God, and unmerciful to his country. And so he returned answer, with promise to visit Scotland with reasonable expedition, as soon as he might make arrangements for the dear flock that was committed to his charge. In

the end of the following September, he departed from Geneva, and came to Dieppe, where there met him contrary letters; as by this his answer thereto we may understand.

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

"According to my promise, Right Honourable, I came to Dieppe on the twenty-third of October, of full mind, by the good will of God, with the first ships to have visited you. But because two letters, not very pleasing to the flesh, were there presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a time. The one was directed to myself from a faithful brother, who made mention that new consultation was appointed for final conclusion of the matter before purposed, and desired me therefore to abide in these parts until the determination of the same. The other letter was direct from a gentleman to a friend, with charge to inform me that he had communed with all those that seemed most frack and fervent in the matter, and that in none did he find such boldness and constancy as was requisite for such an enterprise; but that some did, as he writeth, repent that ever any such thing was moved; some were partly ashamed; and others were able to deny that ever they did consent to any such purpose, if any trial or question should be taken thereof, etc. Which letters, when I had considered, I partly was confounded, and partly was pierced with anguish and sorrow. Confounded I was, that I had so far travelled in the matter, moving the same to the most godly and the most learned that this day we know to live in Europe, to the effect that I might have their judgments and grave counsels, for assurance as well of your consciences as of mine, in all enterprises. That nothing should succeed so long consultation, cannot but redound either to your shame or mine; for either it shall appear that I was

marvellously vain, being so solicitous where no necessity required, or else that such as were my movers thereto lacked the ripeness of judgment in their first vocation.... The cause of my dolour and sorrow, God is witness, is for nothing pertaining either to my corporal contentment or worldly displeasure; but it is for the grievous plagues and punishments of God, which assuredly shall apprehend not only you, but every inhabitant of that miserable realm and Isle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of His Evangel, deliver you from bondage.... If any persuade you, for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he never esteemed so wise and friendly, let him be judged by you both foolish and your mortal enemy: foolish, because he understandeth nothing of God's approved wisdom; and enemy unto you, because he laboureth to separate you from God's favour; provoking His vengeance and grievous plagues against you, because he would that ye should prefer your worldly rest to God's praise and glory, and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren. I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise, as in my former letters I did signify unto you; but O joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will, revealed by His Word! For, however terrible they appear to the judgment of the natural man, yet are they never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers. For the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to His promise, all such as with simplicity do obey Him.... Your subjects, yea your brethren are oppressed, their bodies and souls are held in bondage: and God speaketh to your consciences, unless ye be dead with the blind world, that you ought to hazard your own lives, be it against Kings or Emperors, for their deliverance; for only for that cause are ye called Princes of the people, and ye receive of your

brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment; not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men falsely do suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the utmost of your power...."

The Lords of the Congregation make a Covenant.

New consultation was taken as to what was best to be done: and in the end it was concluded that they would follow out their original purpose, and commit themselves and whatsoever God had given unto them into His hands, rather than suffer idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the subjects of that realm, as long they had been, to be defrauded of the only food of their souls, the true preaching of Christ's Evangel. And that every one should be the more assured of the other, a common bond was made and by some subscribed. The tenor thereof was as follows:--

"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to down-thring [123] and to destroy the Evangel of Christ and His Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God, and His Congregation, that we, by His grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole power and wearing of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid

Congregation. Unto the which holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and we do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof: And moreover, we shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation by our subscription of these presents:--At Edinburgh, the third day of December, the year of God 1557: God called to witness.

"A. Erle of Ergyle.

"Glencarne.

"Morton.

"Archibald Lord of Lorne.

"Johnne Erskyne of Doun."

Et cetera.

The first Heads for the Government of the Reformed Kirk.

Immediately after the subscription of this foresaid Bond, the Lords and Barons professing Christ Jesus convened frequently in counsel; when these Heads were concluded:--

First, it is thought expedient, devised, and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the common prayers be read, weekly on Sunday, and on the other festival days, publicly in the parish kirks, with the lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayers: and, if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same; and, if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.

Secondly, it is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, until afterwards God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.

The Earl of Argyll promotes the Cause of the Reformed Kirk.

These two heads concerning the religion and some others concerning the policy being concluded, the old Earl of Argyll, took the maintenance of John Douglas, caused him to preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things according to his counsel. Divers others took the same boldness within towns as well as to landward; and this did not a little trouble the bishops and Queen Regent.... Shortly after this, God in His mercy called the said Earl of Argyll from the miseries of this life.

The bishops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way; but God disappointed them. For the said Earl departed most firmly adhering to the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry; and in his testament he directed his son to study to set forward the public and true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry, to the uttermost of his power.

The Bishops make a feeble Show of Reformation.

The bishops continued in their Provincial Council. That they might give some show to the people that they proponed reformation, they spread abroad a rumour of this, and published a printed manifesto, which the people dubbed "The Twa-penny Faith." Amongst the Acts of the Council, there was much ado (1) for caps, shaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and such other trifles: (2) That none should enjoy office or benefice ecclesiastical, except a priest: (3) That no Kirk-man should nourish his own bairns in his own company; but that every one should hold the children of others: (4) That none should put his own son in his own benefice: (5) That, if any were found in open adultery, for the first fault, he should lose the third of his benefice; for the second crime, the half; and for the third, the whole benefice. The Bishop of Moray, and other prelates, appealed against these Acts, saying that they would

abide by the Canon law. And this might they well enough do, so long as they remained interpreters, dispensers, makers, and disannullers of that law....

The Regent practises for Grant of the Crown-matrimonial to the King of France.

Persecution was decreed by the Queen Regent and the prelates. But there remained a point which the Queen Regent and France had not at that time obtained from the Scots Parliament. It was desired that the crown-matrimonial should be granted to Francis, husband to our Sovereign, so that France and Scotland should be one kingdom, the subjects of both realms having equal liberty, Scotsmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland. The glister [124] of the profit that was supposed to have ensued to Scotsmen blinded many men's eyes at the first sight. But a small wind caused that most suddenly to vanish away; for the greatest offices and benefices within the realm were given to Frenchmen. Monsieur de Ruby kept the Great Seal. Villemore was Comptroller. Melrose and Kelso were to be a Commend [125] to the poor Cardinal of Lorraine. On the other hand, the freedoms of Scottish merchants were restrained in Rouen, and they were compelled to pay toll and taxations other than their ancient liberties did bear.

To get the matrimonial crown, the Queen Regent left no point of the compass unsailed. With the bishops and priests she practised in this manner. "Ye may clearly see that I cannot do what I would within this realm; for these heretics and confederates of England are so bound together, that they stop all good order. But, if ye be favourable unto me in this suit of the matrimonial crown to be granted to my daughter's husband, ye shall see how I shall handle these heretics and traitors before long." And truly, in these promises she meant no deceit in this respect. To the Protestants she said, "I am not unmindful how often ye

have suited me for reformation in religion, and gladly would I consent thereunto; but ye see that the power and craft of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, together with the power of the Duke, and of the Kirkmen, are ever bent against me in all my proceedings. So that I can do nothing, unless the full authority of this realm be devolved to the King of France, and this cannot be except by donation of the crown-matrimonial. If ye will bring this to pass, then devise ye what ye please in matters of religion, and they shall be granted."

The Parliament of October 1558: the Crown-matrimonial is granted.

Lord James Stewart, then Prior of St. Andrews, was directed to the Earl of Argyll, with this commission and credit, and more promises than we list to rehearse. By dissimulation to those that were simple and true of heart, she inflamed them to be more fervent in her petition than she herself appeared to be. And so, at the Parliament held at Edinburgh in the month of October, the year of God 1558, the crown-matrimonial was clearly voted. No man protested (except the Duke for his interest), and yet for this proceeding there was no better law produced than that in the Pontifical there was a solemn Mass appointed for such a purpose.

[1] "The First Book of the History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland. Containing the Manner and by what Persons the Light of Christ's Evangel hath been manifested unto this Realm, after that horrible and universal Defection from the Truth, which has come by the means of that Roman Antichrist."

[2] Phraseology.

[3] Familiar.

[4] The form of burning one's bill, on recanting, was this,--the person accused was to bring a faggot of dry sticks, and burn it publicly, by which ceremony he signified that he destroyed that which should have been the instrument of his death.--Keith.

[5] Rule; control.

[6] Valet-de-chambre.

[7] Scorched.

[8] Shrivelled.

[9] Parasites; flatterers.

[10] Armed followers.

[11] Slighted; undervalued.

[12] Porridge-stick.

[13] Brook.

[14] A small copper coin.

[15] Wall.

[16] Shirt.

[17] Showed; practised.

[18] Underground.

[19] Smoke.

[20] Toll.

[21] Accusation.

[22] Presenting themselves.

[23] Macalpine.

[24] The crop from which the teind was drawn.

[25] Accused.

[26] Threw.

[27] Ingenuity; genius.

[28] Frightened; afraid.

[29] Warnings.

[30] Talk (common).

[31] Over against.

[32] Stumbles.

[33] Disperse.

[34] Threat.

[35] Intrigues.

[36] Hangers (small swords).

[37] Plundering.

[38] Quenched.

[39] Forthwith.

[40] Stuck in the mire.

[41] Battle-cry.

[42] Shot.

[43] Carrier.

[44] Lost.

[45] Spark.

[46] Match.

[47] Secret hoard of money.

[48] Repute.

[49] David Rizzio.

[50] Worthless characters.

[51] Unwilling.

[52] Made bustling preparation.

[53] Yards.

[54] Procured.

[55] Anticipate.

[56] Abode.

[57] Vassalage.

[58] Spreading abroad.

[59] Neck.

[60] Mocked.

[61] Wheeled.

[62] Bag; case.

[63] Feats of valour.

[64] Henry, Lord Darnley.

[65] Late; deceased.

[66] Kinsman's.

[67] Outlawry.

[68] Increase nor diminish.

[69] Coats of mail.

[70] Conversation.

[71] Dramatic entertainment founded on a passage of Scripture: a "mystery."

[72] A state of ill humour.

[73] Promise made at the arrest of Wishart, that he should not be delivered to the Governor or the Cardinal.

[74] Second last day.

[75] He had been tutor to James V.

[76] See Glossary.

[77] Fists and fisticuffs.

[78] Struck; "cracked."

[79] Bristle, i.e. beard.

[80] Jesting.

[81] Knox acknowledges that he has here incorporated John Foxe's account of the trial of Wishart.

[82] Head-piece.

[83] Armour for the legs.

[84] Hospitable.

[85] Repent.

[86] Lying.

[87] Gnashed.

[88] Fury.

[89] Synod; consistory.

[90] Caused.

[91] Staunch.

[92] Strong.

[93] Fire-basket.

[94] Long small sword.

[95] Enjoy; possess.

[96] Clip.

[97] Harshness.

[98] Jest.

[99] Chrisom.

[100] Skill.

[101] Afterwards Official of Lothian: "the most corrupt man of his age."--Robertson.

[102] Mary of Lorraine, Queen of James V.

[103] Knocked.

[104] Sallied forth.

[105] Struck.

[106] Scared.

[107] Troublesome.

[108] Gifts; bribes.

[109] Skipper and the lieutenant.

[110] Expeditionary force.

[111] Inquired.

[112] Boast.

[113] Evidence.

[114] Annulled.

[115] James, nephew of the Cardinal.

[116] Terror; fright.

[117] Crying hoarsely.

[118] Jail-birds.

[119] Anticipated.

[120] Coffer.

[121] Knocking.

[122] Priests jostled with friars.

[123] Overthrow.

[124] Lustre.

[125] An ecclesiastical benefice committed to a temporary holder.

BOOK SECOND. [126]

1558-1559.

The Preface to the Second Book. [127]

Lest Satan shall take occasion of our long silence to blaspheme, and to slander us the Protestants of the realm of Scotland by suggesting that our actions tended rather to sedition and rebellion than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion; we have thought it expedient, as truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us, a great part of the nobility and barons of the realm, to take the sword of just defence against those that most unjustly have sought our destruction. In this our Confession we shall faithfully declare what moved us to take action, what we have asked, and what we require of the sacred authority. Our cause being thus made known, our enemies as well as our brethren in all realms may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France and by their faction. Thus, too, our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of whatever religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves as to whether they may with safe conscience oppose themselves to us. We only seek that the glorious Evangel of Christ Jesus may be preached, His holy Sacraments be truly ministered, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry be suppressed in this realm, and the liberty of this our native country remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers.

The Consciences of Judges, Lords, and Rulers are awakened.

While the Queen Regent practised with the prelates, how the blessed Evangel of Christ Jesus might be utterly suppressed within Scotland, God so blessed the labours of His weak servants that no small part of the Barons of this realm began to abhor the tyranny of the bishops. God

did so open their eyes by the light of His Word, that they could clearly discern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God. Yea, men almost universally began to doubt whether they might give their bodily presence to the Mass without offending God, or offer their children for papistical baptism. When the most godly and the most learned in Europe had answered these doubts, both by word and writing, affirming that we might do neither, without extreme peril to our souls, we began to be more troubled. Then also, men of estimation, who bore rule amongst us, began to examine themselves concerning their duties towards reformation of religion, as well as towards the just defence of their most cruelly persecuted brethren. And so divers questions began to be moved, to wit, whether such as were judges, lords, and rulers of the people might, with safe conscience, serve the superior powers in maintaining idolatry, in persecuting their brethren, and in suppressing Christ's truth? Or, whether they, to whom God had in some cases committed the administration of justice, might suffer the blood of their brethren to be shed in their presence, without any declaration that such tyranny displeased them? By the plain Scripture it was found that a lively faith required a plain confession, when Christ's truth was attacked; that not only are they guilty that do evil, but so also are they that assent to evil. It is plain that they that assent to evil, seeing iniquity openly committed, do by their silence seem to justify and allow what is done.

These things being sufficiently proven by evident Scriptures of God, every man began to look more diligently to his salvation; for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy, called the Churchmen, was and is so manifest, that whoever doth deny it declares himself ignorant of God, and enemy to Christ Jesus. We therefore, with humble confession of our former offences, began, with fasting and supplication unto God, to seek

some remedy in so present a danger. At the outset it was decided that the brethren in every town should at certain times assemble together for common prayers, and for exercise and reading of the Scriptures, until it should please God to give the sermon of exhortation to some, for comfort and instruction of the rest.

The Office of Elder is instituted, and the Privy Kirk is founded.

God did so bless our weak beginning that, within a few months, the hearts of many were so strengthened that we sought to have the face of a Church amongst us, and to have open crimes punished, without respect of person. For that purpose, by common election, elders were appointed. To them the whole brethren promised obedience; for at that time we had no public ministers of the Word; but certain zealous men, amongst whom were the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, Master Robert Lockhart, Master Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw, and others, exhorted their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. Shortly after did God stir up His servant, Paul Methven (whose latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him), and he in boldness of spirit began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife. God did so work with him that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry, and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto His blessed ordinances. In consequence, the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public Church Reformed, and in this the Word was openly preached, and Christ's Sacraments were truly ministered.

John Willock preaches: formal Steps towards a Public Reformation are taken.

In the meantime God did send to us our dear brother, John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after short abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh. There, notwithstanding his long and dangerous sickness, he so encouraged the brethren by godly exhortations, that we

began to deliberate upon some public Reformation; for the corruption in religion was such that, with safe conscience, we could no longer sustain it. Yet, because we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred authority, with one consent, after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded that by our public and common supplication we should attempt to secure the favour, support, and assistance of the Queen, then Regent, towards a godly reformation. For that purpose, after we had prepared our oration and petitions, we appointed from amongst us a man whose age and years deserved reverence, whose honesty and worship might have craved audience of any magistrate on earth, and whose faithful service to the authority at all times had been such that on him could fall no suspicion of unlawful disobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commission and power in all our names then present, before the Queen Regent thus to speak:--

The first Oration and Petition of the Protestants of Scotland to the Queen Regent.

"Albeit we have of long time contained ourselves in such modesty, Most Noble Princess, that neither the exile of body, tinsel [128] of goods, nor perishing of this mortal life, was able to convene us to ask from your Grace reformation and redress of those wrongs and of that sore grief patiently borne by us in bodies and minds for so long a time; yet are we now, of very conscience and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave, at your Grace's feet, remedy against the most unjust tyranny used against your Grace's most obedient subjects, by those that are called the Estate Ecclesiastical. Your Grace cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and the right worshipping of God, and how the clergy, as they desire to be termed, usurp to themselves such empire above the consciences of men

that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without further respect to God's pleasure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in His most holy Word; or else there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire, and sword. By these means, many of our brethren have been stricken most cruelly and most unjustly of late years within this realm. This now we find to trouble and wound our consciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duty before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruel murderers, seeing we are a part of that power which God hath established in this realm, or else to have given with them open testification of our faith. Now we ourselves offer to do this, lest we shall seem to justify their cruel tyranny by our continual silence.

"This condition of affairs doth not only displease us, but as your Grace's wisdom most prudently doth foresee, for the quieting of this intestine dissension, a public Reformation, in religion as well as in temporal government was most necessary. To this task, as we are informed, ye have most gravely and most godly exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility, to employ their study, diligence, and care. We, therefore, of conscience, dare no longer dissemble in so weighty a matter which concerneth the glory of God and our salvation. Neither now dare we withdraw our presence, or conceal our petitions, lest the adversaries hereafter shall object to us that place was granted to reformation, and yet no man suited for the same; and so should our silence be prejudicial unto us in time to come. Therefore, knowing no other order placed in this realm, but your Grace, in your grave Council, set to amend, as well the disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the temporal regiment, we most humbly prostrate ourselves before your feet, asking your justice, and your gracious help, against them that falsely traduce and accuse us, as if we were heretics and

schismatics. Under that colour they seek our destruction; because we seek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and that Christ's religion be restored to its original purity. Further, we crave of your Grace to hear, with open and patient ears, these our subsequent requests; and, to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, mercifully to grant the same, unless by God's plain Word any be able to prove that justly they ought to be denied.

"First, Humbly we ask that, as we have, by the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Testaments in our common tongue, as spiritual food to our souls, so from henceforth it may be lawful that we may convene publicly or privately to our Common Prayers, in our vulgar tongue; to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced, in fervent and oft prayer, to commend to God the Holy Church universal, the Queen our Sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the stability of their succession, your Grace Regent, the Nobility, and the whole Estate of this Realm.

"Secondly, If it shall happen in our said conventions that any hard place of Scripture be read, from which no profit ariseth to the conveners, we ask that it shall be lawful to any person qualified in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory and to the profit of the hearers. If any think that this liberty would be occasion of confusion, debate, or heresy, we are content that it be provided that the said interpretation shall underlie the judgment of the most godly and most learned within the realm at this time.

"Thirdly, We seek that the holy Sacrament of Baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue; so that the godfathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and

the infant, but also that the Church then assembled may be more gravely informed and instructed of the duties which at all times they owe to God, according to the promise made unto Him, when they were received into His household by the lavachre [129] of spiritual regeneration.

"Fourthly, We desire that the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of His most blessed body and blood, may likewise be ministered unto us in the vulgar tongue; and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

"Lastly, We most humbly require that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of prelates, and of the estate ecclesiastical may be so reformed, that the people may not have occasion (as for many days they have had) to contemn their ministers, and the preaching whereof they should be messengers. If they suspect that we, envying their honours or coveting their riches and possessions rather than zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travail and labour for this Reformation; we are content not only that the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly approved laws of Justinian the Emperor, decide the controversy between us and them. And if it shall be found that either malevolently or ignorantly we ask more than these three forenamed have required and continually do require of able and true ministers in Christ's Church, we refuse not correction, as your Grace, with right judgment, shall think meet. But if all the forenamed shall damn that which we damn and approve that which we require, then we most earnestly beseech your Grace that, notwithstanding the long consuetude which they have had to live as they list, they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers; so that, the grave and godly face of the primitive Church reduced, [130] ignorance may be expelled and true doctrine and

good manners may once again appear in the Church of this realm.

"These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your Grace, in the name of the Eternal God and of His Son Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne judicial, ye and all other that here on earth bear authority shall give account of your temporal regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Grace's heart to justice and equity. Amen."

The Papists brag of Disputation: the Articles of Reconciliation.

When these petitions were presented, the Estate Ecclesiastical began to storm and to devise all manner of lies to deface the equity of our cause. They bragged that they would have public disputation. This we most earnestly asked them to arrange, upon two conditions: the one, that the plain and written Scriptures of God should decide all controversy; the other, that our brethren, of whom some were then exiled and by them unjustly condemned, might have free access to the said disputation, and safe conduct to return to their dwelling places, notwithstanding any process which before had been led against them in matters concerning religion. But these preliminary conditions were utterly denied. No judge would they admit but themselves, their Councils, and Canon law. They and their faction began to draw up certain Articles of Reconciliation. These stipulated that we should permit the Mass to remain in reverence and estimation, grant purgatory after this life, confess prayer to saints and for the dead, and suffer them to enjoy their accustomed rents, possession, and honour. Upon these terms, they were prepared to grant us freedom to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, if this were done secretly, and not in the open assembly.

The grossness of these articles was such, that with one voice we refused them; and continued to crave justice from the Queen Regent, and a reasonable answer to our former petitions. The Queen Regent, a woman

crafty, dissimulate, and false, thinking to make profit of both parties, gave us permission to conduct ourselves in godly manner, according to our desires, provided that we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith; and she promised her assistance to our preachers, until some uniform order might be established by a Parliament. To the clergy, she quietly gave signification of her mind, promising that, as soon as opportunity should serve, she should so arrange matters for them that they should have no more trouble. Some say that they gave her a large purse,--40,000 pounds, says the Chronicle gathered by Sir William Bruce, the Laird of Earlshall. Unsuspecting of her doubleness and falsehood, we were fully contented with her answer; and did use ourselves so quietly that, for her pleasure, we put silence to John Douglas. He would have preached publicly in the town of Leith; but in all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far as we should not offend God by obeying her in things unlawful.

Persecution at St. Andrews: Walter Myln is burned.

Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called Archbishop of St. Andrews, apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, Walter Myln; a man of decrepit age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in St. Andrews, the twenty-eighth day of April, the year of God 1558. This did highly offend the hearts of all godly, and immediately after his death a new fervency arose amongst the whole people; yea, even in the town of St. Andrews, the people began plainly to damn such unjust cruelty. In testification that the death of Walter Myln would abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones at the place where he was burned. The Archbishop and the priests, offended, caused this to be removed once or twice, with denunciation, by cursing, of any

man who should there lay a stone. But their breath was spent in vain; for the heap was always renewed, until the priests and papists did by night steal away the stones to build their walls, and for other their private uses.

Having no suspicion that the Queen Regent approved of the murder of Walter Myln, we did most humbly complain of this unjust cruelty, requiring that justice in such cases should be administered with greater indifference. [131] A woman born to dissemble and deceive, she began to lament to us the cruelty of the Archbishop, excusing herself as innocent. She declared that sentence had been given without her knowledge, because the man had been a priest at one time; and the Archbishop's officer had prosecuted him without any commission from the civil authority, ex officio, as they term it.

The Protestants appeal to Parliament.

Still unsuspicious, we required some order to be taken against such enormities; and this she promised, as she had often done before. But because a Parliament was to be held shortly after, for certain affairs pertaining rather to the Queen's particular profit than to the commodity of the commonwealth, we thought good to expose our matter unto the whole Parliament, and from them to seek some redress. Therefore, with one consent, we did offer to the Queen and Parliament a letter in this tenor:--

"Unto your Grace, and unto you, Right Honourable Lords of this present Parliament, humbly mean and show your Grace's faithful and obedient subjects: That we are daily molested, slandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant persons, place-holders of the ministers of the Church, who most untruly cease not to infame us as heretics, and under that name most cruelly have persecuted divers of our brethren, and further intend to execute their malice against us, unless by some godly order their

fury and rage be bridled and stayed. Yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of punishment, unless it be that to read the Holy Scriptures in our assemblies, to invocate the name of God in public prayers, with all sobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture that be read, to the further edification of the brethren assembled, and truly according to the holy institution of Christ Jesus to minister the Sacraments, are crimes worthy of punishment. Of other crimes they are not able to convict us.... Most humbly require we of your Grace, and of your right honourable Lords, Barons, and Burgesses assembled in this present Parliament, prudently to weigh, and, as becometh just judges, to grant these our most just and reasonable petitions:--

"Firstly, ... We most humbly desire that all such Acts of Parliament, as in the time of darkness gave power to the Churchmen to execute their tyranny against us, by reason that we were delated heretics, may be suspended and abrogated until a General Council, lawfully assembled, shall have decided all controversies in religion.

"Secondly, Lest this mutation should seem to set all men at liberty to live as they list, we require that it be enacted by this present Parliament that the prelates and their officers be removed from the place of judgment; granting unto them, not the less, the place of accusers in the presence of a temporal judge, before whom the Churchmen shall be bound to call any accused by them of heresy....

"Thirdly, We require, that all lawful defences be granted to the persons accused.... Also, that place be granted to the party accused to explain and interpret his own mind and meaning; which confession we require to be inserted in public Acts, and to be preferred to the depositions of any witnesses, seeing that none that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion ought to suffer for religion.

"Lastly, We require, that our brethren be not damned for heretics, unless, by the manifest Word of God, they be convicted to have erred from that faith which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation....

"These things require we to be considered by you, who occupy the place of the Eternal God, who is God of order and truth, even in such sort as ye will answer in the presence of His throne judicial. And we require, further, that ye will favourably have respect to the tenderness of our consciences, and to the trouble which apparently will follow in this commonwealth, if the tyranny of the Prelates and of their adherents be not bridled by God and just laws. God move your hearts deeply to consider your own duties and our present troubles."

The Regent makes large Promises of Protection and Reform.

These petitions did we first present to the Queen Regent, because we were determined to enterprise nothing without her knowledge, most humbly requiring her favourable assistance in our just action. She spared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but she kept our bill in her pocket. When we required secretly of her Grace that our Petitions should be proposed to the whole Assembly, she answered that she did not think that expedient; for then would the whole ecclesiastical Estate be contrary to her proceedings. These at that time were great; for the matrimonial crown was asked, and in that Parliament granted. "But," said she, "as soon as order can be taken with these things, which now may be hindered by the Kirkmen, ye shall know my good mind; and, in the meantime, whatsoever I may grant unto you shall gladly be granted."

Still suspecting nothing of her falsehood, we were content to give place for a time to her pleasure and pretended reason. Yet we thought expedient to protest somewhat before the dissolution of Parliament; for

our Petitions were manifestly known to the whole Assembly, as also that, for the Queen's pleasure, we ceased to pursue the uttermost.... Our protestations were publicly read, and we desired that they should be inserted in the common register; but by labours of enemies that was denied unto us. Nevertheless, the Queen Regent said, "Me will remember what is protested; and me shall put good order after this to all things that now be in controversy." Thus, after she had by craft obtained her purpose, we departed in good hope of her favours, praising God in our hearts that she was so well inclined towards godliness. The good opinion that we had of her sincerity caused us not only to spend our goods and hazard our bodies at her pleasure, but also, by our public letters written to that excellent servant of God, John Calvin, we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge in God's Word and her good-will towards the advancement of His glory; requiring of him that, by his grave counsel and godly exhortation, he would animate her Grace constantly to follow that which in godly fashion she had begun. We did further sharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all such as appeared to suspect any venom of hypocrisy in her, or were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind.

Treachery of the Regent: the Preachers are summoned.

Suddenly, it became certain that we were deceived in our opinion, and abused by her craft. As soon as all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and peace was contracted betwixt King Philip and France, and England and us, she began to spue forth, and disclose the latent venom of her double heart. She began to frown, and to look frowardly upon all such as she knew to favour the Evangel of Jesus Christ. She commanded her household to use all abominations at Easter; and she herself, to give example to others, did communicate with that idol, the Mass, in open audience; she controlled her

household, and would know where every one received the Sacrament. It is supposed that after that day the Devil took more violent and strong possession in her than he had before; for, from that day forward, she appeared altogether altered, insomuch that her countenance and acts did declare the venom of her heart.

When, incontinently, the Queen caused our preachers to be summoned, we made intercession for them, beseeching her Grace not to molest them then in their ministry, unless any man were able to convict them of false doctrine. But she could not bridle her tongue from open blasphemy, and proudly said, "In despite of you and of your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as truly as ever did St. Paul." This proud and blasphemous answer did greatly astonish us; and yet ceased we not most humbly to seek her favour, and by great diligence at last secured that the summonses should be delayed. Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, knight, Sheriff of Ayr, were sent to reason with her, and to crave some performance of her manifold promises. To them she answered that it became not the subjects to burden their Princes with promises, further than it pleaseth them to keep these. Both these noblemen faithfully and boldly discharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow. Thereupon, somewhat astonished, she said she would advise.

The Revival at Perth: Fury of the Regent.

In the meantime the town of Perth, called St. Johnston, embraced the truth, and this did provoke her to a new fury; in which she urged the Lord Ruthven, Provost of that town, to suppress all such religion there. He replied that he could make their bodies come to her Grace, and prostrate themselves before her, until she was fully satiate of their blood, but that he could not promise to force them to act against

their conscience. In a fury, she said that he was too malapert to give her such answer, and affirmed that both he and they should repent it. She solicited Master John Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, but he, fearing God, gave secret warning to the man to leave the town for a time. At Easter, she sent forth men whom she thought most able to persuade, with commission to induce Montrose, Dundee, St. Johnston, and such other places as had received the Evangel, to communicate with the idol of the Mass; but they had no success. The hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor superstition and idolatry.

More angry than ever, she again summoned all the preachers to appear at Stirling, on the tenth day of May 1559. With all humble obedience, we sought means to appease her, and save our preachers from being molested. When it was seen that we could not prevail, the whole brethren agreed that the gentlemen of every county should accompany their preachers on the day appointed. All men were most willing; and for that purpose the town of Dundee, and the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, proceeded with their preachers to Perth, without armour, as peaceable men, desiring only to give confession with their preachers. Lest such a multitude should raise the apprehensions of the Queen Regent, the Laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, went before to the Queen, who was then in Stirling. To her he declared that the cause of their convocation was only to give confession with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. She, understanding the fervency of the people, began to craft with him, soliciting him to stay the multitude, and also the preachers, promising that she would make some better arrangements. He, a man most gentle of nature, and most willing to please her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote requesting those that then were assembled at Perth to stay, and not to

come forward, and informed them of the Queen's promise and the hope he had of her favour.... So did the whole multitude tarry at Perth with their preachers.

John Knox returns from France, and joins the Protestants at Perth.

In the meantime, on the second of May 1559, John Knox arrived from France. Lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, and hearing the day appointed to his brethren, he repaired to Dundee. There he earnestly required that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to give confession of his faith with them. This granted to him, he departed to Perth with them; and there he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted to him. The Queen, perceiving that the preachers did not obey her summons, began to utter her malice; and, notwithstanding any request made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the horn, [132] inhibiting all men under pain of rebellion to assist, comfort, receive or maintain them in any way. When this extremity was perceived by the Laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himself; for otherwise, by all appearance, he would not have escaped imprisonment. In this belief he was justified by the fact that the Master of Maxwell, a man zealous and stout in God's cause, as it then appeared, was, under the cloak of another small crime, that same day put under arrest, because he did boldly affirm that, to the uttermost of his power, he would assist the preachers and the congregation, notwithstanding any sentence which was, or should be, unjustly pronounced against them. The Laird of Dun, coming to Perth, expounded the case, and concealed nothing of the Queen's craft and falsehood.

The Mob wreck the Churches and destroy the Monasteries in Perth.

The multitude, when they understood the Queen's treachery, were so inflamed that neither could the exhortation of the preachers nor the commandment of the magistrate stay them from destroying the places of

idolatry. What happened was as follows. The preachers had declared how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment He had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; and what idolatry and what abomination was in the Mass. It chanced that the next day, the eleventh of May, after the sermon which had been vehement against idolatry, a priest in contempt insisted upon going to the Mass; and, to declare his malapert presumption, he opened up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar. Certain godly men were present, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, "It is intolerable that, when God by His Word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite." The priest, offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and casting it at the priest, did hit the tabernacle and broke down an image.

Immediately the whole multitude cast stones, and laid hands on the said tabernacle, and on all other monuments of idolatry. These they dispatched before the tenth part of the town's people were made aware, for the most part were gone to dinner. These deeds noised abroad, the whole multitude came together, not the gentlemen or those that were earnest professors, but the rascal multitude. Finding nothing to do in that church, these ran without deliberation to the Grey and Black Friars, and, notwithstanding that these monasteries had within them very strong guards for their defence, their gates were forthwith burst open. Idolatry was the occasion of the first outburst, but thereafter the common people began to look for spoil. In very deed, the Grey Friars was so well provided that unless honest men had seen it, we would have feared to report what provision they had. Their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such that no Earl in Scotland had better; their napery was fine. There were but eight persons in the convent, and yet there were found eight puncheons of salt beef

(consider the time of the year, the eleventh day of May), wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals of the same sort. A like abundance was not found in the monastery of the Black Friars; and yet there was more than became men professing poverty. The poor were permitted to take the spoil; but no honest man was enriched by the value of a groat. For the preachers had before threatened all men, that for covetousness' sake none should put their hand to such a Reformation.

The conscience of the spoilers did so move them, that they suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could. The Prior of Charter-house was permitted to take away with him as much gold and silver as he was well able to carry. So had men's consciences before been beaten with the Word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry, and the places and monuments thereof. In this they were so busy and so laborious that, within two days, these three great places, monuments of idolatry, to wit, the monasteries of the Grey and Black thieves and that of the Charter-house monks (a building of a wondrous cost and greatness) were so destroyed that only the walls remained.

When the Queen heard what had happened, she was so enraged that she vowed utterly to destroy Perth, man, woman, and child, to consume the place by fire, and thereafter to salt it, in sign of a perpetual desolation. Suspecting nothing of such beastly cruelty, but thinking that such words might escape her in choler without forethought, because she was a woman set afire by the complaints of those hypocrites who flocked unto her as ravens to carrion, we returned to our own houses, leaving John Knox in Perth to instruct the people, because they were young and rude in Christ. But she continued in her rage, set afire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in France, and not a little by the bribes which she and Monsieur D'Oysel

received from the bishops and the priests here at home.

The Queen rages and stirs up the Nobility.

The Queen first sent for all the Nobility, and to them she complained that we meant nothing but a rebellion. She did grievously aggreage [133] the destruction of the Charter-house, because it was a King's foundation, and contained the tomb of King James the First. By these and other persuasions, she made the majority of them consent to attack us. And then in haste she sent for her Frenchmen; for it was ever her joy to see Scotsmen dipped in one another's blood. No man was at that time more frack against us than was the Duke, led on by that cruel beast, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by those that yet abuse him, the Abbot of Kilwinning and Matthew Hamilton of Millburn, two chief enemies to Christ Jesus; yea, enemies to the Duke himself and to his whole house, in so far as at least they may procure their own particular profit. These and such other pestilent papists ceased not to cast faggots on the fire, continually crying, "Forward upon these heretics; we shall for once and all rid this realm of them."

Hearing of this, some of us repaired to Perth again about the twenty-second day of May, and there we did abide for the comfort of our brethren. After invocation of the name of God, we began so to fortify the town and ourselves in the manner that we thought might prove best for our just defence. And, because we were not utterly despaired of the Queen's favour, we drew up a letter to her Grace, as followeth:--

"To the Queen's Grace Regent, all humble obedience and duty premised. As heretofore, with jeopardy of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland, and your Grace, now Regent in this realm, in service dangerous and painful to our bodies; so now, with most dolorous minds we are constrained by unjust tyranny purposed against us to declare unto your Grace, that,

unless this cruelty be stayed by your wisdom, we will be compelled to take the sword of just defence against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience' sake; which ought not, nor may not, be subject to mortal creatures, farther than by God's Word man be able to prove that he hath power to command us.

"We signify moreover unto your Grace, that if by rigour we be compelled to seek the extreme defence, we will not only notify our innocence and petitions to the King of France, to our Mistress and to her husband, but also to the Princes and Council of every Christian realm, declaring unto them that this cruel, unjust, and most tyrannical murder, intended against towns and multitudes, was and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience, which, in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our Sovereign Mistress, to her husband, and unto your Grace Regent; provided that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty which Christ Jesus hath purchased unto us by His blood; and that we may have His Word truly preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministrate unto us, without which we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortal man. For we think it better to expose our bodies to a thousand deaths than to hazard our souls to perpetual condemnation, by denying Christ Jesus and His manifest verity, which thing not only do they that commit open idolatry, but also all such as, seeing their brethren unjustly pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient means to comfort and assist them, do not-the-less withdraw from them their dutiful support.

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

"The Faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus

in Scotland."

In the same tenor we wrote to Monsieur D'Oysel in French, requiring of

him that, by his wisdom, he would mitigate the Queen's rage, and the rage of the priests; and warning him that otherwise that flame, then beginning to burn, would so kindle that it could not be slockened. We added that he declared himself no faithful servant to his master the King of France if, for the pleasure of the priests, he persecuted us, and so compelled us to take the sword of just defence. In like manner we wrote to Captain Serra la Burse, and to all other captains and French soldiers in general, admonishing them that their vocation was not to fight against us natural Scotsmen; and that they had no such commandment from their master. We besought them, therefore, not to provoke us to enmity against them, considering that they had found us favourable in their most extreme necessities. We declared further unto them that, if they entered into hostility and bloody war against us, this should continue longer than their and our lives, to wit, even in all posterity to come, so long as natural Scotsmen should have power to revenge such cruelty, and most horrible ingratitude....

The Protestants prepare for a Struggle for Liberty of Conscience.

Our letters were suppressed to the uttermost of the power of the enemy, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the Queen and priests could not be stayed; and they moved forward against us: we were then but a very few and mean number of gentlemen in Perth. Perceiving the extremity to approach, we wrote to all brethren enjoining them to repair towards us for our relief. To this we found all men so readily bent, that the work of God was evident. And, because we wished to leave nothing undone that would declare our innocency to all men, we addressed a letter to those of the nobility who then persecuted us....

When our letters were divulged, some man began to reason whether of conscience it would be right to make war upon us, considering that we

offered due obedience to the authority, and required nothing but liberty of conscience, and that our religion and actions should be tried by the Word of God. Our letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of the brethren in Cunningham and Kyle. These convened at the Kirk of Craigie, where, after some contrarious reasons, Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, in zeal, burst forth in these words, "Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in Perth; yea, albeit never man should accompany me, I will go, were it but with a pike upon my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them." These words so encouraged the rest that all decided to go forward, and that they did so stoutly that, when Lion Herald, in his coat armour, by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, commanded all men under pain of treason to return to their houses, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward....

The rival Forces are arrayed outside Perth.

Our requests and advertisements notwithstanding, Monsieur D'Oysel and his Frenchmen, with the priests and their bands, marched against Perth, and approached within ten miles of the town. Then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, with the town of Dundee, first hazarded resistance to the enemy; and for that purpose chose a platt of ground, distant a mile and more from the town. In the meantime the Lord Ruthven, Provost of Perth, and a man whom many judged godly and stout in that action (as in very deed he was, even unto his last breath), left the town, and departed first to his own place, and afterwards to the Queen. His defection and revolt was a great discouragement to the hearts of many; and yet God did so comfort that, within the space of twelve hours after, the hearts of all men were erected again. Those then assembled did not so much hope for victory by their own strength, as by the power of Him whose

truth they professed; and they began to comfort one another, until the whole multitude was encouraged by a reasonable hope.

Commissioners are sent by the Queen: Interview with John Knox: May 1559

The day after the Lord Ruthven departed, which was the twenty-fourth of May, the Earl of Argyll, Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, and the Lord Semple arrived in Perth, with commission from the Queen Regent to inquire into the cause of the convocation of lieges there.... On the morning of the day after that, the twenty-fifth day of May, before the said Lords departed, John Knox desired to speak with them, and, permission being granted, he was conveyed to their lodging by the Laird of Balvaird, and thus he began:--

"Not only the hearts of the true servants of God, but also those of all who bear any favour to their country and fellow-countrymen, ought to be moved by the present troubles to descend within themselves and to consider deeply what shall be the end of this pretended tyranny....

"Firstly, I most humbly require of you, my Lords, to say to the Queen's Grace Regent, in my name, that we whom she in her blind rage doth persecute are God's servants, and faithful and obedient subjects to the authority of this realm; that that religion which she pretendeth to maintain by fire and sword is not the true religion of Christ Jesus, but is expressly contrary to it, a superstition devised by the brain of man; which I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted to me, and God's written Word being admitted for judge.

"And, secondly, I farther require your Honours to say unto her Grace, in my name, that, as I have already written, so now I say that this enterprise of hers shall not prosper in the end; and albeit for a time she trouble the saints of God, she does not fight against man only, but against the eternal God and His invincible truth; and the end shall be

her confusion, unless she repent and desist betimes.

"These things I require of you, in the name of the eternal God, to say unto her Grace as from my mouth; adding that I have been and am a more assured friend to her Grace than are these servants to her corrupt appetites, who either flatter her, or else inflame her against us. We seek nothing but the advance of God's glory, suppression of vice, and the maintenance of truth in this poor realm."

All three did promise to report these words so far as they could, and we learned afterwards that they did so. Yea, the Lord Semple himself, a man sold under sin, enemy to God and to all godliness, yet made such report that the Queen was somewhat offended that any man should use such liberty in her presence. She still proceeded in her malice; for she sent her Lion Herald immediately after with letters in which all men were straitly charged to quit the town, under pain of treason.

After he had declared these letters to the chief men of the congregation, the Herald proclaimed them publicly, upon Sunday, the twenty-eighth of May.

The Nobility of the West-Land march to the aid of Perth: the Regent takes Fright.

In the meantime, sure knowledge came to the Queen, to the Duke, and to Monsieur D'Oysel, that the Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the young Sheriff of Ayr, the Lairds of Craigie-Wallace, Cessnock, Carnell, Barr, Gadgirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cunningham, approached for our relief. In very deed they came with such diligence, and in such a number that the enemy had just cause to fear, and all that professed Christ Jesus had just matter to praise God for their fidelity and stout courage in that need; for the tyranny of the enemy was bridled by their presence.... Their number was estimated at twenty-five hundred men, and of these twelve hundred were horsemen.

The Queen, understanding how the said Earl and Lords approached with their company, caused all ways to be beset, so that no information should come to us, and that we, despairing of support, might consent to the terms required by her. At the same time, she sent to require that some discreet men of our number should come and speak with the Duke and Monsieur D'Oysel (who lay with their army at Auchterarder, ten miles from Perth) for the purpose of making some reasonable appointment.... From us were sent the Laird of Dun, the Laird of Inverquharity, and Thomas Scott of Abbotshall to learn what appointment the Queen would offer. The Duke and Monsieur D'Oysel required that access to the town should be given, and that all matters in dispute should be referred to the Queen's pleasure. To this they answered that neither had they commission so to promise, nor durst they conscientiously persuade their brethren to agree to such a promise. But, they said, if the Queen's Grace would promise that no inhabitant of the town should be troubled for any such crimes as might be alleged against them for the late change of religion, and the abolition of idolatry and downcasting of the places of idolatry; and if she would suffer that the religion begun should continue, and would on her departure leave the town free from the garrisons of French soldiers, they for their part would labour to secure from their brethren that the Queen should be obeyed in all things.

Monsieur D'Oysel perceived the danger to be great, should a speedy appointment not be made. He saw, also, that they would not be able to execute their tyranny against us after the congregation of Kyle, of whose coming we had no information, should be joined with us. So, with good words, he dismissed the said Lords to persuade the brethren to quiet concord. All men were well disposed to this course, and with one voice they cried, "Cursed be they that seek effusion of blood, war, or

dissension. Let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of His Evangel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be." After the coming of the Earl of Glencairn was known, the enemy quaked for fear, and with all expedition there were sent from Stirling again the Earl of Argyll and the Lord James, in company with a crafty man, Master Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, to finish the appointment foresaid....

Another Appointment is patched up: 28th May 1559.

With the Earl of Glencairn came our loving brother John Willock; John Knox was in the town already. These two went to the Earl of Argyll and Prior, and accused them of disloyalty, in that they had defrauded their brethren of their dutiful support and comfort in time of their greatest necessity. They both answered that their heart was constant with their brethren, and that they would defend the cause to the uttermost of their power. But because they had promised to labour for concord and to assist the Queen should we refuse reasonable offers, conscience and honour did not permit them to do less than be faithful in their promise made. Therefore, they required that the brethren might be persuaded to consent to that reasonable appointment; promising, in God's presence, that, if the Queen did break in any jot thereof, they, with their whole powers, would assist and co-operate with their brethren in all times to come. This promise made, the preachers appeased the multitude, and ultimately secured the consent of all men to the appointment foresaid; although they did not obtain this without great labour. And no wonder, for many foresaw the danger to follow; yea, the preachers themselves, in open sermon, did affirm plainly that they were assuredly persuaded that the Queen did not mean to act in good faith. But, to stop the mouth of the adversary, who unjustly accused us of rebellion, they most earnestly required all men to approve the appointment, and so to suffer

hypocrisy to disclose itself. The appointment was concluded on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the day following the Congregation departed from Perth....

The Lords and the Congregation make a fresh Covenant.

Before the Lords departed they made this bond:--

"At Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559, the Congregations of the West country, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for forthsetting of His glory; understanding nothing more necessary for the same than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged, in the presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all things required by God in His Scripture, that may be to His glory: and with their whole power to destroy, and put away all things that do dishonour to His name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped. And in case any trouble is intended against the said Congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the Congregation or person troubled; and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever power shall intend the said trouble, for the cause of religion or any other cause dependent thereupon, or laid to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause. In witnessing and testimony of this, the whole Congregations foresaid have ordained and appointed the Noblemen and persons underwritten to subscribe these presents.

"Arch. Argyle. Glencairn.

James Stewart. R. Lord Boyd.

Matthew Campbell of Thringland. Ochiltree."

The Regent enters Perth, and at once breaks Faith with the Congregation.

On the twenty-ninth of May the Queen, the Duke, Monsieur D'Oysel, and the Frenchmen entered Perth.... The swarm of Papists that entered with her began at once to make provision for their Mass.... The Queen began to rage against all godly and honest men; their houses were oppressed by the Frenchmen; the lawful magistrates, Provost as well as Bailies, were unjustly and irregularly deposed from their authority. A wicked man, void of God's fear, and destitute of all virtue, the Laird of Kinfauns, was intrused by her as Provost of the town.... She gave order that four ensenyes [134] of the soldiers should abide in the town, to maintain idolatry and to resist the Congregation. Honest and indifferent men asked why she did so manifestly violate her promise. She answered that she was bound to keep no promise to heretics; and, moreover, that she had only promised to leave the town free of French soldiers. This last she said she had done, because those that were left were Scotsmen. When it was reasoned, to the contrary, that all those who took wages of France were accounted French soldiers, she answered, "Princes must not so straitly be bound to keep their promises. Myself," said she, "would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with as honest an excuse." And then she left the town in extreme bondage, after her ungodly Frenchmen had most cruelly treated the majority of the citizens that remained.

The Earl of Argyll abandons the Regent, and declines to return.

The Earl of Argyll, and Lord James, perceiving in the Queen nothing but mere tyranny and falsehood, and mindful of their former promises to their brethren, secretly conveyed themselves and their companies from

the town. With them departed the Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Menteith, and the Laird of Tullibardine.... The Queen, highly offended at the sudden departure of these persons, charged them to return, under the highest pain of her displeasure. But they answered that they could not, with safe conscience, be partakers in so manifest tyranny as that committed by her, and in the great iniquity which they perceived to be devised by her and her ungodly Council, the prelates. This answer was given to her on the first day of June, and immediately the Earl of Argyll and Lord James repaired toward St. Andrews, and in their journey intimated to the Laird of Dun, to the Laird of Pittarrow, to the Provost of Dundee, and to other professors in Angus, their desire that they should visit them in St. Andrews on the fourth of June, that Reformation might be made there. This they did, bringing John Knox in their company.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews interdicts Knox from preaching.

The Archbishop, hearing of Reformation to be made in his cathedral Church, thought it time to stir if ever he were to do so. He assembled his colleagues and confederate fellows, besides his other friends, and came to the town upon the Saturday night, accompanied by a hundred spears, desiring to have stopped John Knox from preaching. The two Lords and gentlemen foresaid were only accompanied by their quiet households, and the sudden coming of the Archbishop was the more fearful; for the Queen and her Frenchmen having departed from Perth, were then lying in Falkland, within twelve miles of St. Andrews. Besides, the town had not at that time given profession of Christ, and therefore the Lords could not be assured of their friendship. After consultation, many were of opinion that the preaching should be delayed for that day, and especially that John Knox should not preach; for the Archbishop had affirmed that he would not suffer this, seeing that the

picture of the said John had formerly been burned by his commandment. He instructed an honest gentleman, Robert Colville of Cleish, to say to the Lords that did John Knox present himself at the preaching place in his town and principal church, he should "gar [135] him be saluted with a dozen culverins, whereof the most part should light upon his nose."

John Knox declines to obey the Dictates of the Archbishop.

After long deliberation, the said John was called, that his own judgment might be had. Many persuasions were used to induce him to delay for that time, and great terrors were threatened if he should enterprise such a thing, in seeming contempt of the Archbishop. But he answered, "God is witness that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, nor am I disposed at any time to present myself at that place, from respect to my own private commodity, or to the worldly hurt of any creature; but I cannot conscientiously delay to preach to-morrow, unless my body be violently withholden. In this town and church, God first began to call me to the dignity of a preacher. From this I was reft by the tyranny of France, by procurement of the bishops, as ye all know well enough. How long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, it is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal. More than one have heard me say, when the body was far absent from Scotland, that my assured hope was that I should preach in St. Andrews in open audience before I departed this life.

"Therefore," said John Knox, "my Lords, seeing that God hath, beyond the expectation of many, brought me in the body to the place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from the which most unjustly I was removed, I beseech your Honours not to stop me from presenting myself unto my brethren. As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous. My life is in the custody of Him

whose glory I seek; and therefore I cannot so fear their boast or tyranny as to cease from doing my duty, when of His mercy He offereth occasion. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me; only do I crave audience. If this be denied here to me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it."

John Knox preaches at St. Andrews once more: the Monuments of Idolatry are cast down.

At these words, the Lords were fully content that John Knox should occupy the preaching place, which he did upon Sunday, the eleventh of June. In his sermon he treated of the ejection of the buyers and the sellers from the Temple of Jerusalem, as it is written in the Evangelists, Matthew and John. He applied the corruption that was there to the corruption that is in the Papistry; and Christ's act, to the duty of those to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto. The result was that the magistrates within the town, the provost and bailies, as well as the community for the most part, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry, and this they did with expedition.

The Regent declares War: the Forces of the Congregation are called out.

The Archbishop, informed of this, departed that same day to the Queen, who lay in Falkland with her Frenchmen, as we have said. The hot fury of the Archbishop did so kindle her choler (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them) that, without any further delay, it was decided to invade St. Andrews.... When this was known, counsel was given to the Lords to march forward and get to Cupar before the Queen. This they did, giving notice to all brethren to repair towards them with possible expedition. This also was done with such diligence that in their assembling the wondrous work of God might have been espied. When the Lords came to Cupar at night, they were not a hundred horse, and a certain number of footmen, whom Lord James brought from the coast side;

and yet, before the next day at twelve o'clock, which was Tuesday, the thirteenth of June, their number exceeded three thousand men....

Finally, God did so multiply our number that it appeared as if men had rained from the clouds. The enemy, understanding nothing of our force, assured themselves of victory.... Before midnight they sent forward their ordnance, themselves following before three o'clock in the morning.

The Affair of Cupar Moor: the Regent sues for an Armistice.

The Lords, being notified of this, assembled their company upon Cupar Moor early in the morning.... The Lord Ruthven took charge of the horsemen, and so ordered them that the enemy was never permitted to espy our number; the day was dark, and that helped. The enemy, thinking to have found no resistance, after they had twice or thrice made a feint of retiring, advanced with great expedition, and approached within a mile before ever their horsemen stayed.... After twelve o'clock, the mist began to vanish, and then some of their horsemen occupied an eminence whence they might discern our number. When they perceived this, their horsemen and footmen came to a speedy halt. Posts ran to the Duke and Monsieur D'Oysel to declare our number, and what order we kept; and then were mediators sent to make appointment. They were not suffered to approach the Lords, nor yet to view our camp. This put them in greater fear.... Answer received, the Duke and Monsieur D'Oysel, having commission from the Queen Regent, required that assurance [136] might be taken for eight days, to the end that indifferent men in the meantime might commune upon some final agreement concerning those things which were then in controversy. To this we fully consented, albeit that in number and force we were far superior....

The assurance granted by the Earl of Arran and others contained

faithful promise, "that we, and our company foresaid, shall retire incontinent to Falkland, and shall with diligence transport the Frenchmen and our other folks now presently with us; and that no Frenchman or other soldiers of ours, shall remain within the bounds of Fife, except as many as before the raising of the last army lay in Dysart, Kirkcaldy, and Kinghorn, these to lie in the same places only, if we shall think good. And this to have effect for the space of eight days following the date hereof exclusive, that in the meantime certain noblemen, by the advice of the Queen's Grace and rest of the Council, may convene to talk of such things as may make good order and quietness amongst the Queen's lieges...."

Once more the Regent breaks Faith.

Having received this assurance, we departed first, because we were requested by the Duke to do so. We returned to Cupar, lauding and praising God for His mercy showed; and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling place. The Lords and a great part of the gentlemen proceeded to St. Andrews, and abode there certain days, always looking for those that had been promised to be sent from the Queen, for the preparation of an appointment. Perceiving her craft and deceit (for under that assurance she meant nothing else than to convey herself, her ordnance, and Frenchmen, over the water of Forth) we took consultation as to what should be done to deliver Perth from these ungodly soldiers, and how our brethren, exiled from their own houses, might be restored again. It was decided that the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathearn should convene at Perth on the twenty-fourth day of June for that purpose; and in the meantime letters were written by the Earl of Argyll, and Lord James, to the Queen Regent....

The Relief of Perth.

At Perth, a trumpet was sent by the Lords, commanding the captains and

their bands to vacate the town, and to leave it to its ancient liberty and just inhabitants; and also commanding them and the Laird of Kinfauns, provost, thrust upon the town by the Queen, to open the gates of the town and admit all our sovereign's lieges.... To this they answered proudly that they would keep and defend that town, according to promise made to the Queen Regent.... And so, upon Saturday, the twenty-fourth of June, at ten o'clock at night, the Lord Ruthven, who besieged the west quarter, commanded to shoot the first volley. This being done, the town of Dundee, whose ordnance lay upon the east side of the bridge, did the like. The captains and soldiers within the town, perceiving that they were unable long to resist, requested a truce until twelve o'clock noon, promising that, if before that hour there came no relief to them from the Queen Regent, they would surrender the town, provided that they should be suffered to depart from the town with ensigns displayed. We, thirsting for the blood of no man, and seeking only the liberty of our brethren, suffered them freely to depart without any further molestation....

The Sack of the Abbey and Palace of Scone.

The Bishop of Moray lay in the Abbey of Scone, and it was thought good that some proceedings should be taken against him and against that place, which lay near to the town-end. The Lords wrote unto him, for he lay within two miles of Perth, that, unless he would come and assist them, they neither could spare nor save his place. He answered, by writing, that he would come, and would do as they thought expedient; that he would assist them with his force, and would vote with them against the rest of the clergy in Parliament. But his answer was slow in coming, and the town of Dundee marched forward.

John Knox was sent unto them to stay them; but before his coming, they had begun the pulling down of the idols and dortour. [137] And, albeit

the said John and others did what in them lay to stay the fury of the multitude, they were not able to restore complete order, and therefore they sent for the Lords, Earl of Argyll, and Lord James, who, coming with all diligence, laboured to save the Palace and Kirk. But, the multitude having found a great number of idols buried in the Kirk for the purpose of preserving them to a better day (as the Papists speak), the towns of Dundee and Perth could not be satisfied, until the whole furnishings and ornaments of the Church were destroyed. Yet did the Lords so travail that they saved the Bishop's Palace, with the Church and place for that night; for the two Lords did not depart until they brought with them the whole number of those that most sought the Bishop's displeasure.... The Bishop's girnell [138] was kept for the first night by the labours of John Knox, who, by exhortation, removed such as violently would have made irruption....

On the morrow, some of the poor, in hope of spoil, and some of the men of Dundee, to see what had been done, went up to the Abbey of Scone. The Bishop's servants were offended, and began to threaten and speak proudly, and, as it was constantly affirmed, one of the Bishop's sons stogged through with a rapier a man of Dundee, for looking in at the girnell door.... The multitude, easily inflamed, gave the alarm, and the Abbey and Palace were appointed to sackage. They took no long deliberation in carrying out their purpose, but committed the whole to the merciment of fire....

The Forces of the Congregation take possession of Stirling and Edinburgh.

While these things were being done at Perth, the Queen, fearing what should follow, determined to send certain bands of French soldiers to Stirling, to stop the passage to us that then were upon the north side of Forth. Hearing of this, the Earl of Argyll and Lord James departed

secretly over-night, and with great expedition, getting in before the Frenchmen, took the town. Before their coming, the rascal multitude had laid hands on the thieves', I should say Friars', places and utterly destroyed them.

The Queen and her faction, not a little afraid, departed hastily from Edinburgh to Dunbar. So we, with all reasonable diligence, marched forward to Edinburgh to make reformation there, and arrived on the twenty-ninth of June. The Provost for that time, the Lord Seton, a man without God, without honesty, and oftentimes without reason, had formerly greatly troubled and molested the brethren. He had taken upon himself the protection and defence of the Black and Grey Friars; and for that purpose not only lay himself in one of the monasteries every night, but also constrained the most honest of the town, to their great grief and trouble, to keep vigil for the safety of those monsters.

Hearing of our sudden coming, however, he had abandoned his charge, and had left the spoil to the poor, who had made havoc of all such things as were movable in those places before our coming, and had left nothing but bare walls, yea, not so much as door or window. We were the less troubled in reforming such places.

The Congregation renew peaceable Overtures to the Regent.

For certain days we deliberated as to what was to be done, and then determined to send some message to the Queen Regent.... After safe conduct was purchased [139] and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of our Council. We gave commission and power to them to expose our whole purpose and intent, which was none other than before at all times we had insisted upon, to wit, that we might enjoy the liberty of conscience; that Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and His holy Sacraments rightly ministered unto us; that unable ministers might be removed from ecclesiastical administration; that our preachers might be

relaxed from the horn, and permitted to perform their duties without molestation, until such time as, either by a General Council, lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the realm, the controversies in religion were decided; and that the bands of Frenchmen, who were an intolerable burden to the country, and so fearful to us that we durst not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, should be sent to France, their native country. These things granted, her Grace should have experience of our customary obedience.

To these heads the Queen did answer at the first pleasantly, but then she began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining that she was not sought in a gentle manner; and that they in whom she had put most singular confidence had left her in her greatest need. In discussing these and such other things, pertaining nothing to their commission, she sought to spend and drive the time.... In the end of this communing, on the twelfth day of July 1559, she desired to have private talk with the Earl of Argyll, and Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews....

The Council, after consultation, thought it inexpedient that the Earl and Prior should talk with the Queen in any way; for her former practices made all men suspect that some deceit lurked under such coloured communing. It was known that she had said that, if she could by any means sunder those two from the rest, she was sure she should shortly attain her whole purpose; and one of her chief counsellors in those days had said that before Michaelmas day these two should lose their heads.... The Queen, perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that the Duke's Grace and the Earl of Huntly, with others appointed by her, should convene at Preston, to commune with the said Earl and Prior, and such others as the Lords of the Congregation would appoint. These, convening at Preston, spake the whole day without any certain conclusion. For this was the subterfuge of the Queen and of her

faction. By drift of time she hoped to weary our company, who, for the most part, had been in the field from the tenth day of May, and that when we were dispersed she might come to her purpose. In this she was not altogether deceived; for our commons were compelled to skaill for lack of expenses, and our gentlemen, partly constrained by lack of furnishing and partly hoping that some small appointment would result from so many communings, returned for the most part to their dwelling places, to repose themselves.

The Queen, in all these conventions, seemed to indicate that she would give liberty to religion, provided that, wheresoever she was, our preachers should cease, and the Mass should be maintained. We, perceiving her malicious craft, answered that we would compel her Grace to no religion, but that we could not, of conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly creature, put silence to God's true messengers. Nor could we suffer that the right administration of Christ's true sacraments should give place to manifest idolatry; for in so doing we should declare ourselves enemies to God, to Christ Jesus His Son, to His eternal truth and to the liberty and establishment of His Church within this realm. If her request were granted, there could be no Kirk within the realm so established but that, at her pleasure, and by her residence and remaining there, she might overthrow the same....

To no point would the Queen answer directly; but in all things she was so general and so ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men. She had gotten sure information that our company was skailled--for her Frenchmen were daily amongst us, without molestation or hurt done to them--and therefore she began to disclose her mind. "The Congregation," she said, "has reigned these two months bypast: me myself would reign now other two." The malice of her heart being plainly perceived, there was deliberation as to what was to be done. It was decided that the

Lords, Barons and gentlemen, with their substantial households, should remain in Edinburgh that whole winter, for the purpose of establishing the Church there. When it was found that, by corrupting our money, the Queen made to herself immoderate gains for maintaining her soldiers, thereby destroying our whole commonwealth, it was thought necessary that the printing irons [140] and all things pertaining to them should be taken into custody, for fear that she should privily cause them to be transported to Dunbar.

Death of Harry the Second, King of France.

In the meantime there came assured information, first, that the King of France was hurt, and, afterwards, that he was dead.... This wondrous work of God in his sudden death ought to have daunted the fury of the Queen Regent, and given her admonition that the same God could not long suffer her obstinate malice against His truth to remain unpunished. But her indurate heart could not be moved to repentance; and, hearing of the detention of the printing irons, she raged more outrageously than before.... We answered that we, without usurpation of anything justly pertaining to the Crown of Scotland, had stayed the printing irons because the commonwealth was greatly hurt by the corrupting of our money....

The Regent again takes up Arms against the Congregation.

Partly by her craft and policy, and partly by the labours of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Queen Regent procured, from the whole number that were with her, consent to pursue us with all cruelty and expedition, before we could again assemble our forces, then dispersed for new equipment. Certain knowledge of this reached us on the Saturday at night, on the twenty-second of July, and we did what in us lay to give notice to our brethren. It was impossible, however, that those of the West, Angus, Mearns, Strathearn, or Fife, in any number,

could come to us; for the enemy marched from Dunbar upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before sunrise upon Monday. They verily supposed that they should have found no resistance, being assured that only the Lords and certain gentlemen remained, with their private households.... The most part of the town appeared rather to favour us than the Queen's faction; and offered us the uttermost of their support, a promise that, for the most part, they faithfully kept.

The town of Leith made similar promise, but they did not keep the like fidelity; for, when we were upon the field, advancing to their support, when the French were close upon them, they surrendered without further resistance. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many; and yet we retired quietly to the side of Craig-end gate, where we took up a defensive position.... Before eight o'clock in the morning, God had given us both courage and a reasonable number wherewith to withstand the fury of the enemy. As many of the town of Edinburgh as had been trained to arms, and divers others besides, behaved themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The gentlemen of Lothian, and especially Calder, Haltoun, and Ormiston, were very helpful....

Edinburgh Castle supports the Regent: Appointment made at Leith.

The enemy took such fright that they determined not to invade us where we stood, but planned to approach Edinburgh by the other side of the Water of Leith, and that because they had, unknown to us, secured the support of the Castle. We had supposed the Lord Erskine, Captain of the Castle, either to be our friend, or at least to be neutral. But, when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the Earl of Argyll, to Lord James, his sister's son, and to the other noblemen, that he would declare himself both enemy to them and to the town, and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the entrance of the Frenchmen to the town. We could not fight or stop the enemy, but under the mercy of

the Castle and whole ordnance thereof. In conclusion, it was found less damage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not such as we desired, than to hazard battle betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certain heads were drawn by us....

At the Links of Leith appointment was made and subscribed on the twenty-fifth of July. We returned to the town of Edinburgh, where we remained until the next day at noon; when, after sermon, dinner, and a proclamation made at the Market Cross, we withdrew from the town....

The Congregation invoke the Aid of England.

We came first to Linlithgow, and after that to Stirling, where, after consultation, a bond of defence, for maintenance of religion, and for mutual defence, every one of the other, was subscribed by all that were present.... This bond subscribed, we, foreseeing that the Queen and bishops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to seek support from all Christian Princes against her and her tyranny, in case we should be more sharply pursued. And because England was of the same religion, and lay next to us, it was judged expedient first to approach her rulers. This we did by one or two messengers, as hereafter, in the proper place, shall be declared more fully....

John Willock braves the Fury of the Regent, and continues to minister to the Kirk in Edinburgh.

For comfort of the brethren and continuance of the Kirk in Edinburgh, our dear brother John Willock was left there. He, for his faithful labours and bold courage in that battle, deserves immortal praise. When it was found dangerous for John Knox, already elected minister to that Kirk, to continue there, the brethren requested the said John Willock to abide with them, lest, for lack of ministers, idolatry should again be erected. To this he so gladly consented that it was evident that he preferred the comfort of his brethren and the continuance of the Kirk

there to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen were appointed to lie in garrison at Leith (that was the first benefit they got for their confederacy with them), the other part were appointed to lie in the Canongate; the Queen and her train abiding in the Abbey. Our brother John Willock, the day after our departure, preached in St. Giles's Kirk, and fervently exhorted the brethren to stand constant in the truth which they had professed.

The Citizens decline to permit Popish Ceremonies to be renewed in the High Kirk.

The Duke, and divers others of the Queen's faction, were present at this and some other sermons. This liberty and preaching, with the resort of all people thereto, highly offended the Queen and the other Papists, and they began to give terrors to the Duke; affirming that he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his countenance to the sermons. Thereafter they began to require that Mass should be set up again in St. Giles's Kirk, and that the people should be set at liberty to choose what religion they would: for, they affirmed, it had been a condition in the Appointment that the town of Edinburgh should have what religion they cared for. To ascertain this, the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, and the Lord Seton were sent to the Tolbooth, to solicit all men to submit to the Queen's opinion. The two last named did what they could, but the Duke remained a mere beholder, and of him the brethren had good hopes. After many persuasions and threatenings by the said Earl and Lord, the brethren stoutly and valiantly, in the Lord Jesus, gainsaid their most unjust petitions....

The foresaid Earl and Lord Seton, then Provost of Edinburgh, perceiving that they could not prevail in that manner, began to entreat that the citizens would so far submit to the Queen's pleasure as to choose another kirk within the town, or at least be contented that Mass should

be said either after or before their sermons. Answer was given that they could not give place to the Devil, who was the chief inventor of the Mass, for the pleasure of any creature. They were in possession of that kirk, and they could not abandon it; nor could they suffer idolatry to be set up there, unless they should be constrained so to do by violence, and, if this were resorted to, they were determined to seek the next remedy.... By God's grace, the citizens continued in faithful service of God until the month of November. They not only convened to the preaching, daily supplications, and administration of baptism; but also the Lord's Table was administered, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences.

The Regent restores the Mass at Holyrood, persecutes the Reformed Clergy, and seeks to embroil the Protestants with the French.

As God did potently work through His true minister, and in His troubled Kirk, so did not the Devil cease to inflame the malice of the Queen, and of the Papists with her. Shortly after her coming to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, she caused Mass to be said, first in her own chapel, and after that in the Abbey, where the altars had before been cast down. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuskenneth; for there she cancelled the stipends of as many of the Canons as had forsaken Papistry. She gave command and inhibition that the Abbot of Lindores should not receive payment of any part of his living in the north, because he had submitted himself to the Congregation, and had made some reformation to his place. By her consent and procurement, the preaching stools in the Kirk of Leith were broken, and idolatry was re-erected there. Her French captains, with their soldiers in great companies, resorted to St. Giles's Kirk in Edinburgh at the time of preaching and prayers, and made their common deambulator [141] therein, with such loud talking that it was impossible to hear the preacher distinctly.

Although the minister was oft times compelled to cry out on them, praying to God to rid the people of such locusts, they continued in their wicked purpose. This had been devised and ordered by the Queen, who sought to draw our brethren of Edinburgh into a cummer [142] with the soldiery, so that she might have a colourable occasion for breaking the league with them. Yet, by God's grace, they so behaved themselves that she could find no fault with them. On the other hand, in all these things, and in every one of them, she is worthily counted to have contravened the said Appointment....

The Regent receives Reinforcements of Troops from France.

In the meantime the Queen Regent, knowing assuredly what force was shortly to come to her aid, ceased not, by all means possible, to cloak the incoming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our countrymen against us.... She used these means to abuse the simplicity of the people, that they should not suddenly espy for what purpose she brought in her new bands of men of war. These, to the number of a thousand men, arrived about the middle of August. The rest were appointed to come after with Monsieur de la Broche and the Bishop of Amiens, who arrived on the nineteenth day of September, as if they had been Ambassadors. What was their negotiation, the result declared, and they themselves could not long conceal; for, both by tongue and pen, they proclaimed that they had been sent for the utter extermination of all that would not profess the papistical religion in all points....

Prudent men foresaw that the Queen intended a complete conquest. But, to the end that the people should not suddenly stir, she would not bring in her full force at once, but by continual traffic purposed to augment her army, so that in the end we should not be able to resist. The greatest part of the nobility and many of the people were so enchanted by her treasonable agents that they could not listen to, or

credit, the truth plainly spoken. The French, after the arrival of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the lands and lordships according to their own fancies; for one was styled Monsieur d' Ergyle; another, Monsieur le Prior; the third, Monsieur de Ruthven; yea, they were so assured, in their own opinion, to possess whatsoever they list, that some asked for statements of the rentals and revenues of divers men's lands, to the end that they might choose the best....

A Convention is held at Stirling: 10th September 1559.

As we have already said, a Convention was appointed to be held at Stirling on the tenth day of September. To this repaired the most part of the Lords of the Congregation, ... and in the meantime came assured word that the Frenchmen had begun to fortify Leith. This action more evidently disclosed the Queen's craft, and so deeply grieved the hearts of the whole nobility that, with one consent, they addressed a letter to the Queen on the subject. This letter was signed by my Lord Duke, the Earls of Arran, Glencairn and Menteith, by the Lords Ruthven, Ochiltree and Boyd, and by divers other barons and gentlemen....

The Lords of the Congregation agree to take up arms against the French Invasion.

The Duke and Lords, understanding that the fortification of Leith was still proceeding, directed their whole forces to convene at Stirling on the fifteenth day of October, that from thence they might advance to Edinburgh, for redress of the great enormities committed by the French upon the whole country, which was so oppressed by them that the life of every honest man was bitter to him. [143] ...

The Protests of the Congregation are scornfully rejected.

There came from the Queen Regent, on the twenty-first day of October, Master Robert Forman, Lion King of Arms, who brought unto us the following credit:--

"That she wondered how any durst presume to command her in that realm, which needed not to be conquered by any force, considering that it was already conquered by marriage; that Frenchmen could not justly be called strangers, seeing that they were naturalised; and therefore that she would neither make the town of Leith patent, nor yet send any man away, except as she thought expedient. She accused the Duke of violating his promise; she made long protestation of her love towards the commonwealth of Scotland; and in the end she commanded that, under pain of treason, all assisters to the Duke and to us should depart from the town of Edinburgh."...

The Congregation convene at Edinburgh; they agree to depose the Regent. The whole nobility, barons, and burgesses, then present, were commanded to convene in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the same twenty-first day of October, for deliberation. The whole cause being exponed there by the Lord Ruthven, the question was proponed, Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born counsellors of the realm, being also but a Regent whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannously to empire over them? Because this question had not before been disputed in open assembly, it was thought expedient that the judgment of the preachers should be required. These being called and instructed in the case, John Willock spoke as follows, affirming:--

"First. That, albeit magistrates be God's ordinance, having power and authority from Him, their power is not so largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in His Word.

"Secondarily. That, as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so are magistrates commanded to fulfil their duty to the subjects, as God by His Word has prescribed the office of the one and of the other.

"Thirdly. That, albeit God has appointed magistrates to be His Lieutenants on earth, and has honoured them with His own title, calling them gods, He did never so establish any, but that for just causes they might be deprived.

"Fourthly. That, in deposing Princes and those in authority, God did not always use His immediate power; but sometimes He used other means which His wisdom thought good, and justice approved. By Asa He had removed Maachah, his own mother, from the honour and authority which she had brooked; [144] by Jehu He had destroyed Joram and the whole posterity of Ahab; and by divers others He had deposed from authority those whom previously He had established by His own Word.

"The Queen Regent had denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was to minister justice unto them indifferently, to preserve their liberties from invasion by strangers, and to suffer them to have God's Word freely and openly preached amongst them. Moreover, she was an open and obstinate idolatress, a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry; and, finally, she had utterly despised the counsel and requests of the nobility. Upon these grounds he argued that there was no reason why they, the born counsellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her from all regiment and authority amongst them."...

The individual vote of every man being required, and every man commanded to speak what his conscience judged in that matter, as he would answer to God, there was none found amongst the whole number who did not, by his own tongue, consent to her deprivation....

After our Act of Suspension was by sound of trumpet divulged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, we dismissed the herald with his answer, and on the following day we summoned the town of Leith by the sound of trumpet, requiring, in name of the King and Queen and of the Council

then in Edinburgh, that all Scots and French men, [145] of whatsoever estate and degree they should be, to depart from the town of Leith within the space of twelve hours, and "make the same patent to all and sundry our Sovereign Lady's lieges."...

The Siege of Leith is commenced: Traitors hinder the Protestants.

Defiance given, there was skirmishing, without great slaughter.

Preparation of scaills [146] and ladders was made for the assault, which had been agreed upon by common consent of the nobility and barons. The scaills were appointed to be made in St. Giles's Church, and preaching was neglected. This not a little grieved the preachers, and many godly persons.... The Queen had amongst us her assured spies, who did not only signify unto her what was our state, but also what were our counsel, purposes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently suspected to be the very betrayers of all our secrets. A boy of the Official of Lothian, Master James Balfour, was caught carrying a writing which disclosed the most secret thing that was devised in the Council; yea, these very things which were thought only to have been known to a very few.

Hardships of the Protestant Party: the Soldiers demand their Pay.

By such domestic enemies not only were our purposes frustrated, but also our determinations were often overthrown and changed. The Duke's friends sought to alarm him, and he was greatly troubled; by his fear many others were troubled. The men of war, for the most part men without God or honesty, made a mutiny, because they lacked a part of their wages.... All these troubles were practised by the Queen, and put into execution by the traitors amongst ourselves.... To pacify the men of war, a collection was devised. But, because some were poor and some were niggardly and avaricious, no sufficient sum could be obtained. It was thought expedient that a cunyie [147] should be erected, so that

every nobleman might cunyie his silver to supply the immediate necessity. David Forrest, John Hart, and others who before had charge of the Cunyie-house, promised their faithful labours; but, when the matter came to the very point, the said John Hart and others of his faction stole away, and took with them the necessary tools....

Four thousand Crowns are sent from England, and captured by Lord Bothwell.

There now remained no hope that any money could be furnished among ourselves; and therefore it was concluded by a few of those whom we judged most secret that inquiry should be directed to Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, to ascertain whether they would support us with any reasonable sum in that urgent necessity. And for that purpose the Laird of Ormiston was directed to them in as secret manner as we could devise. But our counsel was disclosed to the Queen, who appointed the Lord Bothwell, as he himself confessed, to await the return of the said Laird. That he did with all diligence; and, being assuredly informed by what way he would come, the said Earl Bothwell foreset his way, and, coming upon him at unawares, did capture him, and the sum of four thousand crowns of the sun, which Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts had most lovingly sent for our support.... The Earl of Arran, the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, with the most part of the horsemen, took sudden purpose to pursue the said Earl of Bothwell, in the hope that they might apprehend him in Crichton or Morham.... But, albeit the departure and counsel of the Earl of Arran and Lord James was very sudden and secret, the Earl Bothwell, then being in Crichton, received information of this, and so escaped with the money....

The Men of Dundee lose their Guns.

In the absence of the said Lords and horsemen (we mean the same day

that they departed, which was the last of October) the Provost and town of Dundee, together with some soldiers, issued from the town of Edinburgh, and carried with them some great ordnance to shoot at Leith.... The French being notified that our horsemen were absent, and that the whole company were at dinner, made a sortie, and with great expedition came to the place where our ordnance was laid. The town of Dundee, with a few others, resisted for a while, with their ordnance as well as hackbuts; but, being left by our ungodly and feeble soldiers, who fled without stroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and so to leave the ordnance to the enemies. These pursued the fugitives to the middle of the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith Wynd. Their cruelty then began to discover itself; for the decrepit, the aged, the women and children, found no greater favour in their fury than did the strong man who made resistance.

The ill Results of further Treachery.

It was very apparent that amongst ourselves there was some treason. Upon the first alarm, all men made haste to come to the relief of their brethren, and in very deed we might have saved them, and at least we might have saved the ordnance, and have kept the Canongate from danger; for we were at once marched forward with bold courage. But then a shout was raised amongst ourselves (God will disclose the traitors one day) affirming that the whole French company had entered Leith Wynd at our backs. What clamour and disorder then suddenly arose, we list not to express with multiplication of words. The horsemen and some of those that ought to have maintained order overrode their poor brethren at the entrance of the Nether Bow. The cry of distress arose in the town; the wicked and malignant blasphemed; the feeble (amongst whom was the Justice Clerk, Sir John Bellenden) fled without mercy. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the West Port.... In the meantime,

the French retired themselves with our ordnance....

The Cause of the Protestants is in Eclipse.

From that day forward, the courage of many was dejected. With great difficulty could men be retained in the town; yea, some of the greatest estimation determined to abandon the enterprise. Many fled away secretly, and those that did abide--a very few excepted--appeared destitute of counsel and manhood.... Thus we continued from Wednesday, the last of October, until Monday the fifth of November, never two or three abiding firm in one opinion for the space of twenty-four hours.... Upon the last-named day, the French made an early sally from Leith, for the purpose of kepping [148] the victuals which should have come to us. We being troubled amongst ourselves, and divided in opinions, were neither circumspect when they did ish, [149] nor did we follow with such expedition as had been meet for men that would have sought our advantage....

Maitland of Lethington joins the Lords of the Congregation.

William Maitland of Lethington, younger, Secretary to the Queen, perceiving himself not only to be suspected as one that favoured our part, but also to stand in danger of his life if he should remain amongst so ungodly a company, surrendered himself to Master Kirkaldy, Laird of Grange. He, coming to us, exhorted us to constancy, assuring us that there was nothing but craft and deceit in the Queen. He travailed exceedingly to keep the Lords together, and most prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might ensue upon their departing from the town. But fear and dolour had seized the hearts of all, and they could admit no consolation.

The Earl of Arran, and Lord James, offered to abide, if any reasonable company would abide with them. But men continued to steal away, and the wit of man could not stay them. Yea, some of the greatest determined

plainly that they would not abide. The Captain of the Castle, then Lord Erskine, would promise us no favours, but said he must needs declare himself friend to those that were able to support and defend him. When this answer was given to the Lord James, it discouraged those that before had determined to have abided the uttermost, rather than abandon the town, had but the Castle stood their friend. But the contrary being declared, every man consulted his own safety. The complaint of the brethren within the town of Edinburgh was lamentable and sore. The wicked, too, began to spue forth the venom which lurked in their cankered heart....

The Retreat from Edinburgh.

It was finally agreed to withdraw from Edinburgh; and, to avoid danger, it was decided that the forces should depart at midnight. The Duke made provision for his ordnance, and caused it to be sent before; but the rest was left to the care of the Captain of the Castle, who received it, both that of the Lord James, and that of Dundee. The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics: every one provoked the other to cast stones at us. One cried, "Alas, if I might see;" another, "Fie, give advertisement to the Frenchmen that they may come, and we shall help them now to cut the throats of these heretics." And thus, as the sword of dolour passed through our hearts, the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts were then revealed. We would never have believed that our natural countrymen and women would have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity.... We stayed not until we came to Stirling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh; for it was concluded, that consultation should be taken there as to the next remedy in so desperate a matter.

John Knox preaches at Stirling: a notable Sermon on the Discipline of

Providence.

The next Wednesday, which was the seventh of November, John Knox preached (John Willock having departed to England, as he had previously arranged) and treated of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth versicles of the Fourscore Psalm.... In his exposition he declared the reasons for which God sometimes suffered His chosen flock to be exposed to mockage, to dangers, and to apparent destruction: to wit, that they might feel the vehemency of God's indignation; that they might know how little strength was in themselves; that they might leave a testimony to the generations following, as well of the malice of the Devil against God's people, as of the marvellous work of God in preserving His little flock by far other means than man can espy. In explaining these words, "How long shalt Thou be angry, O Lord, against the prayer of Thy people?" he declared how dolorous and fearful it was to fight against the temptation to believe that God turned away His face from our prayers, for that was nothing else than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed for our destruction. This temptation no flesh could abide or overcome, unless the mighty Spirit of God interponed Himself suddenly.

By way of example, he noted the impatience of Saul, when God would not hear his prayers. He plainly declared that the difference between the elect and reprobate in that temptation was that the elect, sustained by the secret power of God's Spirit, did still call upon God, albeit He appeared to contemn their prayers. That, he said, was the sacrifice most acceptable to God, and was in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome Him, as Jacob did in warselling with His Angel. But the reprobate, said he, being denied of their requests at God's hand, either ceased to pray, and altogether contemned God, albeit He had straitly commanded us to call upon Him in the day of adversity; or else

they sought from the Devil that which they saw they could not obtain from God.

In the second part, he declared how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours not to rejoice and put confidence in itself when God gave victory; and, therefore, how necessary it was that man by affliction should be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmity, lest, puffed up with vain confidence, he should make an idol of his own strength, as did King Nebuchadnezzar. He gravely disputed upon the nature of the blind world, which, in all ages, had insolently rejoiced when God did chasten His own children. The reprobate could never see their glory and honour, and therefore despised them, and the wondrous work of God in them. "And yet," said he, "the joy and rejoicing of the world is but mere sorrow, because the end of it tendeth to sudden destruction, as the riotous banqueting of Belshazzar declareth.... I doubt not that some of us have oftener than once read this Psalm, as also that we have read and heard the travail and troubles of our ancient fathers. But which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations, did so descend into ourselves that we felt the bitterness of their passions? I think none. And therefore has God brought us to some experience in our own persons....

"When we were few in number, in comparison with our enemies, when we had neither Earl nor Lord, a few excepted, to comfort us, we called upon God; we took Him for our protector, defence, and only refuge. Amongst us, we heard no bragging of multitude, of our strength, nor policy: we did only sob to God, to have respect to the equity of our cause, and to the cruel pursuit of the tyrannous enemy. But since our number hath been thus multiplied, and chiefly since my Lord Duke's Grace and his friends have been joined with us, there has been nothing heard, but, 'This Lord will bring these many hundred spears:' 'this man

hath the credit to persuade this country:' [150] 'if this Earl be ours, no man in such a bounds will trouble us.' And thus the best of us all, who formerly felt God's potent hand to be our defence, have of late days put flesh to be our arm....

"I am uncertain if my Lord's Grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance to these murderers unjustly pursuing us. Yea, I am uncertain if he hath repented of that innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs which was shed in his default. But let it be that so he hath done (as I hear that he hath confessed his offence before the Lords and Brethren of the Congregation), I am yet assured that neither he nor his friends have felt before this time the anguish and grief of heart suffered by us when in their blind fury they pursued us. Therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall into this confusion at the same time: us, because we put our trust and confidence in man; and them, that they should feel in their own hearts how bitter was the cup which they made others drink. It only remains that both they and we should turn to the Eternal our God, who beats down to death, to the intent that He may raise up again, and leave the remembrance of His wondrous deliverance, to the praise of His own name....

"Yea, whatever shall become of us and of our mortal carcases, I doubt not but that this cause, in despite of Satan, shall prevail in the realm of Scotland. For, as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it once prevail, howsoever for a time it be impugned. It may be that God shall plague some because they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly respects they seem to favour it. Yea, God may take some of His dearest children away before their eyes see greater troubles. But neither shall the one nor the other hinder this action, and in the end it shall triumph."

Upon the conclusion of this sermon, in which John Knox had vehemently

exhorted all men to amendment of life, to prayers, and to the works of charity, the minds of men began wondrously to be erected.... In the end, it was concluded that William Maitland should go to London to lay our estate and condition before the Queen and Council, and that the Noblemen should go home and remain quiet until the sixteenth day of December. That date was appointed for the next Convention in Stirling, as in our Third Book shall be more amply declared.

Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of Thy mercies; for we are brought even to the deep of the dungeon.

[126] The Second Book of the History of Things done in Scotland, in the Reformation of Religion, beginning in the Year of God 1558.

[127] The "History" originally commenced at this point. The Second Book was begun in 1560: the scope of the work was enlarged about 1566, when the First and Fourth Books were added. The reader will note that, in point of date, the narrative at the opening of the Second Book overlaps that at the close of Book First.--Ed.

[128] Loss.

[129] Washing.

[130] Brought back.

[131] Impartiality.

[132] Formal process of outlawry.

[133] Aggravate.

[134] Companies.

[135] Cause.

[136] Truce.

[137] Hangings.

[138] Granary.

[139] Sued out; procured.

[140] Coining dies.

[141] Promenade.

[142] Entanglement.

[143] In framing a historical record of the important events in Scotland in which he took a part, Knox seems to have considered it incumbent upon him to preserve in his chronicle complete copies of the numerous documents and missives concerning the relations of the Reformers among themselves, or embodying the communings of the Reformers with the Queen Regent and with the Sovereign of England. In the present edition, these are omitted, or only quoted in abbreviated form, so far as may be necessary to keep the reader in close touch with the thread of the narrative, and the attitude of the different parties.--Ed.

[144] Soiled.

[145] That is, men-at-arms.

[146] Scaling-ladder.

[147] Mint.

[148] Intercepting.

[149] Come forth; issue.

[150] District.

BOOK THIRD. [151]

1559-1561.

The Regent possesses Edinburgh: Arran is proclaimed Traitor.

After our dolorous departure from Edinburgh, the fury and the rage of the French increased; for then neither man nor woman that professed Christ Jesus durst be seen within that town. The houses of the most honest men were given by the Queen to the Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The Earl Bothwell, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the Earl of Arran traitor, with other despiteful words; and all this was done for the pleasure and at the suggestion of the Queen Regent, who then thought the battle was won, without fear of further resistance. Great practising she made towards obtaining the Castle of Edinburgh. The French made faggots and other preparations for assaulting the Castle, by force or by treason. But God wrought so potently with the Captain, the Lord Erskine, that neither did the Queen prevail by flattery, nor the French by treason.

French Reinforcements meet with Disaster at Sea.

With all diligence, intelligence was sent to the Duke of Guise, who was then virtual King of France, requiring him to use expedition, if he desired the full conquest of Scotland. He delayed no time, and sent away a new army with his brother, Marquis D'Elboeuf, and the Count de Martigues, promising that he himself should follow. But the righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those that unfeignedly sob unto Him, fought for us by His own outstretched arm. One night, upon the coast of Holland, eighteen ensigns of them were drowned, so that there only remained the ship in which were the two leaders with their ladies. These, violently driven back again to Dieppe, were

compelled to confess that God fought for the defence of Scotland.

News from England: a waiting Game is played.

Robert Melvin, who had gone to London in company with the Secretary, a little before Christmas, now returned from England and brought certain Articles to be answered by us. Thereupon the Nobility convened at Stirling, and returned answer with diligence. The French, informed of this, marched to Linlithgow, spoiled the Duke's house, and wasted his lands of Kinneil; thereafter coming to Stirling, where they remained for some days. The Duke, and the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, with their friends, moved on to Glasgow, the Earl of Arran and Lord James, to St. Andrews; for charge had been given to all the Protestant Nobility to conserve their forces until God should send them further support.

The French invade Fife.

The French laid their plans for assaulting Fife first; for it had stirred their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the town, the Abbey, and the Castle of St. Andrews. So they came to Culross, after that to Dunfermline, and then to Burntisland, where they began to fortify. But they soon had reason to desist and march to Kinghorn. For, when the Earl of Arran and the Lord James learned that the French had departed from Stirling, they departed also from St. Andrews, and began to assemble their forces at Cupar. They also sent their men of war to Kinghorn; and to them there resorted divers of the coast side, who were of mind to resist at the beginning, rather than when the French had destroyed a part of their towns. As the Lords had given express command that nothing should be hazarded until they themselves were present, the Lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in stoutness, was dispatched to Kinghorn.

An Affair at Pettycur.

The men of war, and the rascal multitude, perceiving Frenchmen landing from certain boats which had come from Leith, determined to stop their coming ashore. Not considering the enemies that approached from Burntisland, they unadvisedly rushed down to the Pettycur, as the brae be-west Kinghorn is called, and at the sea-coast began skirmishing. They never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, until the horsemen charged down upon their backs, and the whole bands met them in the face. They were thus compelled to give back, with the loss of six or seven men killed, and some others taken prisoner. The reason why there was so small a loss in so great a danger was, next to the merciful providence of God, the sudden coming of the Lord Ruthven. Immediately after our men had given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae, and stayed the French footmen, while some of ours broke upon their horsemen, and so repulsed them that they did no further hurt to our footmen.

The French occupy Kinghorn.

The French took Kinghorn, and there they lay, wasting the country about, as well Papists as Protestants, yea, even those that were confederate with them, such as Seafield, Wemyss, Balmuto, Balweary, and others, enemies to God and traitors to their country. They spared not the sheep, the oxen, the kine, and horse of these men, and some say that their wives and daughters got favours of the French soldiers. Thus did God recompense the Papists in their own bosoms, for, besides the defiling of their houses, two of them received more damage than did all the gentlemen that professed the Evangel within Fife, the Laird of Grange only excepted. His house of the Grange the French overthrew by gunpowder.

The Queen Regent, proud of this victory, burst forth in blasphemous

railing, and said, "Where is now John Knox's God? My God is now stronger than his, yea, even in Fife." To her friends in France she posted news that thousands of the heretics had been slain, and that the rest were fled; and required that some nobleman would come and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information, the Count de Martigues, with two ships, and some captains and horse, were directed to come to Scotland; but little to their own advantage, as we shall hear.

John Knox preaches at Cupar.

The Lords of the Congregation, offended at the foolishness of the rascal multitude, recalled the men of war, and remained certain days at Cupar. To them repaired John Knox, and, in our greatest desperation, preached a most comfortable sermon. His subject was, "The danger in which the disciples of Christ Jesus stood when they were in the midst of the sea, and Jesus was upon the mountain." He exhorted us not to faint, but still to row against these contrary blasts, until Jesus Christ should come; "for," said he, "I am as assuredly persuaded that God shall deliver us from the extreme trouble, as I am assured that this is the Evangel of Jesus Christ which I preach unto you this day. I am assured, albeit I cannot assure you, by reason of this present rage; God grant that ye may acknowledge His hand, after your eyes have seen His deliverance." In that sermon he comforted many. And yet he offended the Earl of Arran, who apprehended that certain words were spoken in reproach of him, because he kept himself more close and solitary than many men would have wished.

The Campaign in Fife.

After these things, determination was taken that the Earl of Arran and Lord James, with the men of war and some company of horsemen, should go to Dysart, and there lie in wait upon the French, so that they should not utterly destroy the sea-coast, as they had intended to have done.

The said Earl and Lord James did as they were appointed, albeit their company was very small; and yet they did so valiantly, that it passed all credibility. For twenty-one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off: they had skirmishing almost every day; yea, some days, from morn to even. The French had four thousand soldiers, beside their favourers and faction of the country. The Lords had never altogether five hundred horsemen, with a hundred soldiers; and yet they held the French so busy, that for every horse they slew to the Congregation, they lost four French soldiers.

William Kirkaldy of Grange, on the day after his house was cast down, sent in his defiance to Monsieur D'Oysel and the rest, declaring that to that hour had he used the French favourably. He had saved their lives, when he might have suffered their throats to be cut; but, seeing that they had used him with that rigour, let them not look for that favour in times to come. The said William Kirkaldy, and the Master of Lyndsay, escaped many dangers. The Master had his horse slain under him: the said William was almost betrayed in his house at Hallyards. Yet they never ceased; night and day they waited upon the French.

On one occasion, they with some gentlemen laid themselves in a secret place, before day, to await the French, who were wont to ish in companies, to seek their prey. Forth came a Captain Battu, with his hundred men, and began to spoil. The said Master, now Lord of Lyndsay, and the said William, suffered this without showing themselves or their company, until they had them more than a mile from Kinghorn. Then the horsemen began to break. Perceiving this, the French drew together to a place called Glennis House, and made for debate; some took the house, and others defended the close and yard. The hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but spears, and were compelled to light upon their feet. The others were within dykes; and all had

culverins: the shot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt.

Kirkaldy, perceiving men to faint and begin to recoil, cried, "Fie, let us never live after this day, if we shall recoil for French schybalds [152] ;" and so the Master of Lyndsay and he burst in at the yett, and others followed. The Master struck with his spear at La Battu, and glancing upon his harness, for fierceness stammered [153] almost upon his knees. But, recovering suddenly, he fastened his spear, and bare the Captain backward, who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him. Those that were in the house, with some others, were saved, and sent to Dundee to be kept. This mischance to the Frenchmen made them more circumspect in scattering abroad in the country; and so the poor folk got some relief.

To furnish the French with victuals, Captain Cullen, with two ships, travelled betwixt the south shore and Kinghorn. For his wages, he spoiled Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and as much of Dysart as he might. For remedy, two ships were sent from Dundee, Andrew Sands, a stout and fervent man in the cause of religion, being in command. At the same time Count de Martigues arrived. Without delay he landed himself, his coffers, and the principal gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leaving the rest in his two ships until more convenient opportunity.

But the said Andrew, and his companion, striking sail and making as if they would cast anchor hard beside them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee. In them were gotten some horse and much harness, with some other trifles; but of money we heard not.

An English Fleet arrives in the Forth.

The French were incensed, and vowed the destruction of St. Andrews and Dundee. Upon Monday morning, the twenty-third day of January 1560, they marched from Dysart, and crossed the water of Leven; ever keeping the sea-coast, for the sake of their ships and victuals. About twelve

o'clock they espied ships. These had been seen that morning by us that were upon the land, but they were not known. Monsieur D'Oysel affirmed them to be French ships, and so the soldiers triumphed, shot their volley for salutation, and marched forward to Kincraig, fearing no resistance. But shortly after, the English ships, meeting with Captain Cullen, seized him and his ships, and this made them muse a little. Suddenly came Master Alexander Wood, and assured Monsieur D'Oysel, that they were Englishmen, and that they were the fore-riders of a greater number that followed for the support of the Congregation. Then might have been seen the riving of beards, and might have been heard such despite as cruel men are wont to spue forth when God bridleth their fury. Weariness and the night constrained them to lodge where they were. They supped scarcely, because their ships were taken. In these were their victuals, and also the ordnance which they intended to have placed in St. Andrews. They themselves durst not stray abroad to forage; and the Laird of Wemyss's carriage, which likewise was coming with provisions for them, was stayed. Betimes in the morning, they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in retiring, than they had done in two in advancing.

The French retire on Edinburgh.

The storm, which had continued for the space of nearly a month, broke at the very time of the retreat of the French. Many thought they would have been stayed by this until a reasonable company might have been assembled to have fought them; and with that purpose William Kirkaldy cut the bridge of Tullibody. But the French, expert enough in such work, took down the roof of a parish kirk, and made a bridge over the water called the Devon. So they escaped, and came to Stirling, and syne to Leith.

A greedy Frenchman dies in a Beef-tub.

In their retreat, the French spoiled the country and lost divers men; amongst whom there was one whose miserable end we must rehearse. A Frenchman--captain or soldier, we cannot tell, but he had a red cloak and a gilt morion--entered upon a poor woman, that dwelt in the Whyteside, and began to spoil. The poor woman offered him such bread as she had ready prepared. But he, in no ways content therewith, demanded the meal and a little salt beef with which she had to sustain her own life, and the lives of her poor children. Neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the merciless man; he would have whatsoever he could carry. The poor woman perceiving him so bent, and that he stooped down into her tub to take forth such stuff as was within it, cowped up his heels, so that his head went down; and there he ended his unhappy life.

Chapter 5

The Negotiations between the Congregation and the English Court.

From this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable support that we, by God's providence, received in our greatest extremity from our neighbours of England. We therefore think it expedient simply to declare how that matter was first moved, and by what means it came to pass that the Queen and Council of England showed themselves so favourable to us.

John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foresaw to ensue from our enterprise; and, when he came to Dieppe, mindful of these, and revolving with himself what remedy God would please to offer, he had the boldness to write to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of England. With him the said John had formerly been familiarly acquainted, and he intended thereby to renew acquaintance, and so to open his mind further....

To this letter no answer was made; for, shortly thereafter, the said John made forward to Scotland by sea, where he landed on the third day of May; and had such success as has been declared in the Second Book. The said John, being in St. Andrews after Cupar Moor, entered into deep discourse with the Laird of Grange: the dangers were evident, but the support was not easy to be seen. After many words, John Knox burst forth as follows: "If England would foresee their own commodity, yea, if they did consider the danger wherein they themselves stand, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel; for France hath decreed no less the conquest of England than of Scotland." After long reasoning, it was concluded betwixt them two that support should be craved of England. For that purpose, the said Laird of Grange first wrote to Sir Harry Percy, and afterwards rode from Edinburgh and spake

with him. To him he made so plain demonstration of the apparent danger to England, that he took upon him to write to the Secretary Cecil; who with expedition returned answer back again. Sir Harry was given to understand that our enterprise was not altogether misliked by the Council, albeit they desired further resolution on the part of the principal Lords. When this was understood, it was concluded by some to write unto him plainly our whole purpose.... With this our letter, John Knox wrote two, one to the Secretary, and another to the Queen's Majesty herself.... These letters were directed by Alexander Whitelaw, a man that hath oft hazarded himself, and his all, for the cause of God, and for his friends when in danger for the same cause.

Within a day or two after the departure of the said Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Harry Percy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Alnwick, on the third of August, upon such affairs as he would not write of, nor yet communicate to any but the said John himself.

While he was preparing himself for the journey, for Secretary Cecil had appointed to meet him at Stamford, the Frenchmen came forth furiously from Dunbar, intending to have surprised the Lords in Edinburgh, as in the Second Book has been declared. This stayed the journey of the said John, until God had delivered the innocent from that great danger; and then was he (having Master Robert Hamilton, minister of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, in his company) directed from the Lords, with full commission and instructions to set forth their whole cause and estate.

The passage was from Pittenweem, by sea. Arriving at Holy Island, and being informed that Sir Harry Percy was absent from the North, they addressed themselves to Sir James Crofts, then Captain of Berwick and Warden of the East Marches of England. They showed to him their credit and commission. He received them gently, and comforted them with his faithful counsel, which was that they should travel no farther, nor yet

should they be seen in public, and that for divers considerations.

First, the Queen Regent had her spies in England. Secondarily, the Queen and the Council favoured our action, but would that all things should remain secret as long as possible. And last, said he, "I do not think it expedient that, when preachers are so scarce, ye two should be any long time absent from the Lords. Therefore," said he, "ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I shall promise to you, upon my honour, to have answer delivered to you and the Lords, before ye yourselves could reach London. And where your letters cannot express all things so fully as your presence could, I, not only by my pen, but also by my own presence, shall supply the same, to such as will inform the Council sufficiently of all things."

The said John and Master Robert followed this counsel, for it was faithful and proceeded of love at that time. They tarried with Sir James Crofts very secretly, within the Castle of Berwick, for two days, when Alexander Whitelaw returned with answer to the Lords, and to John Knox, the tenor of whose letter was this:--

Master Cecil's Letter to John Knox.

"Master Knox,--Non est masculus neque foemina, omnes enim, ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu. Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino; et erit Dominus fiducia ejus. [154]

"I have received your letters, at the time that I had thought to have seen yourself about Stamford. What is the cause of your let, I know not. I forbear to descend to the bottom of things, until I may confer with such an one as ye are; and, therefore, if your chance shall be hereafter to come hither, I wish you to be furnished with good credit, and power to make good resolution. Although my answer to the Lords of Congregation be somewhat obscure, upon further understanding ye shall find the matter plain. I need wish to you no

more prudence than God's grace, whereof God send you plenty. And so I end. From Oxford, the twenty-eighth of July 1559.--Yours as a member of the same body in Christ,--W. Cecil."

Albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing until he had spoken with the Lords. Them he found in Stirling, and unto them he delivered the answer sent from the Council of England.... The answer sent by Master Cecil was so general that many amongst us were despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and therefore were determined that they would request nothing further. John Knox laboured for the contrary purpose; but he could prevail no further than that he should have licence and liberty to write as he thought best. And so took he upon him to answer for all, in form as follows:--

The Reply of John Knox to Secretary Cecil.

"... Albeit Master Whitelaw, by his credit, Master Kirkaldy, by his letter, and I, both by letters and by that which I had learned from Sir James Crofts, did declare and affirm your good minds towards them and their support; yet could not some of the Council--those, I mean, of greatest experience--be otherwise persuaded, but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose.

"It is not unknown to your countrymen what goodwill we three do bear to England. Therefore we heartily desire of you that your favours and good minds may appear to the Council by your own writings, rather than by any credit committed to any of us. The case of those gentlemen standeth thus:--Unless money be furnished without delay to pay their soldiers, who in number now exceed five hundred, for their service by-past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life before they

compone [155] either with the Queen Regent, or with France. But this I dare not promise at all, unless in you they see a greater forwardness to their support.

"To support us may appear excessive, and to break promise with France may appear dangerous. But, Sir, I hope ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss; and that when France shall be our full master--which God avert!--they will be but slender friends to you. I heard Béthencourt brag in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letters to Lord James Stewart, that the King and his Council would spend the Crown of France, unless they had our full obedience. But most assuredly I know that unless by us they thought to make an entrance to you, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money, and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support; some they threaten; and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In the meantime, if ye lie by as neutrals, ye may easily conjecture what will be the end! Some of the Council, immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argyll is gone to his country for putting order to the same, [156] and is minded to return shortly with his forces, if assurance of your support be had.

"Therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, I require you to make plain answer, that the Gentlemen here may know what to lippen to, [157] and at what time their support should be in readiness. How dangerous is the drift of time in such matters, ye are not ignorant...."

A practical Answer.

With great expedition, answer was returned to this letter. It was requested that some men of credit should be sent from the Lords to

Berwick, to receive money for immediate support; and promise was made that, if the Lords of the Congregation meant no otherwise than they had written, and if they would enter into league with honest conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to aid their just cause. Upon receipt of this answer, Master Henry Balnaves, a man of good credit in both the realms, was sent by the Lords to Berwick. He immediately returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs until the next November; John Cockburn of Ormiston was then sent for the second support, and receiving the same, unhappily fell into the hands of the Earl Bothwell, and was wounded, taken, and spoiled of a great sum. Upon this mischance followed all the rest of our troubles before rehearsed....

In the negotiation of the Secretary Lethington with the Queen and Council of England, in which he travailed with no less wisdom and faithfulness than happy success, many things occurred that required the resolution of the whole Lords. Amongst these there was one of which we have made no previous mention.

After the Queen and Council of England had concluded to send their army into Scotland to expel the French, the Duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick, with full instructions, power, and commission, to do in all things, concerning the present affairs of Scotland, as the Queen and Councillors in their own persons might do. Hereupon, the said Duke required such a part of the Lords of Scotland as had power and commission from the whole to meet him at such day and place as it might please them to appoint. The intimation came first to Glasgow, by means of the Master of Maxwell. When this had been read and considered by the Lords, it was agreed that they should meet at Carlisle. This arrangement was made on the procurement of the said Master of Maxwell, for his own ease.

John Knox reproaches the Lords for Slackness and Thoughtlessness.

Letters were directed from the Lords, lying at Glasgow, to Lord James, requiring him to repair towards them for the purpose named, with all possible expedition. When these letters had been read and advised upon, commandment was given to John Knox to make the answer.... And he wrote as follows:--"I have written oftener than once to Mr. Henry Balnaves concerning things that have misliked me in your slow proceedings in supporting your brethren, who many days have sustained extreme danger in these parts, as well as in making provision how the enemy might have been annoyed, when they lay in few numbers nigh to your quarters in Stirling; and in making provision how the expectation of your friends, who long have awaited for your answer, might have been satisfied. But although I have complained of those things, of very conscience, I am yet compelled to signify unto your honours that, unless I shall espy some redress of these and other enormities, I am assured that the end shall be such as godly men shall mourn, and that a good cause shall perish for lack of wisdom and diligence.

"In my last letters to Mr. Henry Balnaves, I declared that your especial friends in England wonder that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being considered. I wrote also that, if the fault were with the Lord Duke and his friends, the greatest loss should be his and theirs in the end. And now, I cannot cease both to wonder and lament that your whole Council was so destitute of wisdom and discretion as to charge this poor man, the Prior, to come to you to Glasgow, and thereafter to go to Carlisle, for such affairs as are to be entreated. Was there none amongst you who did foresee what inconveniences might ensue his absence from these parts?

"I cease to speak of the dangers from the enemy. Your friends have lain in the Firth now for fifteen days bypast, and what was their former

travail is not unknown; yet they have never received comfort from any man, him only excepted, more than if they had lain upon the coast of their mortal enemy. Do ye not consider that such a company needs comfort and provision from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth that carefully will travail in that or any other weighty matter in these parts? Did ye not further consider that he had begun to meddle with the gentlemen who had declared themselves unfriends heretofore; and also that order would have been taken for such as have been neutral? Now, by reason of his absence, the former will escape without admonition, and the latter will retain their former liberty. I am assured that the enemy will not sleep, either in that or in other affairs. They will undermine you and your whole cause; and, especially, they will hurt this part of the country in revenge for their former folly.

"If none of these causes should have moved you to have considered that such a journey, at such a time, was not meet for the Lord James, or for them that must accompany him, discreet men would yet have considered that the men that have lien in their jacks, and travailed their horses continually the space of a month, require some longer rest than yet they have had, both for themselves and, especially, for their horses, before they should have been charged to take such a journey. The Prior may, for satisfaction of your unreasonable minds, make the enterprise; but I am assured that he shall not be able to procure in all Fife six honest men to accompany him. How that stands either with your honour or his safety, judge ye yourselves.

"Again, it is a wonder that ye did not consider to what pain and fashery [158] ye put your friends of England; especially the Duke of Norfolk and his Council, whom ye would cause to travel the most wearisome and fashous gait [159] that is in England. In my opinion,

whoever gave you that counsel either lacked right judgment in things to be done, or else had too much respect to his own ease, and too small regard to the travail and danger of his brethren. A common cause requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionably. Prudent and indifferent men espy the contrary in this cause, especially of late days; for the weakest are most grievously charged, and those to whom the matter most belongeth, and to whom justly the greatest burden is due, are in a manner exempted both from travail and expenses.

"To speak the matter plainly, wise men do wonder what my Lord Duke's friends do mean; they are so slack and backward in this cause. In other actions, they have been judged stout and forward; and in this, which is the greatest that ever he or they had in hand, they appear destitute both of grace and of courage. I am not ignorant that they that are most inward in his counsels are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to His cause. But the wonder is that he and his other friends do not consider that the tinsel of this godly enterprise will mean the rooting of them and their posterity from this realm. Considering, my Lords, that by God's providence ye are joined with the Duke's Grace in this common cause, do ye admonish him plainly of the danger to come. Will him to beware of the counsel of those that are plainly infected with superstition, with pride, and with venom of particular profits. If he do not this at your admonition, he shall smart, before he be aware; if ye cease to put him in mind of his duty, it may be that, for your silence, ye shall drink some portion of the plague with him...."

Upon the receipt of this letter, and consultation thereupon, a fresh decision was made; to wit, that the Lords would visit the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick, where he was.

Thus far have we digressed from the style of the history, to let the

posterity that shall follow understand by what instruments God wrought the familiarity and friendship that afterwards we found in England. Now we return to our former history.

Chapter 6

After the French Retreat from Fife.

The parts of Fife set at freedom from the bondage of those bloody worms, solemn thanks unto God, for His mighty deliverance, were given in St. Andrews. Shortly after, the Earl of Arran and Lord James apprehended the Lairds of Wemyss, Seafield, Balgonie, and Durie, and others that had assisted the French. They were, however, soon set at freedom, upon conditions that they never intended to keep: for such men have neither faith nor honesty. Mr. James Balfour, who was the greatest practiser, escaped. The English ships multiplied daily, until they were able to keep the whole Firth. This enraged the French and the Queen Regent, and they began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay near to Edinburgh.

At Berwick, the Lords make a Contract with England.

In the middle of February 1560, the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, the Master of Lyndsay, Master Henry Balnaves, and the Laird of Pittarrow were directed to England, from the Duke's Grace and the Congregation. All these, except the Master of Maxwell, departed with their honest companies and commission by sea to Berwick. There they were met by the Duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to the Queen's Majesty of England, and with him a great company of the gentlemen of the North, and some also of the South, having full power to contract with the nobility of Scotland. This they did, upon such conditions as in the Contract are specified. And because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make false report of our action, we have faithfully and truly inserted in this our history the said Contract, that the memory thereof may bide to our posterity. They may judge with indifference whether we have done anything prejudicial to our commonwealth, or yet

contrary to that dutiful obedience which true subjects owe to their superiors--superiors whose authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms committed to their charge; and not to oppress and betray these to strangers. The tenor of our Contract follows.

The principal Clauses of the Treaty of Berwick.

"... The Queen's Majesty, having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the manifest proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberties thereof, and unite the same unto the Crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the same realm, and to the pacts, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for and in name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, the Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran, being declared by Act of Parliament in Scotland to be heir-apparent to the Crown thereof, and the nobility and subjects thereof, unto Her Majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the same in their freedoms and liberties, and from conquest during the time that the marriage shall continue betwixt the Queen of Scots and the French King, and a year after. And, for expelling out of the same realm such as presently and apparently go about to practise the said conquest, Her Majesty shall with all speed send unto Scotland a convenient aid of men of war, on horse and foot, to join with the power [160] of Scotsmen; with artillery, munition, and all other instruments of war meet for the purpose, as well by sea as by land, not only to expel the present power of French within that realm, oppressing the same, but also to stop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater forces of French from entering therein for the like purpose. Her Majesty shall continue her aid to the said realm,

nobility, and subjects of the same, unto the time that the French, being enemies to the said realm, are utterly expelled thence. Her Majesty shall never transact, compone, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any league with them, unless the Scots and the French shall be agreed; that the realm of Scotland may be left in due freedom by the French. Nor shall Her Majesty leave off the maintenance of the said nobility and subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies' hands, as long as they shall acknowledge their Sovereign Lady and Queen, and shall indure [161] themselves to maintain the liberty of their country, and the estate of the Crown of Scotland. And, if any forts or strengths within the realm be won out of the hands of the French at this present time, or at any time hereafter, by Her Majesty's aid, the same shall be immediately demolished by the said Scotsmen, or delivered to the said Duke and his party foresaid, at their option and choice. Nor shall the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the said Duke, nobility, and estates of Scotland.

"For which causes, and in respect of Her Majesty's most gentle clemency and liberal support, the said Duke, and all the nobility, as well such as be now joined, as such as shall hereafter join with him for defence of the liberty of that realm, shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and support Her Majesty's arm against the French, and their partakers, [162] with horsemen and footmen, and with victuals, by land and by sea, and with all manner of other aid to the best of their power, and so shall continue during the time that Her Majesty's army shall remain in Scotland. They shall be enemy to all such Scotsmen and French as shall in anywise show themselves enemies to the realm of England in respect of the aiding and supporting of the said Duke and nobility in the delivery of the realm of Scotland from conquest. They

shall never assent nor permit that the realm of Scotland shall be conquered, or otherwise knit to the Crown of France than it is at this present time only by the marriage of the Queen their Sovereign to the French King, and by the laws and liberties of the realm, as it ought to be....

"And, finally, the said Duke and the nobility joined with him certainly perceiving that the Queen's Majesty of England is thereunto moved only upon respect of princely honour and neighbourhood for the defence of the freedom of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister intent, do by these presents testify and declare that neither they nor any of them mean by this count to withdraw any due obedience to their Sovereign Lady the Queen, or to withstand the French King, her husband and head, in any lawful thing that, during the marriage, shall not tend to the subversion and oppression of the just and ancient liberties of the said kingdom of Scotland; for preservation whereof, both for their Sovereign's honour, and for the continuance of the kingdom in ancient estate, they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands, and lives...."

The Regent lays waste the Country.

Shortly after this contract was completed, our pledges were delivered to Master Winter, Admiral of the navy [163] that came to Scotland, a man of great honesty, so far as ever we could espy of him, and these were safely convoyed to Newcastle. Then the English began to assemble near the Border; and the French and Queen Regent, informed of this, began to destroy what they could in the towns and country about. The whole victuals they carried to Leith; the mills they broke; the sheep, oxen, and kine, yea, the horses of poor labourers, they made all to serve their tyranny. In the end, they left nothing undone which very enemies could have devised, except that they demolished not gentlemen's

houses, and burnt not the town of Edinburgh: in this particular, God bridled their fury, to let His afflicted understand that He took care of them.

Before the coming of the land army, the French passed to Glasgow, and destroyed the country thereabout. The tyranny used by the Marquis upon a poor Scottish soldier is fearful to hear, and yet his act may not be omitted. They would give no silver to the poor men, and so they were slow to depart from the town; and, albeit the drum was beaten, the ensign could not be got. A poor craftsman, who had bought for his victuals a grey loaf and was eating a morsel of it, was putting the rest of it in his bosom. The tyrant came to him, and with the poor caitiff's own whinger first struck him in the breast, and afterwards cast it at him. The poor man staggering and falling, the merciless tyrant ran him through with his rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hung over the stair. Lord, Thou wilt yet look, and recompense such tyranny; however contemptible the person was!

On the second of April, in the year of God 1560, the army by land entered Scotland. Its conduct was committed to the Lord Grey, who had in his company the Lord Scrope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Harry Percy, and Sir Francis Lake; many other captains and gentlemen having charge, some of footmen, some of horsemen. The army by land was estimated at ten thousand men. The Queen Regent and some others of her faction had passed to the Castle of Edinburgh. At Preston the English were met by the Duke's Grace, the Earl of Argyll (Huntly came not until the siege was confirmed), Lord James, the Earls of Glencairn and Monteith, Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, and all the Protestant gentlemen of West Fife, Angus, and Mearns. For a few days the army was great.

The Siege of Leith: April 1560.

After two days' deliberation at Inveresk, the whole camp marched

forward with ordnance and all preparation necessary for the siege, and came to Restalrig upon Palm Sunday evening. The French had put themselves in battle array upon the Links without Leith, and had sent forth their skirmishers. These, beginning before ten o'clock, continued skirmishing until after four o'clock in the afternoon, when some horsemen of Scotland and some of England charged upon them. But, because the principal captain of the horsemen of England was not present, the whole troop durst not charge, and so the overthrow and slaughter of the French was not so great as at one time it appeared to be. The great battle was once at the trot; but when the French perceived that the great force of the horsemen stood still, and charged not, they returned and gave some resource to their fellows that fled. Thus there fell in that defeat only about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory so suddenly, lest man should glory in his own strength. This small victory put both the English and Scots in too great security, as the issue declared.

The French enclosed within the town, the English army began to plant their pavilions betwixt Leith and Restalrig. The ordnance of the town, and especially that which lay upon St. Anthony's steeple, caused them great annoyance; and eight cannon were bent against this place. These shot so continually, and so accurately, that, within few days, that steeple was condemned, and all the ordnance on it was dismounted. This made the Englishmen somewhat more negligent than it became good men of war to have been; for, perceiving that the French made no pursuit outside their walls, they got the idea that they would never ish more. Some of the captains for pastime, went to the town: [164] the soldiers, for their ease, laid their armour aside, and, as men beyond danger, fell to the dice and cards. So, upon Easter Monday, at the very hour of noon, when the French ished, both on horse and foot, and entered into

the English trenches with great violence, they slew or put to flight all that were found there.

The watch was negligently kept, and succour was slow, and long in coming; the French, before any resistance was made, approached almost to the great ordnance. But then the horsemen trooped together, and the footmen got themselves in array, and so repulsed the French back again to the town. But the slaughter was great: some say it exceeded double of that which the French received the first day. And this was the fruit of their security and ours.

Matters were afterwards remedied; for the Englishmen, most wisely considering themselves not able to besiege the town at all points, made mounds at divers quarters of it. In these, they and their ordnance lay in as good strength as did the enemy within the town. The common soldiers kept the trenches, and had the said mounds for their safeguard and refuge, in case of any greater pursuit than they were able to sustain. The patience and stout courage of the Englishmen, but principally of the horsemen, is worthy of all praise: for where was it ever heard that eight thousand (they that lay in camp never exceeded that number) should besiege four thousand of the most desperate cut-throats that were to be found in Europe, and lie so near to them in daily skirmishing, for the space of three months and more. The horsemen kept watch night and day, and did so valiantly behave themselves that the French got no advantage from that day until the day of the assault.

In the meantime, another bond to defend the liberty of the Evangel of Christ was made by all the nobility, barons, and gentlemen, professing Christ Jesus in Scotland, and by divers others that joined with us in expelling the French army.... This contract and bond came not only to the ears but to the sight of the Queen Dowager. Thereat she stormed not a little, and said, "The malediction of God I give unto them that

counselled me to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm. It was said to me that the English army could not lie in Scotland ten days; but they have lain nearly a month now, and are more likely to remain than the first day they came."

They that gave such information to the Queen, spoke as worldly wise men, and as things appeared to have been. For, the country being almost in all parts wasted, the victuals within reach of Leith either brought in to their stores or else destroyed, and the mills and other places cast down, it appeared that the camp could not have been furnished, unless it had been by their own ships. That could not have been for any long continuance of time, and so would have been of little comfort. But God confounded all worldly wisdom, and made His own benediction as evidently to appear as if, in a manner, He had fed the army from above. In the camp all the time that it lay, after eight days had passed, all kinds of victuals were more abundant, and of more easy prices, than they had been in Edinburgh at any time in the two previous years, or yet have been in that town to this day. The people of Scotland so much abhorred the tyranny of the French that they would have given their substance to have been rid of that chargeable burden which our sins had provoked God to lay upon us--in giving us into the hands of a woman, whom our nobility, in their foolishness, sold unto strangers, and with her the liberty of the realm....

The Assault upon Leith is unsuccessful.

The camp abounding in all necessary provision, arrangements were made for the confirmation of the siege; and the trenches were drawn as near to the town as they well might be. The great camp removed from Restalrig to the west side of the Water of Leith; and the cannons were planted for the bombardment, and shot at the south-west wall. But all

was earth, and the breach was not made so great during the day but that it was sufficiently repaired at night. The English, beginning to weary, determined to give the brush and assault. This they did, upon the seventh day of May, beginning before daylight, and continuing until it was near seven o'clock. Albeit the English and Scottish, with great slaughter of the soldiers of both, were repulsed, there was never a sharper assault given at the hands of so few. The men that assaulted the whole two quarters of the town exceeded not a thousand, and yet they silenced the whole block-houses; yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the east and west block-houses. But they had not sufficient backing. Their ladders wanted six quarters of the proper height; and so, while the foremost were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not get up to support them. Thus they were dung back again, by overwhelming numbers, when it was thought that the town was won.

Sir James Crofts is blamed.

Sir James Crofts was blamed by many for not doing his duty that day. He, with a sufficient number of most able men, had been instructed to assault the north-west quarter upon the sea-side, where, at low-water, as at the time of the assault, the passage was easy: but neither he nor his approached the quarter appointed. At their first coming in, he had spoken with the Queen Regent at the front block-house of the Castle of Edinburgh. Whether she had enchanted him we knew not, but we suspected so that day. He certainly deceived the expectation of many, and, so far as man could judge, was the cause of that great repulse.... All the time of the assault, which was both terrible and long, the Queen Regent sat upon the fore-wall of the Castle of Edinburgh; and when she perceived our overthrow, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a guffaw of laughter, and said, "Now

will I go to the Mass, and praise God for that which my eyes have seen!"

The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their dead carcases in the hot sun along their wall, where they suffered them to lie more days than one. When the Queen Regent looked towards this, she hopped for mirth and said, "Yonder are the fairest tapestries that ever I saw: I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and yon were strewn with the same stuff." This act was seen by all, and her words were heard by some, and misliked by many. Against this, John Knox spake openly in pulpit, and boldly affirmed, that God would revenge that contumely done to His image, not only on the furious and godless soldiers, but even on such as rejoiced thereat. And that which actually happened did declare that he was not deceived, for within a few days thereafter the Queen Regent was smitten with disease.

The Siege is continued. Illness of the Queen Regent.

The Duke of Norfolk, who then lay at Berwick, commanded the Lord Grey to continue the siege, and promised that he should not lack men, so long as any were to be had betwixt Trent and Tweed; so far was he lieutenant.... While the siege thus continued, a sudden fire chanced in Leith, and this devoured many houses and much victual. Thus did God begin to fight for us, as the Lord Erskine in plain words said to the Queen Regent. "Madam," quoth he, "I can say no more; but seeing that men may not expel unjust possessors from this land, God Himself will do it; for yon fire is not kindled by man." These words offended the Queen Regent not a little. Her sickness daily increasing, she used great craft that Monsieur D'Oysel might be permitted to speak with her. Belike she wished to bid him farewell, for of old their familiarity had been great; but that was denied. Then she wrote as if to her chirurgeon

and apothecary, explaining her sickness and requiring drugs. The letter being presented to the Lord Grey, he espied craft. Few lines being written above and much white paper left, he said, "Drugs are abundant and fresher in Edinburgh than they can be in Leith: there lurks here some other mystery." By holding the paper to the fire, he perceived some writing appear, and this he read. But what it was, no other man can tell; for he burnt the bill immediately, and said to the messenger, "Albeit I have been her secretary, yet tell her I shall keep her counsel. But say to her, such wares will not sell in a new market."

The Regent expresses Repentance, and receives godly Instruction.

When the Queen received this answer, she was not content; and travailed earnestly that she might speak with the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Marischall, and with the Lord James. After deliberation, it was thought expedient that they should speak with her, but not altogether, lest some part of the Guisian practice had lurked under the colour of such friendship. She expressed to them all regret that she had behaved herself so foolishly, and had compelled them to seek the support of others rather than of their own sovereign; and she said that she sore repented that ever it came to that extremity. But hers was not the wyte. [165] Her action had been dictated by the wicked counsel of her friends on the one part, and the Earl of Huntly upon the other; if he had not been there, she would have fully agreed with them at their communing at Preston. They gave her what counsel and comfort they could in that extremity, and willed her to send for some godly learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant Papists that were about her, understood nothing of the mystery of our Redemption. Upon their motive, John Willock was sent for. With him she talked a reasonable space, and he did plainly show to her the virtue and strength of the death of Jesus Christ, as well as the vanity and

abomination of the Mass. She did openly confess that there was no salvation but in and by the death of Jesus Christ. We heard not her confession concerning the Mass.

Death of the Queen Regent.

Some said the Queen was anointed in the papistical manner, a sign of small knowledge of the truth, and of less repentance of her former superstition. Yet, howsoever it was, Christ Jesus got no small victory over such an enemy. For, albeit she had formerly avowed that, in despite of all Scotland, the preachers of Jesus Christ should either die or be banished the realm, she was compelled not only to hear that Christ Jesus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places suppressed, but also she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers within the realm, and to approve the chief head of our religion, wherein we dissent from all Papists and papistry. Shortly thereafter she finished her unhappy life; unhappy, we say, for Scotland, from the first day she entered into it, to the day she departed this life, which was the ninth of June, the year of God 1560....

Peace with France is concluded.

Upon the sixteenth day of June, after the death of the Queen Regent, there came to Scotland Monsieur Randan, and with him the Bishop of Valance, in commission from France, to entreat of peace. Their negotiation was longsome; for both England and we, fearing deceit, sought by all means that the contract should be sure. They, upon the other part, intending to gratify those who had sent them and meant nothing but mere falseness, protracted time to the uttermost, even while those in Leith were very scarce of victuals, and those on Inchkeith would have perished, had not they by policy got a ship with victuals, and some munition. Yet in the end peace was concluded....

The English Army is withdrawn, with Honours.

Peace proclaimed, immediate provision was made for transporting the French to France. The most part were put into the English ships, and these also carried with them the whole spoil of Leith. That was the second benefit which Leith received from their late promised liberty; the end is not yet come. The English army by land departed on the sixteenth day of July, in the year of God 1560. The most part of our Protestant nobility, honorably convoyed them, and in very deed they had well deserved this honour. The Lord James would not leave the Lord Grey and the other noblemen of England, until they had entered Berwick. After that, the Council began to look upon the affairs of the commonwealth, as well as upon the matters that might concern the stability of religion....

Public Thanksgiving in St. Giles's Kirk.

A day was appointed, when the whole nobility and the greatest part of the Congregation assembled in St. Giles's Kirk in Edinburgh, and there, after the sermon made for that purpose, public thanks was given unto God for His merciful deliverance, in form as follows:--

"O Eternal and Everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast not only commanded us to pray, and promised to hear us, but also dost will us to magnify Thy mercies, and to glorify Thy name when Thou showest Thyself pitiful and favourable unto us, especially when Thou deliverest us from desperate dangers, ... we ought not to forget, nor can we, in what miserable estate stood this poor country, and we the just inhabitants thereof, not many days past.... Out of these miseries, O Lord, neither our wit, policy, nor strength could deliver us; yea, they did show unto us how vain is the help of man, where Thy blessing gives not victory. In these our anguishes, O Lord, we made suit unto Thee, we cried for Thy help, and we proclaimed Thy name, as Thy

troubled flock persecuted for Thy truth's sake. Mercifully hast Thou heard us.... And Thou hast looked upon us as pitifully as if we had given unto Thee most perfect obedience, for Thou hast disappointed the counsels of the crafty, Thou hast bridled the rage of the cruel, and Thou hast of Thy mercy set this our perishing realm at reasonable liberty. Oh, give us hearts--Thou Lord, that only givest all good gifts--with reverence and fear, to meditate upon Thy wondrous works lately wrought before our eyes....

"We beseech Thee, therefore, O Father of mercies, that, as of Thy undeserved grace Thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, it would so please Thee to proceed with us in this Thy grace begun. Albeit that in us there is nothing that may move Thy Majesty to show us Thy favour, O yet for the sake of Christ Jesus, Thy only well-beloved Son, whose name we bear, and whose doctrine we profess, we beseech Thee never to suffer us to forsake or deny this Thy truth which now we profess.... And seeing that nothing is more odious in Thy presence, O Lord, than is ingratitude and violation of an oath and covenant made in Thy name; and seeing that Thou hast made our confederates of England the instruments by whom we are now set at liberty, and that to them we, in Thy name, have promised mutual faith again, let us never fall to that unkindness, O Lord, that either we shall declare ourselves unthankful unto them, or profaners of Thy holy name. Confound the counsels of them that go about to break that most godly league contracted in Thy name, and retain Thou us so firmly together by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, that Satan shall never have power to set us again at variance or discord. Give us Thy grace to live in that Christian charity which Thy Son, our Lord Jesus, has so earnestly commanded to all members of His body; that other nations,

provoked by our example, may set aside all ungodly war, contention, and strife, and study to live in tranquillity and peace, as it becomes the sheep of Thy pasture, and the people that daily look for final deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jesus; to whom with Thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and praise, now and ever. Amen."

Preachers and Superintendents are appointed.

After this, the Commissioners of Burghs, with some of the nobility and barons, were appointed to see to the equal distribution of ministers, and to change and transpose as the majority should think expedient. Thus John Knox was appointed to Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman, who during the most part of the troubles had remained in Ayr, was appointed to St. Andrews; Adam Heriot to Aberdeen; Master John Row to Perth; Paul Methven, of whom no infamy was then known, to Jedburgh; William Christison to Dundee; David Ferguson to Dunfermline; and Master David Lindsay to Leith. There were nominated as superintendents Master John Spottiswood for Lothian; Master John Winram for Fife; Master John Willock for Glasgow; the Laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns; and Master John Carswell for Argyll and the Isles. It was agreed that these should be elected upon certain days fixed, unless the districts to which they were to be appointed could in the meantime find out men more able and sufficient, or else show such causes as might inable [166] them for that dignity.

The first Protestant Parliament.

The Parliament approaching, due notification was made by the Council to all such as by law and ancient custom had or might claim to have vote therein. The assembly was great, notwithstanding that certain of those that are called spiritual Lords, as well as some temporal Lords, did contemptuously absent themselves. The chief pillars of the papistical

kirk gave their presence, such as the Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, with others of the inferior sort. There were, besides, those that had renounced papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us; such as the Bishop of Galloway, the Abbots of Lindores, Culross, Inchcolm, Newbattle, and Holyroodhouse; the Prior of St. Andrews, Coldingham, and St. Mary's Isle; the Sub-prior of St. Andrews, and divers others whom we observed not.

John Knox preaches, and Reformation is agreed upon.

At the time of Parliament, John Knox taught publicly from the Prophet Haggai. The doctrine was proper for the time; and the preacher was so special and so vehement in its application, that some who had greater respect to the world than to God's glory, feeling themselves pricked, said in mockage, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the houses of God." God be merciful to the speaker; for we fear that he shall have experience that the building of his own house, the house of God being despised, shall not be so prosperous, and of such firmness, as we desire it were. Albeit some mocked, others were godly moved, and assembled themselves together to consult as to what things were to be proponed to that present Parliament. After deliberation, the following Supplication was offered by the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other true subjects of the realm, professing the Lord Jesus Christ, to the Nobility and Estates of Parliament.

The Protestants petition Parliament.

"May it please your Honours to bring to remembrance that, at divers and sundry times, we (with some of yourselves) most humbly made suit at the feet of the late Queen Regent for freedom and liberty of conscience, with godly reformation of abuses which, by the malice of Satan and the negligence of men, have crept into the religion of God, and are maintained by such as take upon themselves the name of clergy. Our

godly and most reasonable suit was then disdainfully rejected, no small troubles ensuing, as your Honours well know. But now, seeing that the necessity that then moved us doth yet remain, and moreover, that God in His mercy hath now put it into your hands so to regulate affairs that He may be glorified, this commonwealth quieted, and the policy thereof established, we cannot cease to crave at your hands the redress of such enormities as manifestly are, and of long time have been committed by the place-holders of the ministry and others of the clergy within this realm....

"We therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your Honours that either they be compelled to answer to our former accusations and to such others as we justly have to lay to their charge, or else that, all affection laid aside, ye, by the censement [167] of this Parliament, pronounce them to be as by us they are most justly accused, and cause them to be reputed so; especially, that they be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge, or cure within the Kirk of God, and so from henceforth never entitled to vote in Parliament. If ye do not so, then, in the fear of God and by the assurance of His Word, we forewarn you that, as ye have laid a grievous yoke and an intolerable burden upon the Kirk of God within this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom afterwards, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give you upright hearts seeking His glory, and true understanding of what this day He who delivered you from bondage, both spiritual and temporal, craves of you by His servants. And your Honours' answer we most humbly require."

Parliament calls for the Confession of Faith.

This our Supplication being read in audience of the whole assembly, divers men were of divers judgments. As there were some that uprightly

favoured the cause of God, so were there many that, for worldly respects, abhorred a perfect Reformation--for how many within Scotland that have the name of Nobility are not unjust possessors of the patrimony of the Kirk? Yet, the barons and ministers were called, and commandment was given unto them to frame in plain and distinct heads the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire that Parliament to establish, as wholesome, true, and alone necessary to be believed and to be received within that realm. This commission they willingly accepted, and within four days they presented their Confession of Faith. [168]

The Confession of Faith is considered by Parliament, and solemnly ratified.

This our Confession was publicly read, first in audience of the Lords of Articles, and afterwards in audience of the whole Parliament. There were present a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the forenamed Bishops, and some others of the Temporal Estate, and these were commanded, in Gods name, to state any objection to that doctrine if they could. Some of our ministers were present, standing upon their feet ready to have answered, in case any would have defended the Papistry, and impugned our affirmations. No objection was made, but there was a day appointed for voting on that and other matters. Again, our Confession was read over, every article by itself, in the order in which these were written, and the vote of every man was required. Of the Temporal Estate there only voted to the contrary the Earl of Atholl and the Lords Somerville and Borthwick; and yet for their dissent they produced no better reason than, "We will believe as our fathers believed." The Bishops (papistical, we mean) spake nothing. The rest of the whole three Estates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine. Many voted in the affirmative rather than in the negative, because the

Bishops would or durst say nothing to the contrary. For instance, this was the vote of the Earl Marischall,--"It is long since I have had some favour unto the truth, and since I have had a suspicion of the papistical religion; but, I praise my God, this day has fully resolved me in the one and the other. For, seeing that my Lord Bishops, who for their learning can, and for the zeal that they should bear to the truth, would, as I suppose, gainsay anything that directly repugns to the verity of God; seeing, I say, my Lord Bishops here present speak nothing contrary to the doctrine proponed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. And therefore, so far as in me lieth, I approve the one and damn the other. I do further ask of God that not only I but also all my posterity may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. Yet more, I must vote, as it were by way of protestation, that, if any persons ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, they shall have no place or credit; considering that, they having long notice and full knowledge of this our Confession, none are now found in lawful, free, and quiet Parliament to oppose themselves to that which we profess. And therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I protest that he be repute one that loveth his own commodity and the glory of the world, rather than the truth of God and the salvation of men's souls."

The Mass is prohibited.

After the ratification of our Confession by the whole body of Parliament, there were also pronounced two Acts, the one against the Mass and the abuse of the Sacraments, and the other against the supremacy of the Pope....

Queen Mary and the King of France do not ratify the Acts of Parliament.

These and other things done in lawful and free Parliament, we

dispatched Sir James Sandilands, Lord St. John, to France, to our Sovereigns, with the Acts of the Parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promise of their Highness's Commissioners made to us by the Contract of Peace. How the said Lord St. John was treated, we list not to rehearse; but, in any case, no ratification was brought by him to us. That we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did was to show our dutiful obedience, rather than to beg of them any strength to our religion. That has full power from God, and needeth not the suffrage of man, except in so far as man hath need to believe it, if ever he shall have participation in the life everlasting.

We must make answer, however, to such as since have whispered that it was but a pretended Parliament and a privy convention, and no lawful Parliament. Their reasons are that the King and Queen were in France; that there was neither sceptre, sword, nor crown borne, and so on, and that some principal Lords were absent. We answer that the Queen's person was absent, and that to no small grief of our hearts. But were not the Estates of her realm assembled in her name? Yea, had they not her full power and commission, yea, the commission and commandment of her head, the King of France, to convocate that Parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawful Parliament, even as if our Sovereigns had been there in proper person? That Parliament, we are bold to affirm, was more lawful, and more free than any Parliament that they are able to produce for a hundred years before it, or any that hath since ensued; for in it the votes of men were free, and given of conscience; in others, they were bought, or given at the devotion of the prince.

The Book of Discipline.

Parliament dissolved, consultation was had as to how the Kirk, which

had been altogether defaced by the Papists, might be established in a good and godly policy. Commission and charge were given to Mr. John Winram, Sub-prior of St. Andrews, Master John Spottiswood, John Willock, Mr. John Douglas, Rector of St. Andrews, Master John Row, and John Knox, to prepare a volume containing the policy and discipline of the Kirk, much as in the Confession of Faith they had done in the matter of doctrine. This they did, and the book was presented to the Nobility, who perused it for many days. Some approved it, and were willing that it should have been set forth by a law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired by its provisions, grudged, insomuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them.... There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they which had greatest rents of the churches. But in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true, "Nothing can suffice a wretch;" and again, "The belly has no ears." Yet the Book of Discipline was subscribed by a great part of the Nobility. [169] ...

Shortly after the Parliament, the Earls Morton and Glencairn, together with William Maitland of Lethington, younger, were sent to England as ambassadors from the Council. The chief point of their commission was to crave earnestly the constant assistance of the Queen's Majesty of England against all foreign invasion, and to propose the Earl of Arran (who was then in no small estimation with us) to the Queen of England in marriage....

The House of Guise and the Papists design further trouble.

The Papists were proud, for they looked for a new army from France in the next spring, and there was no small appearance of this, if God had not otherwise provided. For France utterly refused to confirm the peace contracted at Leith, would ratify no Act of our Parliament, dismissed

the Lord St. John without any resolute answer, and began to gather new bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for ships. They further sent before them certain practisers to rouse up new troubles within this realm....

The certain knowledge of all these things came to our ears, and many were effrayed; for divers suspected that England would not be so forward in times to come, considering that their former expenses were so great. The principal comfort remained with the preachers. They assured us, in God's name, that God would in our hands perform that work in all perfection. He had mightily maintained its beginning, because it was not ours but His own. They therefore exhorted us that we should with constancy proceed to reform all abuses and to plant the ministry of the Church, as by God's Word we might justify it, and should then commit the success of all to our God, in whose power the disposition of kingdoms stands. This we began to do, for threatening troubles made us give ear to the admonitions of God's servants.

[Side note: Death of the King of France: 5th December 1560.]

We had scarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to show some signs of our obedience unto His messengers and Holy Word, when, lo! the potent hand of God from above sent unto us a wonderful and most joyful deliverance. For unhappy Francis, husband to our sovereign, suddenly perished of a rotten ear.... And we, who by our foolishness had made ourselves slaves to strangers, were restored again to freedom and the liberty of a free realm. Oh! that we had hearts deeply to consider what are Thy wondrous works, O Lord, that we might praise Thee in the midst of this most obstinate and wicked generation, and leave the memorial of the same to our posterity, who, alas! we fear, may forget Thy inestimable benefits.... The death of this King made great alteration in France, England, and Scotland. France was relieved and in

some hope....

Queen Elizabeth declines the hand of the Earl of Arran.

The Queen of England and the Council sent back our Ambassadors with answer that she would not marry hastily, and therefore desired the Council of Scotland, and the Earl of Arran, not to depend upon any hope thereof. What motives she had, we omit. The pride of the Papists of Scotland began to be abated, and some that had ever shown themselves enemies to us began to think, and plainly to admit in words, that they perceived God to fight for us. The Earl of Arran himself did more patiently abide the repulse of the Queen of England, because he was not altogether without hope that the Queen of Scotland bare some favour unto him. And so he wrote to her, and for credit sent a ring which the said Queen our Sovereign knew well enough. The letter and ring were both presented to the Queen and received by her. Answer was returned to the Earl, and after that he made no further pursuit in the matter: not the less, he bare it heavily in heart, and more heavily than many would have wissed. [170]

The certainty of the death of King Francis was notified unto us both by sea and land. When the news was divulged and noised abroad, a general Convention of the whole nobility was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh on the fifteenth day of January following. The Book of Discipline was thereat perused over again, for some pretended ignorance, because they had not heard it.

A public Debate concerning the Mass.

At that assembly, Master Alexander Anderson, sub-principal of Aberdeen, a man more subtle and crafty than either learned or godly, was called on but refused to dispute in his faith, abusing a place of Tertullian to cloak his ignorance. It was answered to him, that Tertullian should not prejudge the authority of the Holy Ghost, who, by the mouth of

Peter, commands us to give reason for our faith to every one that requires the same of us. It was further answered that we required neither him nor any man to dispute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's Word, and fully expressed within His holy Scriptures; all that we believed without controversy. But we required of him, as of the rest of the Papists, that they would suffer their doctrine, constitutions, and ceremonies to come to trial; and principally, that the Mass, and the views thereof taught by them to the people, might be laid to the square rule of God's Word, and unto the right institution of Jesus Christ....

While the said Mr. Alexander denied that the priest took upon him Christ's office to offer for sin, as was alleged, a Mass book was produced, and in the beginning of the Canon were these words read: Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius Ecclesiae vivorum et mortuorum, etc. [171] Now, said the reasoner, if to offer for the sins of the whole Kirk was not the office of Christ Jesus, yea, the office that to Him only might, and may appertain, let the Scripture judge. And if a vile knave, whom ye call the priest, proudly takes the same upon him, let your own book witness. The said Master Alexander answered, "Christ Jesus offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but He; but we offer the remembrance." It was answered, "We praise God, that ye have denied a sacrifice propitiatory to be in the Mass; and yet we offer to prove that, in more than a hundred places of your papistical Doctors, this proposition is affirmed, 'The Mass is a sacrifice propitiatory.' But, to the second part; where ye allege that ye offer Christ in remembrance, we ask, first, unto whom do ye offer Him? and next, by what authority are ye assured of well doing? With God the Father, there is no oblivion: and

if ye will yet shift and say that ye offer it not as if God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Christ's merits to His Church, we demand of you, what power and commandment ye have so to do? We know that our Master, Christ Jesus, commanded His apostles to do that which He did in remembrance of Him; but plain it is, that Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to His disciples, saying, 'Take ye, eat ye; this is my body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me,' etc. Here ye find a commandment to take, to eat, to take and to drink; but to offer Christ's body either for remembrance or application, we find not: and therefore, we say, to take upon you an office which is not given unto you, is unjust usurpation, and no lawful power."

The said Master Alexander, being more than astonished, would have shifted; but the Lords called on him to answer directly. He answered that he was better seen in philosophy, than in theology. Master John Leslie, who then was parson of Une, and now is Lord Abbot of Lindores, was commanded to answer to the former argument: and he with great gravity began to answer, "If our Master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the Canon Law: and the greatest reason that ever I could find there is Nolumus and Volumus." And yet we understand that now he is the only patron of the Mass.... The nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would answer directly, said, "We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the Mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and to the dead, wherefore were all the abbeys so richly doted [172] with our temporal lands."

Thus much we have thought good to insert here, because some Papists are not ashamed nowadays to affirm that they with their reasons could never be heard; but that all that we did, we did by fine force; when the whole realm knows that we ever required them to speak their judgments

freely, not only promising them protection and defence, but also that we should subscribe with them, if they by God's Scriptures could confute us, and by the same Word establish their assertions.

Lord James Stewart is sent to Queen Mary.

At this Assembly also, the Lord James was appointed to go to France to the Queen our Sovereign; and a Parliament was appointed to begin on the twentieth of May next following; for the return of the said Lord James was looked for at that time.... He was plainly premonished that, if ever he condescended that the Queen should have Mass publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, he then betrayed the cause of God, and exposed religion to the uttermost danger that he could....

An Embassy from France.

While Lord James, we say, was in France, there came an ambassador from France, suborned, no doubt, with all craft that might trouble the Estate of the religion. His demands were--1. That the league betwixt us and England should be broken. 2. That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland should be renewed. 3. That the bishops and kirkmen should be reponed in their former places, and be suffered to intromit with their livings. The Council delayed answer until the Parliament appointed in May. In the meantime, the Papists of Scotland practised with him....

Satan gets a Fall.

The Papists, a little before the Parliament, resorted in divers bands to the town, and began to brag that they would deface the Protestants. When this was perceived, the brethren assembled together, and went in such companies, in peaceable manner, that the bishops and their bands forsook the causeway. [173] The brethren understanding what the Papists meant, convened in Council in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, on the twenty-seventh of May, in the year of God 1561; and, after

consultation, concluded that a humble supplication should be presented unto the Lords of Secret Council, and unto the whole Assembly that then was convened.... Upon this request, the Lords of Council made an Act and ordinance answering to every head of the Articles proponed. And thus gat Satan the second fall, after he had begun to trouble the estate of religion, once established by law. His first assault was by the rascal multitude opposing themselves to the punishment of vice: the second was by the bishops and their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed; and yet in the end he prospered worse than ye have heard.

Lord James has a narrow Escape from the Papists.

For, in the meantime, the Lord James returned from France. Besides his great expenses, and the loss of a box wherein was his secret poise, he barely escaped a desperate danger in Paris. The Papists at Paris, hearing of his return from our Sovereign, who then lay with the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rheims, had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company as they walked upon the streets. Of this the said Lord James was informed by the Rheingrave, by reason of old familiarity betwixt them in Scotland, and he took purpose suddenly and in good order to depart from Paris. This he did on the second day after he had arrived there. He could not, however, depart so secretly, but that the Papists had their privy ambushes. They had prepared a procession, which met the said Lord and his company even in the teeth upon the Pont du Change; and knowing that the Scots would not do the accustomed reverence unto them and their idols, they thought to have picked a quarrel. So, as one part passed by without moving of hat to anything that was there, they had suborned some to cry "Huguenots," and to cast stones. But God disappointed their enterprise; for the

Rheingrave and other gentlemen, being with the Lord James, rebuked the foolish multitude, and overrode some of the foremost. The rest were dispersed; and he and his company safely escaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while yet the Lords and assembly were together.

Messages from the Queen.

The Lord James's coming was of great comfort to many godly hearts, and caused no little astonishment to the wicked: for, from the Queen our Sovereign he brought letters to the Lords, praying them to entertain quietness, to suffer nothing to be attempted against the contract of peace made at Leith, until her own home-coming, and to suffer the religion publicly established to go forward, etc. Thereupon, the Lords gave the French Ambassador a negative answer to every one of his petitions....

Queen Mary's Relations with Queen Elizabeth.

In the treaty of peace contracted at Leith, there were certain heads that required the ratification of both the Queens. The Queen of England, according to her promise, subscription, and seal, performed the same without any delay, and sent it to our Sovereign by her appointed officers. But our Sovereign (whether because her own crafty nature so moved her, or because her uncle's chief counsellors so desired, we know not) with many delatours [174] frustrated the expectation of the Queen of England.... This somewhat exasperated the Queen of England, and not altogether without cause; for the arms of England had formerly been usurped by our Sovereign and her husband Francis; and Elizabeth, Queen of England, was reputed little better than a bastard by the Guisians. It had been agreed that this title should be renounced, but our proud and vain-glorious Queen was not pleased with this, especially after her husband was dead. "The to-look

[175] of England shall allure many wooers to me," thought she, and the Guisians and the Papists of both the realms animated her not a little in that pursuit. The effect will appear sooner than the godly of England would desire; and yet is she that now reigneth over them neither good Protestant nor yet resolute Papist. [176] ...

[151] The Third Book of the Progress of True Religion within the Realm of Scotland.

[152] Mean fellows.

[153] Staggered.

[154] There is neither male nor female; for, as saith Paul, they are all one in Christ Jesus. Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord; and the Lord will be his confidence.--Laing.

[155] Agree.

[156] That is, to make arrangements there.

[157] Trust to.

[158] Trouble.

[159] Troublesome route.

[160] Forces.

[161] Remain of firm purpose.

[162] Allies.

[163] Fleet.

[164] That is, to Edinburgh.

[165] Blame.

[166] Disqualify.

[167] Judgment.

[168] Knox embodies the full text of the Confession at this point in his History. In the present edition it will be found, in full, in the Appendix, infra.

[169] See Appendix.

[170] Imagined.

[171] "Holy Trinity, accept this oblation, which I, an unworthy sinner, present to Thee, the living and true God, for my own sins, and for the sins of the whole Church of the quick and the dead, etc."--Laing.

[172] Endowed.

[173] Made no appearance in public.

[174] Much procrastination.

[175] Prospect.

[176] At the close of his Third Book, Knox inserts the Book of Discipline. This will be found, in full, in the Appendix, infra.

BOOK FOURTH. [177]

1561-1564.

No Dregs of Papistry left in the Reformed Church of Scotland.

In the former books, gentle reader, thou mayest clearly see how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked days, as well as in the ages that have passed before us, the promises that are made to the servants of God by the prophet Isaiah, in these words:--"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall lift up the wings as the eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint." For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wisdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to a good end so great an enterprise? Our very enemies can bear witness. And yet in how great purity God did establish amongst us His true religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies! To what confusion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public transgressors of God's commandments brought within short time? As touching the doctrine taught by our ministers, and as touching the administration of Sacraments used in our churches, we are bold to affirm that there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth that hath them in greater purity: yea, we must speak the truth whomsoever we offend, there is no realm that hath them in like purity. However sincere be the doctrine that is taught by some, all others retain some footsteps of Antichrist, and some dregs of Papistry, in their churches, and the ministers thereof; but we, all praise to God alone, have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that man of sin. This we acknowledge to be the strength given unto us by God, because we esteemed not ourselves wise in our own eyes, but, understanding our whole wisdom to be but mere foolishness before our

God, laid it aside, and followed only that which we found approved by Himself....

This Book tells of Declension.

Whence, alas, cometh this miserable dispersion of God's people within this realm to-day, in May, Anno 1566. And why is now the just compelled to keep silence? Why are good men banished, and why do murderers, and such as are known to be unworthy of decent society (were just laws put in due execution) bear the whole regiment and swing within this realm? Because, we answer, the most part of us declined from the purity of God's Word. Almost immediately we began to follow the world, and so again to shake hands with the Devil, and with idolatry, as in this Fourth Book we will hear.

Chapter 8

While the Papists were so confounded, that none within the realm durst

avow the hearing or saying of Mass, more than the thieves of Liddesdale durst avow their stowth [178] in presence of an upright judge, there were Protestants who were not ashamed, at tables and other open places, to ask, "Why may not the Queen have her own Mass, and the form of her religion? What can that hurt us or our religion?" And from these two, "Why" and "What," at length sprang out this affirmative, "The Queen's Mass and her priests will we maintain: this hand and this rapier shall fight in their defence," etc.... If such dealings, which are common amongst our Protestants, be not to prefer flesh and blood to God, to His truth, to justice, to religion, and to the liberty of this oppressed realm, let the world judge....

The Arrival, of Mary, Queen of Scots: a distressing Omen.

On the nineteenth day of August, in the year of God 1561, betwixt seven and eight o'clock in the morning, Mary Queen of Scotland, then widow, arrived with two galleys, from France. In her company (besides her gentlewomen, called the Marys) were her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elboeuf. There accompanied her also De Damville, son to the Constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of heaven, at the time of her arrival, did manifestly proclaim what comfort was brought unto this country with her, to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, there had never been seen, on that day of the year, a more dolorous face of the heaven, than at her arrival. And so it continued for two days: besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was

so thick and so dark, that scarcely might any man espy another the length of two pair of boots. The sun was not seen to shine for two days before, nor for two days after. That fore-warning gave God unto us; but, alas, the most part were blind.

At the sound of the cannons which the galleys shot, the multitude were notified, and happy was he or she that first might attain the presence of the Queen. The Protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed. Because the Palace of Holyroodhouse was not thoroughly put in order (for her coming was more sudden than many looked for) she remained in Leith until towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the Abbey, the rebels of the crafts, who had violated the authority of the magistrates, and had besieged the Provost, met the Queen. But, because she was sufficiently instructed that all they had done was in despite of religion, they were easily pardoned. Fires of joy were set forth all night, and a company of the most honest, with instruments of music and musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window. The melody, as she alleged, liked her well; and she willed the same to be continued for some nights after.

The Mass is restored at Holyrood.

With great diligence the Lords repaired to the Queen from all quarters. So there was nothing but mirth and quietness until the next Sunday, the twenty-third of August, when preparation began to be made for that idol the Mass to be said in the chapel. This pierced the hearts of all. The godly began to bolden; and men began openly to speak, "Shall that idol be suffered again to take its place within this realm? It shall not."

The Lord Lyndsay, then but Master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close, "The idolater Priest should die the death," according to God's law. One that carried in the candle was evil

effrayed; but then began flesh and blood to show itself. No Papist, or yet any that came out of France, durst whisper. But the Lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was that he would stop all Scotsmen from entering in to the Mass. But it was and is sufficiently known that the door was kept, that none should have entrance to trouble the priest. After the Mass, he was committed to the protection of Lord John of Coldingham, and Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, who then were both Protestants, and had communicated at the Table of the Lord. Betwixt them two was the priest convoyed to his chamber.

The godly departed with great grief of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the Abbey in great companies. These gave plain signification that they could not abide that the land, which God by His power had purged from idolatry, should be polluted again in their eyes. This understood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old dontibours [179] and others that long had served in the Court, who had no remission of sins except by virtue of the Mass, cried that they would return to France without delay: they could not live without the Mass. The Queen's uncles affirmed the same. Would to God that that menyie, [180] together with the Mass, had bidden good-night to this realm for ever. So would Scotland have been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring strangers, and of the malediction of God that has stricken and yet will strike in punishment of idolatry.

The Council tolerates the Mass at Court.

The Council having assembled, disputation was had as to what was the next remedy. Politic heads were sent to the gentlemen, with these and like persuasions, "Why, alas, will ye chase our Sovereign from us? She will incontinently return to her galleys; and what then shall all realms say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? We doubt not

but that she shall leave it. If we were not assured that she might be won, we should be as great enemies to her Mass as ye be. Her uncles will depart, and then shall we rule all at our pleasure. Would not we be as sorry to hurt the religion as would any of you?" With these and the like persuasions, the fervency of the brethren was quenched, and an Act was framed....

The Earl of Arran protests.

This Act and Proclamation, penned and put in form by men who had formerly professed Christ Jesus (for Papists had then neither power nor vote in the Council) was publicly proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. No man reclaimed or made repugnance to it, with the sole exception of the Earl of Arran. He, in open audience of the heralds and people, protested that he dissented that any protection or defence should be made for the Queen's domestics or any that came from France, permitting to them more than to any other subject to offend God's Majesty, and to violate the laws of the realm. God's law had pronounced death against the idolater, and the laws of the realm had appointed punishment for sayers and hearers of the Mass. "I here protest," said he, "that these ought to be universally observed, and that none should be exempted, until such time as a law, as publicly made and as consonant to the law of God, shall have disannulled the former."

The Protestants are beguiled.

This boldness somewhat exasperated the Queen, and such as favoured her in that matter. As the Lords, now called the Lords of the Congregation, repaired to the town, they at the first coming showed themselves wondrously offended that the Mass was permitted; so that every man, as he came, accused those that had arrived before him: but after they had remained a certain time, they became as quiet as those who had preceded them. This perceived, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell of

Kinyeancleuch, said to the Lord Ochiltree, "My Lord, ye are come almost the last of all; and I perceive by your anger that the fire-edge is not off you yet; but I fear that, after the holy water of the Court shall be sprinkled upon you, ye shall become as temperate as the rest. I have been here five days, and at the first I heard every man say, 'Let us hang the priest;' but, after they had been twice or thrice at the Abbey, all that fervency was past. I think there must be some enchantment whereby men are bewitched." And, in very deed, so it came to pass. The Queen's flattering words, ever crying, "Conscience, conscience: it is a sore thing to constrain the conscience;" and the subtle persuasions of her supposts [181] (we mean even of some who at one time were judged most fervently with us) blinded all men. They allowed themselves to believe--"She will be content to hear the preaching; and so no doubt but she may be won." And thus by all it was concluded to suffer her for a time.

John Knox preaches against the Queen's Mass.

On the next Sunday, John Knox, inveighing against idolatry, showed what terrible plagues God had laid upon realms and nations for this; and added that one Mass (there were no more suffered at the first) was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, for the purpose of suppressing the whole religion. "In our God," said he, "there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon Him; and of this we have had experience heretofore. But when we join hands with idolatry, there is no doubt that both God's amicable presence and comfortable defence leave us, and what shall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience shall teach us, to the grief of many." At these words, the guiders of the Court mocked, and plainly said that such fear was no point of their faith: it was outside his text, and was a very untimely

admonition....

John Knox reasons with the Queen.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or of the Queen's own desire, we know not; but the Queen spake with John Knox, and had long reasoning with him, none being present except the Lord James: two gentlewomen stood at the other end of the apartment. The sum of their reasoning was this. The Queen accused him of having raised a part of her subjects against her mother and against herself. He had, she said, written a book against her just authority (she meant the treatise against the regiment of women) which she had, and she should cause the most learned in Europe to write against it; he was the cause of great sedition and great slaughter in England; she was informed that all he did was by necromancy, and so on.

The said John answered, "Madam, it may please your Majesty patiently to hear my simple answers. And first," said he, "if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worship God according to His Word, be to raise subjects against their princes, then can I not be excused; for it has pleased God in His mercy to make me one, amongst many, to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the papistical religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman Antichrist. But, Madam, if the true knowledge of God and His right worshipping be the chief causes that must move men from their heart to obey their just princes, as it is most certain that they are, wherein can I be reprehended? I think, and am surely persuaded, that your Grace has had, and presently has, as unfeigned obedience from such as profess Jesus Christ within this realm, as ever your father, or other progenitors had from those that were called bishops. And, touching that book which seemeth so highly to offend your Majesty, it is most certain that I wrote it, and am content that all the learned of

the world should judge of it. I hear that an Englishman hath written against it, but I have not read him. If he have sufficiently improved my reasons, and established his contrary proposition, with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it."

Queen Mary. Ye think, then, that I have no just authority?

John Knox. Please, your Majesty, learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published, both with pen and tongue, and yet they themselves have lived in common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of The Commonwealth. In this he damned many things that then were maintained in the world, and required many things to be reformed; and yet he lived under such polities as then were universally received, without further troubling any state. Even so, Madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience. I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconvenience from the regiment of a woman, that which they approve shall I not disallow, further than within my own breast. I shall be as well content to live under your Grace as Paul was to live under Nero; and my hope is that, so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, neither I nor that book shall either hurt you or your authority: for, in very deed, Madam, that book was written most especially against that wicked Jezebel of England.

Queen Mary. But ye speak of women in general.

John Knox. Most true it is, Madam, and yet it appeareth to me that

wisdom should persuade your Grace never to raise trouble for that which to this day hath not troubled your Majesty, in person or in authority.

Of late years, many things, which before were holden stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, Madam, I am assured that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able to prove that any such question was at any time moved in public or in secret.

Now, Madam, if I had intended to have troubled your estate because ye are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I can do now, when your own presence is within the realm.

But now, Madam, shortly to answer to the other two accusations. I heartily praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that Satan, the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, than such as the very world itself knoweth to be most false and vain. I was resident in England for only the space of five years. The places were Berwick, where I abode two years; so long in Newcastle; and a year in London. Now, Madam, if any man shall be able to prove that there was either battle, sedition, or mutiny in any of these places, during the time that I was there, I shall confess that I myself was the malefactor, and the shedder of the blood. Further, Madam, I am not ashamed to affirm that God so blessed my weak labours that, in Berwick, where commonly before there used to be slaughter, by reason of quarrels that used to arise amongst soldiers, there was as great quietness, all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh. And where they slander me of magic, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden by God, I have, besides my own conscience, all congregations that ever heard me as witnesses that I spake against such arts, and against those that use such impiety....

Queen Mary. But yet ye have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow. How can that doctrine be of God,

seeing that God commands subjects to obey their princes?

John Knox. Madam, as right religion took neither original strength nor authority from worldly princes, but from the Eternal God alone, subjects are not bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes. Oft it is that princes are the most ignorant of all others in God's true religion, as we may read in the histories of times before the death of Christ Jesus, as well as after. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long subjects, I pray you, Madam, what religion should there have been in the world? Or, if all men in the days of the Apostles should have been of the religion of the Roman Emperors, what religion should there have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and to Darius, and yet, Madam, they would not be of their religion: for the three children said, "We make it known unto thee, O King, that we will not worship thy gods." And Daniel did pray publicly to his God against the expressed commandment of the King. And so, Madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience.

Queen Mary. Yea, but none of these men raised the sword against their princes.

John Knox. Yet, Madam, ye cannot deny that they resisted: for, in some sort, these resist that obey not the commandments that are given.

Queen Mary. But yet, they resisted not by the sword.

John Knox. God, Madam, had not given unto them the power and the means.

Queen Mary. Think ye, that subjects having power may resist their princes.

John Knox. If their princes exceed their bounds, Madam, no doubt they should be resisted, even by power. For there is neither greater honour,

nor greater obedience to be given to kings or princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But, Madam, the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in which he would slay his own children. Now, Madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison, until his frenzy be overpast; think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrong? Or, think ye, Madam, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their father from committing wickedness? It is even so, Madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and, therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison until they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God.

At these words the Queen stood as it were amazed, for more than quarter of an hour. Her countenance altered, so that Lord James began to entreat her, and to demand, "What has offended you, Madam."

At length she said, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me; and shall do what they list, and not what I command: and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me."

John Knox. God forbid, that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them. But my travail is that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not, Madam, that wrong is done to you when ye are willed to be subject to God. It is He that subjects people under princes, and causes obedience to be given to them; yea, God craves of kings that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to His Church, and commands queens to be nurses to His people. And, Madam, this subjection to God and to His troubled Church is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth,

for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.

Queen Mary. Yea, but ye are not the Kirk that I will nurse. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for I think it is the true Kirk of God.

John Knox. Your will, Madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make of that Roman harlot the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, Madam, that I call Rome a harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kind of spiritual fornication, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, Madam, I offer myself further to prove that the Church of the Jews that crucified Christ Jesus, when it manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto His people, as the Church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined from the purity of that religion which the Apostles taught and planted.

Queen Mary. My conscience is not so.

John Knox. Conscience, Madam, requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge ye have none.

Queen Mary. But I have both heard and read.

John Knox. So, Madam, did the Jews that crucified Christ Jesus read both the Law and the Prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner. Have ye heard any teach, but such as the Pope and his Cardinals have allowed? Ye may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate.

Queen Mary. Ye interpret the Scriptures in one manner, and they interpret in another; whom shall I believe? And who shall be judge?

John Knox. Ye shall believe God, that plainly speaketh in His Word: and, farther than the Word teaches you, ye shall believe neither the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in itself; and, if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never

contrary to Himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: so that there can remain no doubt, but to such as obstinately remain ignorant. And now, Madam, take one of the chief points this day in controversy betwixt the Papists and us. For example, the Papists allege and boldly have affirmed that the Mass is the ordinance of God, and the institution of Jesus Christ, and a sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirm that the Mass, as it is now used, is nothing but the invention of man; and, therefore, is an abomination before God, and no sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, Madam, who shall judge betwixt us two thus contending? There is no reason that either of the parties be believed farther than they are able to prove by insuspect witnessing. Let them lay down the Book of God and, by the plain words thereof, prove their affirmation, and we shall give them the plea granted. But so long as they are bold to affirm, and yet do prove nothing, we must say that, albeit all the world believe them, yet they believe not God, but receive the lies of men for the truth of God. What our Master Jesus Christ did, we know from His Evangelists: what the priest doeth at his Mass, the world seeth. Now, doth not the Word of God plainly assure us that Christ Jesus neither said, nor yet commanded Mass to be said at His Last Supper, seeing that no such thing as their Mass is made mention of within the whole Scriptures?

Queen Mary. Ye are ower sair [182] for me, but if they were here that I have heard, they would answer you.

John Knox. Madam, would to God that the learnedest Papist in Europe, and him whom ye would best believe, were present with your Grace to sustain the argument; and that ye would patiently abide to hear the matter reasoned to the end; for then, I doubt not, Madam, ye should hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how small ground it

hath within the Word of God.

Queen Mary. Well, ye may perchance get that sooner than ye believe.

John Knox. Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papists cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papists will never come to your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. They know that they are never able to sustain an argument, unless fire, and sword, and their own laws be judges.

Queen Mary. So say ye, but I cannot believe that.

John Knox. It has been so to this day; for how oft have the Papists in this and other realms been required to come to conference, and yet it could never be obtained, unless they themselves were admitted as judges. Therefore, Madam, I must yet say again that they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judge and party. Whensoever ye shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point.

With this the Queen was called to dinner, for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said to her, "I pray God, Madam, that ye may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

No Results follow the Queen's Conference with Knox.

Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, there were divers opinions. The Papists grudged, and feared that which they needed not. The godly, thinking that at least she would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were utterly deceived, for she continued in her massing; and despised and quietly mocked all exhortations.

Some of his familiars demanded of John Knox what he thought of the Queen. "If there be not in her," said he, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth

me...."

The Duke D'Aumale returned with the galleys to France. The Queen entered on her progresses, and in the month of September travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews; and all these parts she polluted with her idolatry. Fire followed her very commonly in that journey. The towns propyned [183] her liberally, and the French were enriched.

The Prodigality of Edinburgh.

In the beginning of October, the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and on the day appointed she was received in the Castle. Great preparations were made for her entrance to the town. In farces, in masking, and in other prodigalities, fools would fain have counterfeited France. Whatsoever might set forth her glory, that she heard and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered to her by a pretty boy, descending as it were from a cloud. The verses in her own praises she heard, and smiled. But when the Bible was presented, and its praise declared, she began to frown: for shame she could not refuse it. But she did no better, for immediately she gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the realm, to wit, to Arthur Erskine. Since that day, the people of Edinburgh have reaped as they sowed. They gave her some taste of their prodigality; and because the liquor was sweet, she has licked of that buist [184] oftener than twice since. All men know what we mean: the Queen cannot lack and the subjects have.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh are imprisoned and deposed.

It hath been an ancient and a laudable custom in Edinburgh that the Provost, Bailies, and Council, after their election at Michaelmas, cause public proclamation of the statutes and ordinances of the town. Therefore Archibald Douglas, Provost, Edward Hope, Adam Fullerton, Mr. James Watson, and David Somer, Bailies, made proclamation, according to

the former statutes of the town, that no adulterer, no fornicator, no noted drunkard, no mass-monger, no obstinate Papists that corrupted the people, such as priests, friars, and others of that sort, should be found within the town within forty-eight hours thereafter, under the pains contained in the statutes. This blown in the Queen's ears, pride and maliciousness began to show themselves; for, without further intimation, the Provost and Bailies were charged to ward in the Castle; and immediately commandment was given that another Provost and other Bailies should be elected.

Some gainstood the new election for a while, alleging that the Provost and Bailies whom they had chosen, and to whom they had given their oath, had committed no offence for which they ought justly to be deprived. But charge was doubled upon charge, and, no man being found to oppose the iniquity, Jezebel's letter and wicked will were obeyed as law. So Mr. Thomas M'Calzean was chosen. The man, no doubt, was both discreet and sufficient for that charge; but the deposition of the other was against all law. God be merciful to some of our own; for they were not all blameless that her wicked will was so far obeyed.

A contrary proclamation was publicly made, to the effect that the town should be patent unto all the Queen's lieges; and so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the Queen's wings, under that colour, because they were of her religion. And so gat the Devil freedom again, where before he durst not have been seen in daylight upon the common streets. "Lord deliver us from that bondage."

The Mass is restored.

The Devil, finding his reins loose, ran forward in his course; and the Queen took upon her greater boldness than she and Baal's bleating priests durst have attempted before. For, upon Allhallow Day, they

blended their Mass with all mischievous solemnity. The ministers, offended, declared in plain and public place the inconveniences that should ensue, and the nobility were sufficiently admonished of their duties. But affection caused men to call in doubt that wherein shortly before they had seemed to be most resolute, to wit, "Whether subjects might put to their hand to suppress the idolatry of their Prince." Upon this question, there convened, in the house of Mr. James Macgill, the Lord James, the Earl of Morton, the Earl Marischall, Secretary Lethington, the Justice Clerk, and the Clerk of Register. All reasoned for the part of the Queen, affirming that the subjects might not lawfully take her Mass from her. Of the contrary judgment were the principal ministers, Mr. John Row, Master George Hay, Master Robert Hamilton, and John Knox....

The conclusion of that first reasoning was that the question should be put in form, and letters directed to Geneva for the resolution of that Church. Therein John Knox offered his labours; but Secretary Lethington, alleging that much depended on the information, said that he should write. But that was only to drive time, as the truth declared itself. The Queen's party urged that the Queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, that she and her household might do what they should list. The ministers both affirmed and voted to the contrary, adding that her liberty should be their thraldom before long. But neither could reason nor threatening move the affections of such as were creeping into credit, and the votes of the Lords prevailed against those of the ministers.

Lord James Stewart is sent to the Borders.

For the punishment of theft and of reif, [185] which had increased upon the Borders and in the south, since the Queen's arrival, the Lord James was made Lieutenant. Some suspected that such honour and charge

proceeded from the same heart and counsel as that by which Saul made David captain against the Philistines. But God assisted him, and bowed the hearts of men to fear and obey him. Yea, the Lord Bothwell himself at that time assisted him. Sharp execution was made in Jedburgh, for twenty-eight of one clan and others were hanged at that Justice Court. Bribes, buds, nor solicitation saved the guilty, if he could be apprehended; and God prospered the Lord James in his integrity. He also spake with the Lord Grey from England at Kelso, that good rule might be kept upon both the Borders, and they agreed in all things.

The Behaviour of the Queen.

Before the return of the Lord James, the Queen one night took a fray [186] in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the close, and the Palace had been enclosed about. Whether this proceeded of her own womanly fantasy, or men had put her in fear, for displeasure of the Earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the strengthening of the guard, we know not. But the fear was so great that the town was called to the watch. Lords Robert of Holyroodhouse and John of Coldingham kept the watch by turns. Scouts were sent forth, and sentinels were commanded, under pain of death, to keep their stations. Yet they feared, where there was no cause for fear: nor could ever any appearance or suspicion of such things be discovered.

Shortly after the return of the Lord James, Sir Peter Mewtas came from the Queen of England, with commission to require the ratification of the Peace made at Leith. His answer was even such as we have heard before--that she behoved to advise, and then should send answer.

In presence of her Council, the Queen kept herself very grave, for, under the dule weed, [187] she could play the hypocrite in full perfection; but as soon as ever her French fillocks, [188] fiddlers, and others of that band, got the house alone, there might have been

seen skipping not very comely for honest women. Her common talk was in secret; she saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, which repugned altogether to her nature, for she was brought up in joyousness, as she termed her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The Influence of the Court is felt in the Kirk.

The General Assembly of the Church was held in the December after the Queen's arrival. There the rulers of the Court began to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and to sturr [189] and grudge that anything should be consulted upon without their advices. Master John Wood, who had formerly shown himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving his counsel in all doubtful matters, plainly refused ever to assist the Assembly again. At this many did wonder. The courtiers drew to them some of the Lords, and would not convene with their brethren, as had been their former custom, remaining at the Abbey instead. The principal commissioners of the churches, the superintendents, and some ministers went to see them at the Abbot's lodging within Holyroodhouse. Both the parties began to open their grief.

The Ministers reproach the defaulting Lords.

The Lords complained that the ministers drew the gentlemen into secret councils without their knowledge. The ministers denied that they had done anything in secret, or otherwise than the Common Order commanded them; and accused the Lords, the flatterers of the Queen we mean, for not having kept convention with their brethren, considering that they knew the order, and that the same was appointed by their own advices, as the Book of Discipline, subscribed by the hands of the most part of them, would witness. Some began to deny that ever they knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline; and also called in doubt whether it was expedient that such conventions should be held; for gladly would

the Queen and her Secret Council have had all assemblies of the godly discharged.

The reasoning was sharp and quick on either part. The Queen's faction alleged that it was suspicious to Princes that subjects should assemble themselves and keep conventions without their knowledge. It was answered that the Church did nothing without knowledge of the Prince. The Prince perfectly understood that within this realm there was a Reformed Church, and that they had their orders and appointed times of convention. "Yea," said Lethington, "the Queen knew and knoweth it well enough; but the question is, whether the Queen allows such conventions?" It was answered, "If the liberty of the Church should stand upon the Queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured not only to lack assemblies, but also the public preaching of the Evangel." That affirmative was mocked, and the contrary was affirmed. "Well," said the other, "time will try the truth; but to my former words this will I add--take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the Evangel; for, without assemblies, how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept? It is not to be supposed that all ministers shall be so perfect, but that they shall need admonition, concerning manners as well as doctrine. It may be that some shall be so stiff-necked that they will not admit the admonition of the simple. It may be that fault may be found with ministers, without just offence committed. Yet, if order be not taken, both with the complainer and the persons complained upon, it cannot be avoided that many grievous offences shall arise. For remedy of these, General Assemblies are necessary. There, the judgment and the gravity of many concur to correct or to repress the follies or errors of a few." The majority of the Nobility and of the Barons assented to this, and willed the reasoners for the part of the Queen to desire that, if her Grace were suspicious of anything that was to be

dealt with in their Assemblies, she should be pleased to send such as she would appoint, to hear whatsoever was proponed or reasoned.

Discussion concerning the Book of Discipline.

After that, the Book of Discipline was put forward, with request that it should be ratified by the Queen's Majesty. That was scripped at, and it was demanded, "How many of those that had subscribed that Book would be subject unto it?" It was answered, "All the godly." "Will the Duke?" said Lethington. "If he will not," answered the Lord Ochiltree, "I would that he were scraped out, not only from that Book, but also from our number and company. For to what purpose shall labours be taken to put the Kirk in order, and to what end shall men subscribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promise?" Lethington answered, "Many subscribed there in fide parentum, as the bairns are baptized." John Knox answered, "Albeit ye think that scoff proper, yet, as it is most untrue, so is it most improper. That Book was read in public audience, and by the space of divers days the heads thereof were reasoned, as all that here sit know well enough, and ye yourself cannot deny; no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not." "Stand content," said one, "that Book will not be obtained." "Let God," said the other, "require the lack which this poor Commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same."

The Barons sue for Public Order in regard to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

The Barons, perceiving that the Book of Discipline was refused, presented certain Articles to the Council, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, their churches to be planted with true ministers, and some certain provision to be made for these, according to equity and conscience; for, until that time, the most part of the ministers had lived upon the benevolence of men. Many held in their own hands the

fruits that the bishops and others of that sect had formerly abused; and so some part was bestowed upon the ministers. But then the bishops began to grip again at that which most unjustly they called their own; for the Earl of Arran was discharged of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, with which, by virtue of a factory, he had formerly intromitted: and so were many others. Therefore the Barons required that arrangements might be made for their ministers. Otherwise, they would obey the bishops no more, nor would they suffer anything to be taken for their use, more than they did before the Queen's arrival. They verily supposed that the Queen's Majesty would keep promise made to them, not to alter their religion. That could not remain without ministers, and ministers could not live without provision. For these reasons, they heartily desired the Council to provide some convenient order in that respect.

The Council agrees to divide the Patrimony of the Kirk.

The Queen's flatterers were somewhat moved; for the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her and their hands. So they began to practise; they wished to please the Queen, and yet seem somewhat to satisfy the faithful. In the end, they devised that the Churchmen [190] should have intromission with two parts of their benefices, and that the third part should be lifted by such men as thereto should be appointed for [the necessities concerning the Queen's Majesty, and charges to be borne for the common weal of the realm, and sustentation of the preachers and readers.] [191] ...

Even in the beginning, the ministers, in their public sermons, opposed themselves to such corruption, for they foresaw the purpose of the Devil, and clearly understood the butt at which the Queen and her flatterers shot. In the stool [192] of Edinburgh, John Knox said, "Well, if the end of this order, pretended to be taken for sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment faileth me; for I am assured

that the Spirit of God is not the author of it. First I see two parts freely given to the Devil, and then the third must be divided betwixt God and the Devil. Bear witness to me that this day I say it--before long the Devil shall have three parts of the third; judge what God's portion shall then be." This was an unsavoury saying in the ears of many. Some were not ashamed to affirm, "The ministers being sustained, the Queen will not, at the year's end, have enough to buy her a pair of new shoes." And this was Secretary Lethington.

The Modification of Stipends.

There were appointed to modify [193] the ministers' stipends, the Earls Argyll, Moray, and Morton, Lethington, the Justice Clerk, and the Clerk of Register. The Laird of Pittarrow was appointed to pay the ministers' stipends, according to their modification. Who would have thought that, when Joseph ruled Egypt, his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned to their families with empty sacks? Men would rather have thought that Pharaoh's poise, treasure, and girnells should have been diminished, before the household of Jacob should have stood in danger of starving for hunger.

So busy and circumspect were the modificators (because it was a new office, the term must also be new) to secure that the ministers should not be too wanton, a hundred marks was considered sufficient for a single man, being a common minister. Three hundred marks was the highest stipend appointed to any, except to the superintendents, and a few others. Shortly, whether it was from the niggardliness of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the Queen, we know not; but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters cried out to the heaven, as their complaints in all Assemblies do witness, that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, nor could they get payment of that small thing that was appointed. The Comptroller would fain have

played the good valet, and have satisfied the Queen, or else his own profit, in every point; and he got this saying and proverb, "The good Laird of Pittarrow was an earnest professor of Christ; but the big Devil receive the Comptroller, for he and his collectors are become greedy factors." [194]

We put an end to this unpleasing story. When the brethren complained of their poverty, it was disdainfully answered by some, "There are many Lords that have not so much to spend." Men did reason that the vocation of ministers craved books, quietness, study, and travel, to edify the Kirk of Jesus Christ, while many Lairds were waiting upon their worldly business. The stipends of ministers, who had no other industry, but had to live upon that which was appointed, ought therefore not to be modified according to the livings of common men, who might and did daily augment their rents by some other industry. But they gat no other answer than, "The Queen can spare no greater sums." Oft was it cried into their ears, "O happy servants of the Devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ; if after this life there were not hell and heaven." To the servants of the Devil, to your dumb dogs and horned bishops, to one of those idle bellies, I say, ten thousand was not enough; but to the servants of Christ that painfully preach His Evangel, a thousand pounds; how can that be defended?

Secretary Lethington gets his Answer.

One day, in reasoning of this matter, the Secretary burst out in a piece of his choler, and said, "The ministers have so much paid to them year by year, and who yet ever bade the Queen 'grand-mercies' for it? Was there ever a minister that gave thanks to God for her Majesty's liberality towards them?" One smiled and answered, "Assuredly, I think that such as receive anything gratis of the Queen, are unthankful if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and mouth. But whether the

ministers be of that rank or not, I greatly doubt. Gratis, I am assured, they receive nothing; and whether they receive anything at all from the Queen, wise men may reason. I am assured that neither Third nor 'Two-part' ever appertained to any of her predecessors within this realm these thousand years by-past, nor yet has the Queen better title to that which she usurps, be it in giving to others or in taking to herself, than had such as crucified Jesus to divide His garments amongst them. If the truth may be spoken, she has not so good title as they had; for such spoil used to be the reward of such men. And these soldiers were more gentle than the Queen and her flatterers, for they parted not the garments of our Master until He Himself was hung upon the cross; but she and her flatterers do part the spoil while poor Christ is yet preaching amongst you. But the wisdom of our God makes trial of us by this means, knowing well enough what she and her faction have purposed to do. Let the Papists, who have some the Two-parts, some their Thirds free, and some abbacies and feu lands, thank the Queen, and sing, 'Placebo Dominæ.' The poor preachers will not yet flatter, for feeding of their belly." These words were judged proud and intolerable, and engendered no small displeasure to the speaker.

This we put in memory, that the posterities to come may know that God once made His truth to triumph; but, because some of ourselves delighted more in darkness than in light, He hath restrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage....

Lord James Stewart created Earl of Mar: his Marriage.

In the meantime, to wit, in February, the year of God 1561, Lord James Stewart was first made Earl of Mar, [195] and then married to Agnes Keith, daughter to the Earl Marischall. At the marriage, which was public in the church of Edinburgh, they both got an admonition to behave themselves moderately in all things; "For," said the preacher

(John Knox) to him, "to this day the Kirk of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours. If hereafter ye shall be found fainter in this than ye were before, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature." The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly. There began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since.

Master Randolph, agent for the Queen of England, was then, and for some time after, in no small conceit with our Queen; for his mistress' sake, she drank to him in a cup of gold, which he possessed with greater joy for the favour of the giver, than for the gift and its value; and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two Queens--Lethington, Secretary Cecil, and Master Randolph being ministers--were of great weight, as we will afterwards hear.

Disorderly Conduct of Earl Bothwell and others.

This winter, the Earl Bothwell, the Marquis D'Elboeuf, and Lord John of Coldingham, played riot in Edinburgh, misordered the whole town, broke Cuthbert Ramsay's gates and doors, and searched his house for his good-daughter, [196] Alison Craik. This was done in despite of the Earl of Arran, whose mistress the said Alison was suspected to have been. The horror of this fact, and the rarity of it, highly commoved all godly hearts. The Assembly and the nobility were in the town for the most part; and they concluded to crave justice by supplication. This they did....

This supplication was presented by divers gentlemen. At first the flatterers of the Court stormed, and asked, "Who durst avow it?" The Master, now Lord Lyndsay, answered, "A thousand gentlemen within Edinburgh." Others were ashamed to oppose themselves to the supplication in public; but they suborned the Queen to give a gentle answer until such time as the Convention was dissolved. This she did;

for she lacks no craft, both to cloak and to maintain impiety. She alleged that her uncle was a stranger and had a young company; but that she should put such order to him, and unto all others, that thereafter they should have no occasion to complain....

But punishment of that enormity and fearful attempt we could get none: more and more they presumed to do violence, and frequented nightly masking. Some, as Robin Craig's household, because his daughter was fair, delighted therein; others lamented, and began to bear the matter very heavily. At length, the Lord Duke's friends assembled one night upon the causeway. The Abbot of Kilwinning (who then was joined to the Church, and, as we understand, doth yet abide so) was the principal man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithful; and amongst others came Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, a man rather born to make peace than to brag upon the causeway, and demanded the quarrel. Being informed of the former enormity, he said, "Nay, such impiety shall not be suffered so long as God shall assist us. By His grace, we will maintain the victory that God in His mercy hath given." So he commanded his son, Andrew Stewart, then Master, and his servants to put themselves in order, and to bring forth their spears and long weapons; and thus did others.

Word came to the Earl Bothwell and his party that the Hamiltons were upon the gait. [197] Vows were made that the Hamiltons should be dung not only out of the town, but also out of the country. Lord John of Coldingham had married the Earl Bothwell's sister, a sufficient woman for such a man; others drew the Lord Robert; and so they both joined with the Earl Bothwell. But the stoutness of the Marquis Le Boeuf, D'Elboeuf they call him, is most to be commended; for in his chamber, within the Abbey, he started to a halbert, and ten men were scarcely able to hold him; but, as hap was, the inner gate of the Abbey kept him

that night. The danger was betwixt the Cross and the Salt Tron; and so he was a large quarter of a mile from the shot and slanting [198] of bolts. The Master of Maxwell gave declaration to the Earl Bothwell that, if he stirred from his lodging, he, and all that would assist him, should resist him in the face: these words did somewhat beat down that blast. The Earls of Huntly and Moray, [199] being in the Abbey where the Marquis was, came with their companies, sent from the Queen to stay that tumult. This they did; for Bothwell and his party were commanded to keep their lodgings, under pain of treason.

Plots against the Earl of Moray.

It was whispered by many that the desire for a quarrel with the Earl of Moray was as strong as was any hatred that the Hamiltons bore against the Earl Bothwell, or he against them. Indeed, either had the Duke very false servants, or else the Earl of Moray's death was conspired oftener than once by Huntly and the Hamiltons. Suspicion of this burst forth so far that one day the said Earl, being upon horse to come to the sermon, was charged by one of the Duke's own servants to return and abide with the Queen.

Earl Bothwell speaks with John Knox.

The Earl Bothwell, by means of James Barron, burgess [200] and merchant of Edinburgh, desired to speak with John Knox secretly. The said John gladly granted this request, and spake with him one night, first in the said James's lodging, and thereafter in his own study. The said Earl lamented his former inordinate life, and especially that he had been provoked by the enticements of the Queen Regent to do that which he sorely repented, as well as his conduct towards the Laird of Ormiston, whose blood had been spilt, albeit not by his fault. But his chief dolour was that he had misbehaved himself against the Earl of Arran, whose favours he was most willing to redeem, if it were possible that

he might do so. He desired the said John to give him his best counsel. "For," said he, "if I might have my Lord of Arran's favours, I would wait upon the Court with a page and few servants, to spare my expenses. At present I am compelled, for my own safety, to keep a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of what of my living there is left."

The said John answered, "My Lord, would to God that in me were counsel or judgment that might comfort and relieve you. Albeit to this hour it hath not chanced me to speak with your Lordship face to face, yet have I borne a good mind to your house; and I have been sorry at my heart concerning the troubles that I have heard you to be involved in. My grandfather, goodsire, [201] and father, have served your Lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards; and this is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness: [202] but this is not my chief reason. As God has made me His public messenger of glad tidings, it is my earnest desire that all men may embrace the same, and they cannot do this perfectly so long as there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am very sorry that ye have given occasion to men to be offended with you; but I am more sorry that ye have offended the Majesty of God, who by such means oft punishes the other sins of man. Therefore, my counsel is that ye begin at God; if ye will enter into perfect reconciliation with Him, I doubt not but He shall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences. As for me, if ye continue in godliness, your Lordship may command me as boldly as any that serves your Lordship."

The said Lord desired John Knox that he would sound the Earl of Arran as to whether he would be content to receive him into his favour. This he promised to do; and he so earnestly travailed in that matter, that it was once brought to a conclusion and agreement, such as caused all

the faithful to praise God. The greatest stay [203] stood upon the satisfaction of the Laird of Ormiston, who, besides his former hurt, was, even at the time of the communing, pursued by the said Lord Bothwell, his son Master Alexander Cockburn taken by him, and carried with him to Borthwick, but gently enough sent back again.

The Reconciliation of the Earl of Arran and the Earl Bothwell.

That new trouble so greatly displeased John Knox, that he almost gave over farther travailing for amity. But yet, upon receiving the excuse of the said Earl, and after the declaration of his mind, he re-entered upon his labours, and brought it to pass that the Laird of Ormiston referred his satisfaction in all things to the judgments of the Earls of Arran and Moray. To them the said Earl Bothwell submitted himself in that respect, and thereupon delivered his handwrit. He was convoyed by certain of his friends to the lodging of the Kirk-of-Field, where the Earl of Arran was with his friends, the said John Knox being with him, to bear witness and testification of the end of the agreement. As the Earl Bothwell entered at the chamber door, and would have done those honours that friends had appointed (Master Gavin Hamilton and the Laird of Riccarton were the chief friends that communed) the Earl of Arran gently passed to him, embraced him, and said, "If the hearts be upright, few ceremonies may serve and content me."

The said John Knox, in audience of them both and of their friends, then said, "Now, my Lords, God hath brought you together by the labours of simple men, in respect of such as would have travailed therein. I know my labours are already taken in an evil part; but, because I have the testimony of a good conscience before my God that whatsoever I have done, I have done in His fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquillity of this realm: seeing, I say, that my conscience beareth witness to me--a witness that I have sought and

continually seek--I the more patiently bear the misreports and wrongous judgments of men. And now I leave you in peace, and desire you that are the friends to study that amity may increase, all former offences being forgotten." The friends of either part embraced the others, and the two Earls departed to a window, and talked by themselves familiarly for a reasonable space. Thereafter the Earl Bothwell departed for that night; and upon the next day in the morning he returned, with some of his honest friends, and came to the sermon with the Earl foresaid. At this many rejoiced. But God had another work to work than the eyes of men could espy.

The Earl of Arran suspects Treachery.

The next Thursday, the 26th of March 1562, they dined together; and thereafter the said Earl Bothwell and Master Gavin Hamilton rode to my Lord Duke's Grace, who then was at Kinneil. What communication was had betwixt them, it is not certainly known, except by the report which the said Earl of Arran made to the Queen's Grace, and to the Earl of Moray, by his writings. For upon Friday, the fourth day after their reconciliation, the sermon being ended, the said Earl of Arran came to the house of John Knox, and brought with him Master Richard Strang and Alexander Guthrie. To them he opened the grief of his mind before John Knox was called; for he was occupied, as he is wont to be after his sermons, in directing of writings.

These labours ended, the said Earl called the three together, and said, "I am treasonably betrayed;" and with these words began to weep. John Knox demanded, "My Lord, who has betrayed you?" "One Judas, or other," said he; "but I know it is but my life that is sought: I regard it not." The other said, "My Lord, I understand not such dark manner of speaking: if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plain." "Well," said he, "I take you three to witness that I open this to you,

and I will write it to the Queen. An act of treason is laid to my charge; the Earl of Bothwell has shown to me in counsel that he shall take the Queen and put her in my hands in the Castle of Dumbarton; and that he shall slay the Earl of Moray, Lethington, and others that now misguide her: and so shall I and he rule all. But I know that this is devised to accuse me of treason; for I know that he will inform the Queen of it. But I take you to witness that I open it here to you; and, incontinently, I will go and write to the Queen's Majesty, and to my brother, the Earl of Moray."

John Knox demanded, "Did ye consent, my Lord, to any part of that treason?" He answered, "Nay." "Then," said he, "in my judgment, his words, albeit they were spoken, can never be treason to you; for the performance of the act depends upon your will, whereto ye say ye have dissented; and so shall that purpose vanish and die by itself, unless ye waken it; for it is not to be supposed that he will accuse you of that which he himself devised, and whereto ye would not consent." "O," said he, "ye understand not what craft is used against me: it is treason to conceal treason." "My Lord," said he, "treason must import consent and determination, which I hear upon neither of your parts. Therefore, my Lord, in my judgment, it shall be more sure and more honourable to you to depend upon your innocence, and to abide the unjust accusation of another, if any follow thereof, as I think there shall not, than for you to accuse, especially after so recent reconciliation, and have none other witnesses but your own affirmation." "I know," said he, "that he will offer combat to me; but that would not be suffered in France: I will do that which I have purposed." And so he departed, and took with him to his lodging the said Alexander Guthrie and Mr. Richard Strang. Thence was dated and written a letter to the Queen's Majesty, according to the former

purpose, which letter was directed with all diligence to the Queen's Majesty, who was then in Falkland.

The Earl himself rode afterwards to Kinneil, to his father, the Duke's Grace. How he was treated, we have but the common bruit; but thence he wrote another letter with his own hand, in cipher, to the Earl of Moray, complaining of his rigorous handling and treatment by his own father, and by his friends; and affirming, farther, that he feared his life, in case he gat not speedy rescue. He did not rest there, but brake the chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain passed to Stirling, and thence he was convoyed to the Hallyards. There he was kept until the Earl of Moray came to him, and convoyed him to the Queen, who was then in Falkland. She was sufficiently instructed concerning the whole matter; and, upon suspicion conceived, had ordered the apprehension of Master Gavin Hamilton and the Earl Bothwell. They, knowing nothing of what had passed, came to Falkland, and this augmented the former suspicion.

The frenzy of the Earl of Arran.

The letters of John Knox, however, ensured that all things were done the more circumspectly; for he did plainly forewarn the Earl of Moray that he espied the Earl of Arran to be stricken with frenzy, and therefore would not have too great credit given to his words and inventions. And so it came to pass; for within few days the Earl's sickness increased; he devised of wondrous signs that he saw in the heaven; and, finally, he behaved himself in all things so foolishly that his frenzy could not be hid. Nevertheless, the Earl Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning were detained in the Castle of St. Andrews, and convened before the Council, with the Earl of Arran, who ever stood firm in alleging that the Earl Bothwell proponed to him such things as he had advertised the Queen's Grace of. He stiffly denied that his

father, the said Abbot, or his friends, knew anything of the matter, or that they intended any violence against him; and alleged that he had been enchanted so to think and write. Thereat the Queen, highly offended, committed him to prison with the other two, first in the Castle of St. Andrews, and thereafter in the Castle of Edinburgh....

John Knox reproves the Queen.

Things put in order in Fife, the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began dancing to grow hot; for her friends began to triumph in France. Sure information of this came to the ears of John Knox, for there were some that showed to him the state of things from time to time. He was assured that the Queen had danced excessively until after midnight, because she had received letters informing her that persecution was renewed in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tail, and to trouble the whole realm of France. Upon occasion of this text, "And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth," he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and the despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared.

He is summoned before the Queen.

Report of this sermon was made unto the Queen, and John Knox was sent for. Mr. Alexander Cockburn, of Ormiston, who had formerly been his scholar, and then was very familiar with him, was the messenger, and gave him some knowledge both of the report and of the reporters. The Queen was in her bedchamber, and with her, besides the ladies and the common servants, were the Lord James, the Earl Morton, Secretary Lethington, and some of the guard that had made the report. He was called, and accused of having spoken irreverently of the Queen, of travailing to bring her into the hatred and contempt of the people, and of exceeding the bounds of his text. Upon these three heads, the Queen

herself made a long harangue or oration; to which the said John answered as follows:--

John Knox, states his Views concerning the Behaviour of Princes.

"Madam, this is oftentimes the just recompense which God giveth to the stubborn of the world. Because they will not hear God speaking for the comfort of the penitent, and the amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others to their greater displeasure. I doubt not but that it came to the ears of proud Herod that our Master Christ Jesus called him fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent, as he had lately done before, causing John the Baptist to be beheaded, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words, and the circumstances of the same. But, because they would have credit in Court, and lack virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please your Majesty, if it were but flattery and lies. If your Grace take any pleasure in such persons, it will turn to your everlasting displeasure. Madam, had your own ears heard the whole matter that I entreated, ye could not justly have been offended with anything that I spake, if there be in you any sparkle of the Spirit of God, yea, of honesty or wisdom. Ye have heard their report; may it please your Grace to hear myself rehearse the sermon, as nearly as memory will serve.

"My text, Madam, was this, 'And now, O kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After, Madam, I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour in which God has placed them, and the obedience that is due unto them, as God's lieutenants, I demanded this: But, O alas! what account shall the most part of princes make before that Supreme Judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? This day is most true the complaint of Solomon

that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here in this earth: murderers, bloodthirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and the poor saints of God are banished and exiled. What shall we say, but that the Devil hath taken possession of the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent oppressed.

How can it be otherwise? Princes will not understand; they will not be taught as God commands them. God's law they despise, His statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand; they are more exercised in fiddling and flinging than in reading or hearing God's most blessed Word; and fiddlers and flatterers, who commonly corrupt youth, are more precious in their eyes than are men of wisdom and gravity, who might, by wholesome admonition, beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein all are born, but in princes taketh deep root and strength by wicked education.

Of Dancing.

"Of dancing, Madam, I said that, albeit in the Scriptures I found no praise of it, and in profane writers that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy than of sober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided. Firstly, the principal vocation of those that use that exercise must not be neglected for the pleasure of dancing; secondly, they may not dance, as did the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people. If they do either, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be drink in hell, unless they speedily repent, and so shall God turn their mirth into sudden sorrow. God will not always afflict His people, nor will He always wink at the tyranny of tyrants. If any man, Madam, will say that I spake more, let him presently accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum,

but the very words as I spake them." Many that stood by bare witness with him that he had recited the very words that he had spoken publicly.

The Queen looked about to some of the reporters, and said, "Your words are sharp enough as ye have spoken them; but yet they were told to me in another manner. I know that my uncles and ye are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, albeit you have no good opinion of them. But if ye hear anything of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you."

"Madam," quoth he, "I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto His Son, Jesus Christ; and that, for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents. I am therefore assured that their enterprises shall have no better success than have had others that before them have done what they do now. But as to your own personage, Madam, I would be glad to do all that I could for your Grace's contentment, provided that I exceed not the bounds of my vocation. I am called, Madam, to a public function within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence; that labour were infinite. If your Grace will please to frequent the public sermons, I doubt not but that ye shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in your Majesty as in all others. Or, if your Grace will assign unto me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is proponed in public to the churches of this realm, I will most gladly await upon your Grace's pleasure, time, and place. But to wait upon your chamber door, or elsewhere, and then to have no farther liberty than to whisper my mind in your Grace's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience nor

the vocation whereto God hath called me suffer it. For, albeit at your Grace's commandment I am here now, I cannot tell what other men shall judge of me, when they learn that at this time of day I am absent from my book, and waiting upon the Court."

"You will not always," said she, "be at your book," and so turned her back. John Knox departed with a reasonably merry countenance. Some Papists, offended at this, said, "He is not afraid." Hearing this, he answered, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affright me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid, above measure." And so left he the Queen and the Court for that time.

The Queen negotiates with England.

In the meantime, the negotiation and credit was great betwixt the Queen of England and our Sovereign: letters, couriers, and posts ran very frequently. There was great bruit of an interview and meeting of the two Queens at York, and some preparations were made for this in both the realms. But it failed upon the part of England, and that by occasion of the troubles moved in France, as was alleged. These caused the Queen and her Council to remain in the south parts of England, to avoid inconvenience.

The King of Sweden proposes Marriage to Queen Mary.

That Summer, there came an Ambassador from the King of Sweden, requiring marriage of our Sovereign to his master the King. His entertainment was honourable; but our Queen liked not his petition. Such a man was too base for her estate; had not she been great Queen of France? Fie, of Sweden! What is it? But happy was the man that was forsaken of such an one. And yet she did not refuse one who was far inferior to a virtuous king.

The Queen and the Earl of Moray.

The Earl of Moray made a privy raid to Hawick upon the fair-day, and apprehended fifty thieves; of this number seventeen were drowned; others were executed in Jedburgh. The principals were brought to Edinburgh, and there suffered, according to their merits, upon the Borough Muir. The Queen was not content with the prosperity and good success that God gave to the Earl of Moray in all his enterprises, for she hated his upright dealing, and the image of God which did evidently appear in him; but at that time she could not well have been served without him.

The General Assembly: June 1562.

At the Assembly of the Kirk at Midsummer, on the 29th of June 1562, many notable points were discussed concerning good order in the Church; for the Papists and the idolatry of the Queen began to trouble the former good orders.... The tenor of the supplication read in open audience, and approved by the whole Assembly to be presented to the Queen's Majesty, was this:--

The Supplication presented to the Queen.

"Having in mind that fearful sentence, pronounced by the Eternal God against the watchmen that see the sword of God's punishment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the princes and rulers, that they may repent, we cannot but signify unto your Highness, and unto your Council, that the state of this realm is such, at this present time, that unless redress and remedy be shortly provided, God's hand cannot long spare in His anger, to strike the head and the tail; the inobedient prince and sinful people. For, as God is unchangeable and true, so must He punish in these our days the grievous sins that we read He has punished in all ages, after He has long called for repentance, and none is shown.

"That your Grace and Council may understand what be the things we

desire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we assuredly know to be the fountain and spring of all other evils that now abound in this realm, to wit, that idol and bastard service of God, the Mass; the fountain, we call it, of all impiety, not only because many take boldness to sin by reason of the opinion which they have conceived of that idol, to wit, that by the virtue of it, they get remission of their sins; but also that, under colour of the Mass, whores, adulterers, drunkards, blasphemers of God and of His holy Word and Sacraments, and such other manifest malefactors, are maintained and defended: for, let any Mass-sayer, or earnest maintainer thereof, be deprehended in any of the forenamed crimes, no execution can be had, for all is said to be done in hatred of his religion; and so are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloaked and protected by that odious idol. But, supposing the Mass were occasion of no such evils, yet in itself it is so odious in God's presence that we cannot cease, with all instance, to desire the removing of the same, as well from yourself as from all others within this realm, taking heaven and earth, yea, and your own conscience, to record that the obstinate maintenance of that idol shall in the end be to you destruction of soul and body.

"If your Majesty demand why we are more earnest now than we have been heretofore; we answer (our former silence nowise excused) that it is because we find ourselves frustrated of our hope and expectation; which was that, in process of time, your Grace's heart should have been mollified, so far as to have heard the public doctrine taught within this realm; by which, our farther hope was, God's Holy Spirit should so have moved your heart, that ye should have suffered your religion, which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity, to have been tried by the true touchstone, the written Word of God; and that your Grace finding it to have no ground or foundation in the same, should

have given such glory unto God that ye would have preferred His truth unto your own preconceived vain opinion, of whatever antiquity it has been. Of this we in a part are now discouraged and can no longer keep silence, unless we would make ourselves criminal before God of your blood, perishing in your own iniquities; for we plainly admonish you of the dangers to come.

"The second that we require is punishment of horrible vices, such as are adultery, fornication, open whoredom, blasphemy, and contempt of God, of His Word and of His Sacraments; vices which, in this realm, for lack of punishment, do even now so abound that sin is reputed to be no sin. And, therefore, as we see the present signs of God's wrath manifestly appear, so do we forewarn that He will strike, before long, if His law be permitted thus manifestly to be contemned, without punishment. If any object, that punishment cannot be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; we answer that the Eternal God in His Parliament has pronounced death to be the punishment for adultery and for blasphemy. If ye put not His acts to execution, seeing that kings are but His lieutenants, having no power to give life where He commands death, He will repute you, and all others that foster vice, patrons of impiety, and He will not fail to punish you for neglecting His judgments.

"Our third request concerneth the poor, who be of three sorts; the poor labourers of the ground; the poor desolate beggars, orphans, widows, and strangers; and the poor ministers of the holy Evangel of Christ Jesus, who are all so cruelly treated by this last pretended order taken for sustentation of ministers, that their latter misery far surmounteth the former. For now the poor labourers of the ground are so oppressed by the cruelty of those that pay their Third, that they for the most part advance upon the poor, whatsoever they pay to the Queen,

or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a sustentation to be provided from the teinds, they are so despised that it is a wonder that the sun giveth light and heat to the earth, where God's name is so frequently called upon, and no mercy, according to His commandment, is shown to His creatures. And also for the ministers, their livings are so appointed that the most part shall live but a beggar's life. And all cometh of impiety, that the idle bellies of Christ's enemies must be fed with their former delicacies.

"We dare not conceal from your Grace and Honours the burden of our conscience, which is this, that neither by the law of God, nor by any just law of man, is anything due to them who now most cruelly do exact of the poor and rich the Two-part of their benefices, as they call it.

"Therefore we most humbly require that some other order may be taken with them, and that they be not set up again to empire above the people of God, or above any subject within this realm. For we fear that such usurpation to their former estate shall be in the end neither pleasing to themselves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that tyranny. If any think that a competent living should be assigned to them, we repugn not, provided that the labourers of the ground be not oppressed, the poor be not utterly neglected, the ministers of the Word be not so sharply treated as they now are, and, finally, that those idle bellies, who by law can crave nothing, shall confess that they receive their sustentation, not as a matter of debt, but as of benevolence. Our humble request is, therefore, that some speedy order may be taken that the poor labourers may find some relief, and that in every parish some portion of the teinds may be assigned to the sustentation of the poor within the same; and likewise that some public relief may be provided for the poor within burghs; that collectors may be appointed to gather, and that sharp account may be taken, as well of

their receipts as of their disbursements. The farther consideration to be had towards our ministers, we in some part remit to your wisdoms, and to their particular complaints.

"Our fourth petition is for the manses, yards, and glebes, justly appertaining to the ministers, without which it is impossible for them quietly to serve their charges; and therefore we desire order to be taken therein without delay.

"Our fifth concerneth the inobedience of certain wicked persons, who not only trouble, and have troubled ministers in their functions, but also disobey the superintendents in their visitation. Of this we humbly crave remedy; not so much for any fear that we and our ministers have of the Papists, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquillity. For we cannot hide from your Majesty and Council that, if the Papists think to triumph where they may, and to do what they list, where there is not a party able to resist them, some will think that they must begin where they left off. Heretofore they have borne all things patiently, in hope that laws should have bridled the wicked. If they be frustrated in this, albeit nothing is more odious to them than tumults and domestic discord, men will attempt the uttermost, before they behold with their own eyes the demolition of that House of God, which with travail and danger God hath within this realm erected by them.

"Lastly, we desire that such as have received remission of their Third be compelled to sustain the ministry within their bounds, else we forewarn your Grace and Council that we fear that the people will retain the whole in their hands, until such time as their ministry shall be sufficiently provided. We farther desire that the kirks be repaired according to an Act set forth by the Lords of Secret Council, before your Majesty's arrival in this country; that judges be appointed

to hear the causes of divorcement, for the Kirk can no longer sustain that burden, especially since there is no punishment for the offenders; that sayers and hearers of Mass, profaners of the Sacraments, such as have entered into benefices by the Pope's bulls, and other such transgressors of the law made at your Grace's arrival within this realm, may be severely punished; else men will think that there is no truth meant in the making of such laws.

"Farther, we most humbly desire of your Grace and honourable Council a resolute answer to every one of the heads forewritten, that, the same being known, we may somewhat satisfy such as are grievously offended at manifest iniquity now maintained, at oppression under pretext of law done against the poor, and at the rebellious disobedience of many wicked persons against God's Word and holy ordinance.

"God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so rule your hearts, and direct your Grace and Council's judgments by the dyttament [204] and illumination of His Holy Spirit, that ye may so answer that your consciences may be absolved in the presence of that righteous Judge, the Lord Jesus; and then we doubt not but that ye yourselves shall find felicity, and this poor realm, that long has been oppressed by wicked men, shall enjoy tranquillity and rest, with the true knowledge of God."

Secretary Lethington objects to the Terms of the Supplication.

These things were read in public Assembly, and approved by all. Some wished that more sharpness had been used, because the time so craved. But the monsieurs of the Court, and Secretary Lethington above others, could not abide such hard speaking; "For who ever saw it written," said he, "to a prince, that God would strike the head and the tail, or that, if Papists did what they should list, men would begin where they had left off?" Above all others, it was most offensive that the Queen was

accused as if she would raise up Papists and Papistry again. To put that into the people's head was no less than treason; for oaths durst be made that she never meant such a thing.

It was answered that the Prophet Isaiah used such manner of speaking; and there was no doubt but that he was well acquainted in the Court, for it was supposed that he was of the King's stock. Howsoever it was, his words make manifest that he spake to the Court and courtiers, to judges, ladies, princes and priests. And yet, says he, "The Lord shall cut away the head and the tail," etc. "And so," said the first writer, "I find that such a phrase was used once before. If it offend you that we say, 'Men must begin where they left off,' in case the Papists do as they do; we would desire you to teach us, not so much how we shall speak, but rather what we shall do when our ministers are stricken, our superintendents are disobeyed, and a plain rebellion is decreed against all good order."

"Complain," said Lethington. "Whom to?" said the other. "To the Queen's Majesty," said he. "How long shall we do so?" quoth the whole. "Till ye get remedy," said the Justice Clerk: "give me their names, and I shall give you letters." "If the sheep," said one, "shall complain to the wolf that the wolves and whelps have devoured their lambs, the complainer may stand in danger; but the offender, we fear, shall have liberty to hunt after his prey." "Such comparisons," said Lethington, "are very unsavoury; for I am assured that the Queen will neither erect nor yet maintain Papistry." "Let your assurance," said another, "serve yourself; it cannot assure us; for her manifest proceedings speak the contrary."

After such taunting reasoning on both sides, the multitude concluded that the supplication, as it was conceived, should be presented; unless the Secretary would form one more agreeable to the present necessity.

He promised to keep the substance of ours, but said he would use other terms, and ask things in a more genteel manner. The first writer answered that he served the Kirk at their commandment, and was content that with his dictament men should use the liberty that best pleased them, provided that he was not compelled to subscribe to the flattery of such as regarded the persons of men and women more than the simple truth of God. So this former supplication was given to be reformed as Lethington's wisdom thought best. And in very deed he so framed it that, when it was delivered by the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife, and when the Queen had read somewhat of it, she said, "Here are many fair words: I cannot tell what the hearts are." For our painted oratory, we were termed the next name to flatterers and dissemblers; but, for that session, the Kirk received no other answer....

The Queen visits the North: Papist Intrigues.

The interview and meeting of the two Queens being delayed until the next year, our Sovereign took purpose to visit the north, and departed from Stirling in the month of August. Whether there was any secret paction and confederacy betwixt the Papists in the south and the Earl of Huntly and his Papists in the north; or, to speak more plainly, betwixt the Queen herself and Huntly, we cannot certainly say. But the suspicions were wondrously vehement that there was no good-will borne to the Earl of Moray, nor yet to such as depended upon him at that time. The history we shall faithfully declare, and leave the judgment to the reader....

The Queen and Court remained at Aberdeen certain days, to deliberate upon the affairs of the country; and some began to smell that the Earl of Huntly was under gathering. [205] While things were so working in the north, the Earl Bothwell brake his ward, and came forth from the Castle of Edinburgh on the 28th of August. Some say that he broke the

stanchions of the window; others whispered that he got easy passage by the gates. One thing is certain; the Queen was little offended at his escaping. The said Earl showed himself not very much afraid, for his common residence was in Lothian. The Archbishop of St. Andrews and Abbot of Crossraguel kept secret convention at that same time in Paisley, and to them resorted divers Papists; yea, the said Archbishop spake with the Duke, and unto him came also the Lord Gordon from the Earl of Huntly, requiring him "to put to his hands in the south, as he should do in the north; and Knox's crying or preaching should not stay that purpose." The Archbishop, let him be never so close, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table said, "The Queen is gone into the north, belike to seek disobedience: she may perchance find the thing that she seeks." It was constantly affirmed that the Earl Bothwell and the said Lord Gordon spake together, but of their purpose we heard no mention.

John Knox warns the Protestants.

The same year, and at that instant time, Commissioners were appointed by the General Assembly. To Carrick and Cunningham, Master George Hay was sent, and he, for the space of a month, preached with great fruit in all the churches of Carrick. To Kyle, and to the parts of Galloway, John Knox was appointed. Besides showing the doctrine of the Evangel to the common people, John Knox forewarned some of the nobility and Barons of the dangers that he feared, and that were apparently to follow shortly; and he exhorted them to put themselves in order, so that they might be able to serve the authority, and yet not to suffer the enemies of God's truth to have the upper hand. Thereupon, a great part of the Barons and Gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham and Carrick, professing the true doctrine of the Evangel, assembled at Ayr.

A Bond is again subscribed.

After exhortations made and conference held, these subscribed a bond to maintain and assist the preaching of God's holy Evangel, then, of His mere mercy, offered to this realm; and also the ministers thereof against all persons, power, and authority, that would oppose themselves to the doctrine proponed, and by them received. And farther, with the same solemnity, it was protested and promised, that every one should assist others, yea, the whole body of the Protestants within the realm, in all lawful and just actions, against all persons; so that whosoever should hurt, molest, or trouble any of our body, should be reputed enemy to the whole, unless the offender were content to submit himself to the judgment of the Kirk, as established amongst us....

These things done at Ayr, the said John passed to Nithsdale and Galloway, and there, in conference with the Master of Maxwell, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated such things as he feared. Upon his suggestion, the Master wrote to the Earl Bothwell, enjoining him to behave himself as became a faithful subject, and to keep good quietness in the parts committed to his charge, for so would the crime of his breaking ward be the more easily pardoned. John Knox wrote to the Duke's Grace, and earnestly exhorted him neither to give ear to the Archbishop, his bastard brother, nor yet to the persuasion of the Earl of Huntly; for if he did, he assured him, he and his house should come to a sudden ruin.

The Result of John Knox's Labours in the South.

By such means the south parts were kept in reasonable quietness, during the time that the troubles were in brewing in the north. And yet the Archbishop and the Abbot of Crossraguel did what in them lay to raise some trouble. Besides the fearful bruits that they sparsed abroad, sometimes that the Queen was taken; sometimes that the Earl of Moray and all his band were slain; and sometimes that the Queen had given

herself to the Earl of Huntly,--besides such bruits, the Archbishop, to disturb the country of Kyle, where quietness was greatest, raised the Crawfords against the Reids for payment of the Archbishop's Pasch fines; but that was stayed by the labours of indifferent men, who favoured peace.

The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox.

The Abbot of Crossraguel requested an opportunity to dispute with John Knox as to the maintenance of the Mass. This was granted to him, and debate was held in Maybole during three days. The Abbot had the advantage that he required; to wit, he took upon him to prove that Melchisedec offered bread and wine to God, and this was the ground upon which was founded the argument that the Mass was a sacrifice, etc. But, in the travail of three days, no proof could be produced for Melchisedec's oblation, as in the disputation (which is to be had in print) may clearly appear. The Papists constantly looked for a wolter, [206] and therefore made some brag of reasoning. The Abbot further presented himself in the pulpit, but the voice of Master George Hay so affrighted him, that, after one attempt, he wearied of that exercise.

The Revolt of the Earl of Huntly.

After the Queen was somewhat satisfied of hunting and other pastime, she came to Aberdeen. There the Earl of Huntly and his Lady met her with no small train. He remained in Court, was supposed to have the greatest credit, departed with the Queen to Buchan, and met her again at Rothiemay, expecting that she would accompany him to Strathbogie. But, in the journey, certain word came to her that John Gordon [207] had broken promise in not re-entering into ward; for his father the Earl had promised that he should again enter within the Castle of Stirling, and there abide the Queen's pleasure. But, with or without his father's knowledge and consent, he refused to enter; and this so

offended the Queen that she would not go to Strathbogie, but passed through Strathisla to Inverness, where the Castle was denied to her. The captain had command to keep it, and looked for relief which John of Gordon had promised; but, being frustrated in this, the Castle was surrendered. The captain, named Gordon, was executed; the rest were condemned, and the hands of some were bound, but these escaped. This was the beginning of further trouble; for the Earl of Huntly was offended, and began to assemble his folks, sparing not to say that he would be revenged. [208] ...

Of the Earl of Huntly.

Upon the morrow after the discomfiture, the Lady Forbes, a woman both wise and fearing God, came amongst many others to visit the corpse of the said Earl; and seeing him lie upon the cold stones, having only upon him a doublet of canvas, a pair of Scottish grey hose, and a covering of arras-work, she said, "What stability shall we judge to be in this world: there lieth he that yesterday morning was holden the wisest, the richest, and a man of greatest power within Scotland." In very deed, she lied not; for, in man's opinion, under a prince, there was not such a one produced in this realm these three hundred years. But felicity and worldly wisdom so blinded him that in the end he perished in them, as shall all those that despise God and trust in themselves....

The Queen's Relations with the Earl of Moray.

The Earl of Moray sent word of the marvellous victory to the Queen, and humbly prayed her to show obedience to God and publicly to convene with them, to give thanks to God for His notable deliverance. She gloomed at the messenger and at the request, and scarcely would give a good word or blithe countenance to any that she knew to be earnest favourers of the Earl Moray, whose prosperity was, and yet is, to her boldened

heart, a very venom against him for his godliness and upright plainness. For many days she bare no better countenance; and thereby it might have been evidently espied that she rejoiced not greatly in the success of that matter; and, albeit she caused John Gordon and divers others to be executed, it was the destruction of others that she sought.

Rumours concerning the Queen's Marriage.

In the meantime, there was much trouble in France; and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two Queens was great. Lethington was directed with large commission both to the Queen of England and to the Guisians. The marriage of our Queen was in every man's mouth. Some would have Spain; some the Emperor's brother; some Lord Robert Dudley; some the Duke de Nemours; and some unhappily guessed at the Lord Darnley. We know not what Lethington's credit was; but, shortly after, there began to be much talk of the Earl of Lennox, and of his son, the Lord Darnley. It was said that Lethington spake with the Lady Margaret Douglas, and that Robert Melvin received a horse, for the Secretary's use, from the Earl of Lennox or from his wife. Howsoever it was, Master Fowler, servant to the said Earl, came with letters to the Queen's Grace, and licence was permitted to the Earl of Lennox to come to Scotland, to travail in his lawful business. On the day that the licence was granted, the Secretary said, "This day have I incurred the deadly hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and have done them no less displeasure than had I cutted their throats."

The Queen and Earl Bothwell.

The Earl Bothwell, who had broken ward, fearing apprehension, prepared to pass to France; but, by storm of weather, he was driven into England, where he was stayed, and the Queen of England offered to surrender him. But our Queen answered that he was no rebel, and

requested that he should have liberty to pass whither it pleased him. In this, Lethington helped not a little; for he travailed to have friends in every faction of the Court. Thus the said Earl obtained licence to pass to France.

The Preachers admonish the Courtiers.

The Court remained for the most part in Edinburgh, during the winter after the death of the Earl of Huntly. The preachers were wondrously vehement in reprehension of all manner of vice, which then began to abound; and especially avarice, oppression of the poor, excess, riotous cheer, banqueting, immoderate dancing, and the whoredom that ensues. The courtiers began to storm, and to pick quarrels against the preachers, alleging that all their preaching was turned to railing.

One of them gave answer as follows: "It comes to our ears that we are called railers. Albeit we wonder, we are not ashamed. The most worthy servants of God that before us have travailed in this vocation have so been styled. But the same God, who from the beginning has punished the contempt of His Word, and has poured forth His vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you; yea, He shall not spare you before the eyes of this same wicked generation, for whose pleasure ye despise all wholesome admonitions.

"Have ye not seen a greater than any of you sitting where presently ye sit, pick his nails and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not his common talk, 'When these knaves have railed their fill, will they then hold their peace?' Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face that God should revenge his blasphemy, even in the eyes of such as were witnesses to his iniquity? Then was the Earl of Huntly accused by you as the maintainer of idolatry, and the only hinderer of all good order. Him has God punished, even according to the

threatenings that his and your ears heard; and by your hands hath God executed His judgments.

"But what amendment in any case can be espied in you? Idolatry was never in greater rest: virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt: vice was never more bold, never did it less fear punishment. And yet, who guides the Queen and Court? Who but the Protestants? O horrible slanderers of God, and of His holy Evangel. Better it were for you plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, than thus to expose His blessed Evangel to mockage. If God do not punish you, so that this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the Spirit of righteous judgment guides me not."...

The General Assembly: 25th December 1562.

At the General Assembly of the Church, holden the twenty-fifth of December, the year of God 1562, great complaints were made that churches lacked ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends; that wicked men were permitted to be schoolmasters, and so to infect the youth. One, Master Robert Cumin, schoolmaster in Arbroath, was complained upon by the Laird of Dun, and sentence was pronounced against him. It was farther complained that idolatry was erected in divers parts of the realm; and some thought that new supplication for redress should be presented to the Queen's Grace. Others demanded, What answer was received on the former occasion? The Superintendent of Lothian confessed the deliverance of it. "But," said he, "I received no answer." It was answered on behalf of the Queen--for her supporters were ever there--that it was well known to the whole realm what troubles had occurred since the last Assembly; and, therefore, that they should not wonder that the Queen had not answered: but they doubted not but that order would be taken betwixt that and the Parliament which was appointed for May, and all men should have

occasion to stand content. This satisfied the whole Assembly for that time. And this was the practice of the Queen and of her Council to drive time with fair words....

The Protestants deal with Idolaters and the Mass.

The Papists, at Easter, 1563, had erected that idol, the Mass, in divers parts of the realm; amongst these being the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Prior of Whithorn, with divers others of their faction....

The brethren, universally offended, and espying that the Queen did but mock them by her proclamations, determined to put to their own hands, and to punish for example to others. So some priests in the West-land were apprehended, and intimation was made by the brethren to others, as to the Abbot of Crossraguel, the Parson of Sanquhar, and such, that they should not proceed by complaint to Queen or Council, but should execute the punishment that God, in His Law, had appointed to idolaters, by such means as they might, wherever these should be apprehended.

The Queen stormed at such freedom of speaking, but she could not amend it; for the spirit of God, of boldness, and of wisdom, had not then left the most part of those whom God had used as instruments in the beginning. They were of one mind to maintain the truth of God, and to suppress idolatry. Particularities had not divided them; and therefore could not the Devil, working in the Queen and Papists, then do what he would.

Queen Mary and John Knox at Lochleven.

The Queen began to invent a new craft. She sent for John Knox to come to her at Lochleven. She travailed with him earnestly for two hours before her supper, seeking that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the West, not to put hands to punish men for conducting themselves in their religion as pleased

them. The other, perceiving her craft, said that if her Grace would punish the malefactors according to the laws, he could promise quietness upon the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus within Scotland. But, if her Majesty thought to delude the laws, he said he feared that some would let the Papists understand that they should not be suffered to offend God's Majesty so manifestly, without punishment.

"Will ye," quoth she, "allow that they shall take my sword in their hand?"

"The sword of justice," quoth he, "Madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for an end. If they transgress this, sparing the wicked, and oppressing innocents, they that, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, do not offend God, although kings forbear; nor do those sin that bridle kings from striking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved.... And so, Madam, your Grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished the vice and crimes that God commands to be punished. In the present case, I would earnestly pray your Majesty to take good advisement, and that your Grace should let the Papists understand that their attempts will not be suffered to go unpunished. For, by Act of Parliament, power is given to all judges to search for Mass-mongers, or the hearers of the same, within their own bounds, and to punish them according to the law. It shall therefore be profitable to your Majesty to consider what is the thing your Grace's subjects look to receive of your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do to them by mutual contract. They are only bound to obey you in God. Ye are bound to keep laws for them. Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against

wicked doers. Now, Madam, if ye shall deny your duty to those who especially crave that ye shall punish malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, Madam, ye shall not."

Herewith the Queen, being somewhat offended, passed to her supper. John Knox left her, informed the Earl of Moray of the whole reasoning, and departed, of final purpose to return to Edinburgh, without any further communication with the Queen.

But before sunrise, upon the morrow, two messengers were directed to him, commanding him not to depart until he spake with the Queen's Majesty. This he did, meeting her at the hawking be-west Kinross.

Whether it was the night's sleep or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast that made her forget her former anger, wise men may doubt; but concerning that she never moved word, and began divers other purposes, such as the offering of a ring to her by the Lord Ruthven.

Queen. I cannot love Lord Ruthven, for I know him to use enchantment, and yet is he one of my Privy Council.

Knox. Whom blames your Grace for that?

Queen. Lethington was the whole cause.

Knox. That man is absent for the present, Madam; and, therefore, I will say nothing on that subject.

Queen. I understand that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a Superintendent to be established in these countries.

Knox. Yes, those quarters have great need, and some of the Gentlemen so require.

Queen. But I hear that the Bishop of Athens would be Superintendent.

Knox. He is one, Madam, that is put in election.

Queen. If ye knew him as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your Kirk.

Knox. What he has been, Madam, I neither know, nor yet will I inquire.

In time of darkness, what could we do but grope and go wrong even as darkness carried us? If he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me. And yet, Madam, I am assured that God will not suffer His Church to be so far deceived as that an unworthy man shall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon to decide betwixt the two.

Queen. Well, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man.

Therein the Queen was not deceived; for he had corrupted most part of the Gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but also to elect him. This perceived, the said John, Commissioner, delayed the election, and left Mr. Robert Pont (who was put in election with the foresaid Bishop) with the Master of Maxwell, that his doctrine and conversation might be the better tried by those that had not known him before. So the Bishop was frustrated of his purpose, for that time. Yet was he, at that time, the man that was most familiar with the said John, in his house and at table. When the Queen had talked long with John Knox, he being oft willing to take his leave, she said, "I have to open unto you one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came to this realm, and I must have your help in it." Then she began to make a long discourse concerning her sister, the Lady Argyll, how that she was not so circumspect in all things as she wished her to be.

Queen. Yet, my Lord, her husband, whom I love, treats her not in many things so honestly and so godly, as I think ye yourself would require.

Knox. Madam, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put such an end to it, before your Grace's arrival, that both she and her friends seemed fully to stand content. She herself promised before her friends that she should never complain to creature until I should first understand their controversy by her own mouth or an assured messenger. I have heard nothing from her; and, therefore, I think there

is nothing but concord.

Queen. Well, it is worse than ye believe. Do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at unity. If she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favours of me. But let not my Lord know in anywise what I have requested of you in this matter; for I would be very sorry to offend him in that or any other thing. And now, as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required. I shall cause all offenders to be summoned, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice.

Knox. I am assured, then, that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm; and that is more profitable to your Majesty than all the Pope's power can be.

And thus they parted.

This conference we have inserted to let the world see how deeply Mary, Queen of Scotland, can dissemble; and how she could cause men to think that she bare no indignation for any controversy in religion, while in her heart there was nothing but venom and destruction, as did appear shortly after.

John Knox writes to the Earl of Argyll.

John Knox departed, and prepared himself for his journey to Dumfries; and from Glasgow, according to the Queen's commandment, he wrote to the Earl of Argyll.... This letter was not well accepted by the said Earl; and yet he uttered no part of his displeasure in public, but contrarily showed himself most familiar with the said John. He kept the diet at which the bishop and the rest of the Papists were accused, and sat in judgment himself.

The Massmongers are tried: 19th May 1563.

The summonses were directed against the Massmongers with expedition, and in the straitest form. The nineteenth day of May was appointed, a

day only before the Parliament. Of the Pope's knights there compeared the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Prior of Whithorn, the Parson of Sanquhar, William Hamilton of Cammiskeyth, John Gordon of Barskeocht, with divers others. The Protestants convened to crave for justice. The Queen asked counsel of the Bishop of Ross, and of the old Laird of Lethington (for the younger was absent, and so the Protestants had the fewer unfriends), and they affirmed that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience. So preparation was made for their accusations. The Archbishop, with his band of the exempted sort, made it nice [209] to enter before the Earl of Argyll, who sat in judgment; but at last he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man who now sleeps in the Lord, Robert Norwell, instead of the Bishop's cross, bare before him a steel hammer. The Archbishop and his band were not a little offended at this, because the bishops' privileges were not then current in Scotland, which day God grant our posterity may see of longer continuance than we possessed it. The Archbishop and his fellows, after much ado, and long drift of time, came within the Queen's will, and were committed to ward, some to one place, some to another. The Lady Erskine, a sweet morsel for the Devil's mouth, got the bishops for her part.

Parliament of May 1563.

All this was done in a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the Protestants, so that they should not press the Queen with any other thing concerning matter of religion at that Parliament, which began within two days thereafter. She obtained of the Protestants whatsoever she desired; for thus reasoned many, "We see what the Queen has done; the like of this was never heard of within the realm: we will bear with the Queen; we doubt not but all shall be well." Others were of a contrary judgment, and forespake things as they afterwards came to

pass. They said that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the Queen, as soon as ever Parliament was past, would set the Papists at freedom. They therefore urged the Nobility not to be abused. But because many had their private commodity to be handled at that Parliament, the common cause was the less regarded.

Queen Mary's Influence: "Vox Dianae."

Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that Parliament was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the Queen rode to the Tolbooth. On the first day she made a painted oration; and there might have been heard among her flatterers, "Vox Dianae! the voice of a goddess, and not of a woman! God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator that spake so properly and so sweetly!"

Reformation is hindered by personal Interests.

All things misliking the preachers, they spake boldly against the targetting of their tails, [210] and against the rest of the vanity of those foolish women. This they affirmed should provoke God's vengeance, not only against them, but against the whole realm; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing of things that might have been better bestowed. Articles were presented, proposing to Parliament that order be taken in regard to apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was scripped at. The Earldom of Moray needed confirmation, and many things that concerned the help of friends and servants were to be ratified, and therefore they might not urge the Queen. If they did so, she would hold no Parliament; and what then should become of them that had melled [211] with the slaughter of the Earl of Huntly? Let that Parliament pass over, and when the Queen asked anything of the Nobility, as she must do before her marriage, then should the religion be the first thing that should be established. It was answered that the poets and painters had

not altogether erred when they feigned and painted Occasion with a head bald behind: for when the first chance is offered and lost, it is hard to recover it again.

John Knox breaks with the Earl of Moray.

The matter became so hot betwixt the Earl of Moray and some others of the Court, and John Knox, that after that time they spake not together familiarly for more than a year and a half. The said John, by letter, gave a discharge to the said Earl of all further intromission or care with his affairs. He made discourse of their first acquaintance; in what estate he was when first they spake together in London; how God had promoted him, even beyond man's judgment; and in the end he made this conclusion: "But seeing that I perceive myself frustrated of my expectation that ye should have ever preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of His truth to your singular commodity, I commit you to your own wit, and to the guidance of those who better can please you. I praise my God, I this day leave you victor of your enemies, promoted to great honours, and in credit and authority with your Sovereign. If ye long continue so, none within the realm shall be more glad than I shall be; but if after this day ye shall decay, as I fear that ye shall, then call to mind by what means God exalted you; that was neither by bearing with impiety, nor by maintaining pestilent Papists."

This bill [212] and discharge so pleased the flatterers of the Earl, that they triumphed, and were glad to have gotten their occasion; for some envied the great familiarity that had been betwixt the said Earl and John Knox. Therefore, from the time that they once got that occasion to separate them, they ceased not to cast oil in the burning flame, and this ceased not to burn, until God, by water of affliction, began to slocken it. Lest they should seem to have altogether forsaken

God (in very deed both God and His Word were far from the hearts of the most part of the courtiers in that age, a few excepted), they began a new shift. They spoke of the punishment of adultery, and of witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of the glebes and manses to the ministers of the Kirk, and the reparation of churches: thereby they thought to have pleased the godly that were highly offended at their slackness.

Inept Legislation.

The Act of Oblivion was passed, because some of the Lords had interest; but the Acts against adultery, and for the manses and glebes, were so modified, that no law and such law might stand in eodem predicamento. To speak plainly, no law and such Acts were both alike. The Acts are in print: let wise men read, and then accuse us, if we complain without cause.

John Knox preaches a faithful Sermon to the Lords.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the Parliament dissolved, John Knox, in his sermon before the most part of the Nobility, entered on a deep discourse concerning God's mercies to the realm, and the ingratitude which he espied in almost the whole multitude, albeit God had marvellously delivered them from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. "And now, my Lords," said he, "I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that, in your own presence, I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witness if I shall make any lie in things that are by-past. From the beginning of God's mighty working within this realm, I have been with you in your most desperate temptations. Ask your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if I--not I, but God's Spirit by me--in your greatest extremity did not urge you ever to depend upon your God, and in His name promised you victory and preservation from your enemies, if ye would only depend upon His protection, and prefer His glory to your

own lives and worldly commodity.

"I have been with you in your most extreme dangers. Perth, Cupar Moor, and the Crags of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart. Yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein ye all, my Lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; God forbid that I ever forget it. Ye yourselves yet live to testify what was my exhortation to you, and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised to you by my mouth. Not one of you, against whom death and destruction were threatened, perished in that danger. How many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes! Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray His cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as ye please? The Queen, say ye, will not agree with us. Ask of her that which by God's Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the Devil. Let her plainly understand your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and He shall yet prosper you in your enterprises.

"But I can see nothing but a recoiling from Christ Jesus: the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christ's ensign holdeth himself most happy. Yea, I hear that some say that we have nothing of our religion established, by Law or by Parliament. Albeit the malicious words of such can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet those of us that thereupon depend, the speaker, for his treason, committed against God and against this poor commonwealth, deserves the gallows. Our religion, being commanded and established by God, has been accepted within this realm in public Parliament; if they say that was no Parliament, we must and will say, and also prove, that that Parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it within this realm. Yea, if the King then living was King, and the Queen now in this realm be

lawful Queen, that Parliament cannot be denied.

"And now, my Lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the Queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings strive all for the best game; but this will I say, my Lords--note the day and bear witness afterwards--whensoever the Nobility of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to your Sovereign, so far as in ye lieth, ye do banish Christ Jesus from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance small comfort to your Sovereign."

Papists and Protestants take Offence: John Knox is summoned by the Queen.

These words and this manner of speaking were judged intolerable. Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, the most familiar friends of Knox disdained him for that utterance. Placeboes and flatterers posted to the Court to give information that he had spoken against the Queen's marriage, and the Provost of Lincluden, Douglas of Drumlanrig by surname, brought the charge that the said John Knox should present himself before the Queen. This he did soon after dinner. The Lord Ochiltree, and divers of the faithful, bare him company to the Abbey; but none passed in to the Queen with him in the cabinet but John Erskine of Dun, then Superintendent of Angus and Mearns. The Queen, in a vehement fume, began to cry out that never prince was handled as she was.

Queen. I have borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favours by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you. I avow to God, I shall be once revenged.

At these words, scarcely could Marna, her secret chamber boy, get

napkins [213] to hold her eyes dry for the tears; and howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. The said John did patiently abide all the first fume, and at opportunity answered.

Knox. True it is, Madam, your Grace and I have been at divers controversies, in which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me. But, when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in which ye have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine, your Majesty will find in the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Outside the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me; and there, Madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.

Queen. But what have ye to do with my marriage?

Knox. If it please your Majesty to hear me patiently, I shall show the truth in plain words. I grant your Grace offered me more than ever I required; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to wait upon the courts of princesses, or upon the chambers of ladies. I am sent to preach the Evangel of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear it. It hath two parts, repentance and faith. And now, Madam, in preaching repentance, it is necessary that the sins of men be so noted that they may know wherein they offend; but the most part of your Nobility are so addicted to your affections, that neither God, His Word, nor yet their commonwealth are rightly regarded. Therefore it becomes me so to speak, that they may know their duty.

Queen. What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what are ye within this commonwealth?

Knox. A subject born within the same, Madam. And, albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, God has made me a profitable member within the same, however abject I be in your eyes. Yea, Madam, it

appertains to me to forewarn of such things as may hurt that commonwealth, if I foresee them, no less than it does to any of the Nobility. Both my vocation and conscience crave plainness of me. Therefore, Madam, to yourself I say that which I speak in public place. Whensoever the Nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish His truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance they shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.

At these words, howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could do to mitigate her anger, giving her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellence, and saying that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favours. But all this was to cast oil in the flaming fire.

The said John stood still, without any alteration of countenance for a long season, while the Queen gave place to her inordinate passion.

In the end he said, "Madam, I speak in God's presence. I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your Majesty's weeping. Seeing, however, that I have offered you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your Majesty's tears, albeit unwillingly, rather than dare hurt my conscience, or betray my commonwealth through my silence."

Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to leave the cabinet, and to abide her pleasure in the chamber. The Laird of Dun tarried, and Lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet, and there they both remained with her for nearly an hour. The said John

stood in the chamber, as one whom men had never seen, so afraid were all, except that the Lord Ochiltree bare him company. Therefore began he to forge talk with the ladies who were sitting there in all their gorgeous apparel. This espied, he merrily said, "O fair Ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and in the end we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear. Fie upon that knave Death, who will come whether we will or not! When he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul shall, I fear, be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting, pearl, nor precious stones." By such means procured he the company of women; and so passed the time until the Laird of Dun desired him to depart to his house. The Queen would have sought the censement of the Lords of Articles as to whether such manner of speaking as that of the said John deserved not punishment; but she was counselled to desist: and so that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Lethington's Return: His worldly Wisdom displayed.

Shortly after the Parliament, Lethington returned from his negotiation in England and France. In the February before, God had stricken that bloody tyrant the Duke of Guise, and this somewhat broke the fard [214] of our Queen for a season. But, shortly after the return of Lethington, pride and malice began to show themselves again. She set at liberty the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the rest of the Papists, formerly put in prison for violating the laws. Lethington showed himself not a little offended that any bruit of the Queen's marriage with the son of the King of Spain should have risen; for he took upon him that such a thing never entered into her heart. How true that was, we shall afterwards hear. The object of all his acquaintance and complaint was to discredit John Knox, who had affirmed that such a marriage was both proponed and

accepted by the Cardinal upon the part of our Queen. In his absence, Lethington had run into a very evil bruit among the Nobility for too much serving the Queen's affections against the commonwealth; and therefore, as one that lacketh no worldly wisdom, he had made provision both in England and in Scotland. In England he had travailed for the freedom of the Earl Bothwell, and by that means obtained promise of his favour. He had there also made arrangements for the home-coming of the Earl of Lennox. In Scotland, he joined with the Earl of Atholl: him he promoted and set forward in Court, and so the Earl of Moray began to be defaced. And yet Lethington at all times showed a fair countenance to the said Earl.

The Queen retains Observance of the Mass.

The Queen spent the rest of that summer in her progress throughout the West country, where in all towns and gentlemen's places she had her Mass. This coming to the ears of John Knox, he began that form of prayer which ordinarily he sayeth after thanksgiving at his table: "1. Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of idolatry. 2. Preserve and keep us from the tyranny of strangers. 3. Continue us in quietness and concord amongst ourselves, if Thy good pleasure be, O Lord, for a season," etc. Divers of the familiars of the said John asked him why he prayed for quietness to continue for a season, and not rather absolutely that we should continue in quietness. His answer was that he durst not pray but in faith; and faith in God's Word assured him that constant quietness could not continue in that realm where idolatry had been suppressed, and then been permitted to be erected again.

From the West country, the Queen passed to Argyll to the hunting, and afterwards returned to Stirling. The Earl of Moray, the Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, and Lord John of Coldingham, passed to the Northland. Justice Courts were holden; thieves and murderers were punished; two

witches were burned, the elder so blinded with the Devil that she affirmed that no judge had power over her.

The Death of Lord John of Coldingham.

At that same time, Lord John of Coldingham departed this life in Inverness. It was affirmed that he commanded such as were beside him to say to the Queen that, unless she left off her idolatry, God would not fail to plague her. He asked God's mercy that he had so far borne with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the same. No one thing did he more regret than that he had flattered, fostered, and maintained her in her wickedness against God and His servants. And in very deed he had great cause to lament his wickedness; for, besides all his other infirmities, he, in the end, for the Queen's pleasure, became enemy to virtue and virtuous men, and a patron to impiety to the uttermost of his power. Yea, his venom was so kindled against God and his Word, that in his rage he burst forth with these words: "Before I see the Queen's Majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves, I shall have the best of them sticked in the pulpit."

What further villainy came forth from the stinking throats and mouths of both, modesty will not suffer us to write. If Lord John had grace to repent unfeignedly thereof, it is no small document to God's mercies. Howsoever God wrought with him, the Queen regarded his words as wind, or else thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himself. She affirmed plainly that they were devised by the Laird of Pittarrow and Mr. John Wood, both of whom she hated, because they did not flatter her in her dancing and other doings. One thing in plain words she spake, "God always took from her those persons in whom she had greatest pleasure:" that she repented; but of further wickedness there was no mention.

Mass-mongers at Holyrood take Fright.

While the Queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her chapel, certain dontibours and others of the French menyie were left in the Palace of Holyroodhouse. These raised up their Mass more publicly than they had done at any time before. Upon those same Sundays that the Church of Edinburgh had the ministration of the Lord's Table, the Papists, in great numbers, resorted to the Abbey, to their abomination. This understood, divers of the brethren, being sorely offended, consulted as to redress of that enormity. Certain of the most zealous and most upright in the religion, were appointed to watch the Abbey, and note the persons who resorted to the Mass. Perceiving a great number to enter the chapel, some of the brethren did also burst in. Thereat the priest and the French dames, being afraid, made the shout to be sent to the town; while Madame Raulet, mistress of the Queen's dontibours (for maids that court could not then bear) posted on with all diligence to the Comptroller, the Laird of Pittarrow, who was then in St. Giles's Kirk at the sermon, and cried for his assistance, to save her life and to save the Queen's Palace. He, with greater haste than need required, obeyed her desire, and took with him the Provost, the Bailies, and a great part of the faithful. But when they came to the place where the fear was bruited to have been, they found all things quiet, except the tumult they brought with themselves, and peaceable men looking to the Papists, and forbidding them to transgress the laws.

The Papists devise Mischief.

True it is that a zealous brother, named Patrick Cranston, passed into the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the priest ready to go to that abomination, the Mass, said, "The Queen's Majesty is not here; how darest thou then be so malapert, as openly to do against the law?" No further was done or said, and yet the bruit was posted to the Queen,

with such information as the Papists could give; and this found as much credit as their hearts could have wished for. Here was so heinous a crime in her eyes, that there was no satisfaction for that sin, without blood. Without delay, Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston were summoned to find surety to underlie the law, for "forethought, felony, hamesucken, [215] violent invasion of the Queens Palace, and for spoliation of the same."

When those summonses were divulged, the extremity was feared, and the few brethren that were in town consulted as to the next remedy. In the end, it was concluded that John Knox (to whom the charge had been given to spread intelligence whenever danger should appear) should write to the brethren in all quarters, giving information as to how the matter stood, and requiring their assistance. This he did in tenor as here follows--

John Knox's Letter to the Brethren: 8th October 1563.

"'Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.'

"It is not unknown unto you, dear brethren, what comfort and tranquillity God gave to us, in most dangerous times, by our Christian assemblies, and godly conferences, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our body: and that, since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our conventions and assemblies, the adversaries of the holy Evangel of Christ Jesus have enterprised, and boldened themselves, publicly and secretly, to do many things odious in God's presence, and most hurtful to the liberty of true religion, now granted unto us by God's great favour. The holy Sacraments are abused by profane Papists. Masses have been, and yet are, openly said and maintained. The blood of some of our dearest ministers has been shed, without fear of punishment or correction being craved by us.

"And now, are two of our dear brethren, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, summoned to underlie the law, in the town of Edinburgh, the 24th of this instant October, 'for forethought, felony, pretended murder, and for invading the Queen's Majesty's Palace of Holyroodhouse, with unlawful convocation,' etc. This terrible summons is directed against our brethren, because they, with two or three more, passed to the Abbey upon Sunday, the 15th of August, to behold and note what persons repaired to the Mass. They did so, because on the Sunday before (the Queen's Grace being absent) there resorted to that idol a rascal multitude, the Papists having openly the least devilish ceremony, [216] yea, even the conjuring of their accursed water, that ever they had in the time of greatest blindness. Because, I say, our said brethren went, in most quiet manner, to note such abusers, these fearful summonses are directed against them; no doubt, to make preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. If it so come to pass, God, no doubt, has justly recompensed our former negligence and ingratitude towards Him and His benefits received in our own bosoms.

"God gave to us a most notable victory over His and our enemies: He brake their strength, and confounded their counsels: He set us at freedom, and purged this realm, for the most part, of open idolatry; to the end that we, ever mindful of so wondrous a deliverance, should have kept this realm clean from such vile filthiness, and damnable idolatry. But we, alas! preferring the pleasure of flesh and blood to the pleasure and commandment of our God, have suffered that idol, the Mass, to be erected again; and therefore justly does He now suffer us to fall into such danger that to look at an idolater going to his idolatry shall be reputed a crime little inferior to treason. God grant that we fall not further.

"God has, of His mercy, made me one amongst many to travail in setting forward His true religion within this realm, and I, seeing the same in danger of ruin, cannot but of conscience crave of you, my brethren, of all Estates, that have professed the truth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, on the said day, in the town of Edinburgh, even as ye tender the advancement of God's glory, the safety of your brethren, and your own assurance, together with the preservation of the Kirk in these apparent dangers.

"It may be, perchance, that persuasion will be made to the contrary, and that ye may be informed either that your assembly is not necessary, or else that it will offend the upper powers. But my good hope is that neither flattery nor fear shall make you so far to decline from Christ Jesus as that, against your public promise and solemn bond, ye will desert your brethren in so just a cause. Albeit there were no great danger, our assembly cannot be unprofitable; many things require consultation, and this cannot be had, unless the wisest and godliest convene. Thus, doubting nothing of the assistance of our God if we uniformly seek His glory, I cease further to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternal."

John Knox is betrayed.

The brethren, advertised by this bill, prepared themselves (as many as were thought expedient for every town and province) to keep the day appointed. But by the means of false brethren, the letter came to the hands of the Queen, in this manner. It was read in the town of Ayr, where was present Robert Cunningham, minister of Failford, who then was reputed an earnest professor of the Evangel. He, by means we know not, got the said letter, and sent it with his token to Master Henry Sinclair, then President of the Seat and College of Justice, and styled Bishop of Ross, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy of Christ

Jesus, whom God afterwards struck according to his deservings. The said Mr. Henry was enemy to all that unfeignedly professed the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue; for he had affirmed, as ever still he doth affirm, that a bishop that receives profit, and feeds not the flock by his own labours, is both a thief and a murderer. The said Mr. Henry, thinking himself happy to have found so good occasion to trouble John Knox, whose life he hated, posted the said letter, with his counsel, to the Queen, who then lay in Stirling.

John Knox is accused of High Treason.

The letter being read, it was concluded by the Council of the Cabinet, that is, by the most secret Council, that it imported treason; and the Queen was not a little rejoiced, for she thought to be revenged for once on her great enemy. It was also concluded that the Nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority. The day appointed was about the midst of December; and this was kept by the whole Council, and by divers others, such as the Master of Maxwell, the old Laird of Lethington, and the said President. In the meantime, the Earl of Moray returned from the north, and to him the Secretary Lethington opened the matter as best pleased him.

The Master of Maxwell gave the said John as it had been a discharge of the familiarity which before was great between them, unless he would agree to satisfy the Queen at her own sight. [217]

Knox. I know no offence done by me to the Queen's Majesty, and therefore I wot not what satisfaction to make.

Maxwell. No offence! Have ye not written letters desiring the brethren to convene from all parts to Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranston's day?

Knox. That I grant, but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me.

Maxwell. No offence, to convocate the Queen's lieges?

Knox. Not for so just a cause: greater things were reputed no offence within these two years past.

Maxwell. The time is now other: then our Sovereign was absent, and now she is present.

Knox. It is neither the absence nor the presence of the Queen that rules my conscience, but God speaking plainly in His Word. What was lawful to me last year is yet lawful, because my God is unchangeable.

Maxwell. Well, I have given you my counsel, do as ye list; but I think ye shall repent it, if ye bow not to the Queen.

Knox. I understand not, Master, what ye mean. I never made myself an adversary to the Queen's Majesty, except in the head of religion, and therein I think ye will not desire me to bow.

Maxwell. Well, ye are wise enough; but ye will find that men will not bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times by-past.

Knox. If God stand my friend, as I am assured He of His mercy will, so long as I depend upon His promise, and prefer His glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themselves towards me; nor yet know I wherein men have borne with me in times past, unless it be that from my mouth they have heard the Word of God. If, in times to come, they refuse it, my heart will be pierced and for a season will lament; but the incommodity will be their own.

After these words, of which the Laird of Lochinvar was witness, they parted. To this day, the 17th of December, 1571, they have not met in such familiarity as they had formerly.

The Lord Advocate gives his Opinion.

The bruit of the accusation of John Knox being divulged, Mr. John Spens of Condie, Lord Advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that professed the doctrine of the Evangel, came, as it were in secret, to John Knox, to inquire the cause of that great bruit. The said John was

plain to him in all things, and showed him the double [218] of the letter. When he had heard and considered this, he said, "I thank my God. I came to you with a fearful and sorrowful heart, fearing that ye had done such a crime as laws might have punished. That would have been no small trouble to the hearts of all who have received the word of life which ye have preached. I depart greatly rejoiced, as well because I perceive your own comfort, even in the midst of your troubles, as that I clearly understand that ye have committed no such crime as ye are burdened with. Ye will be accused, but God will assist you." And so he departed.

The Earl of Moray and Secretary Lethington reason with John Knox.

The Earl of Moray and the Secretary sent for the said John Knox to the Clerk of Register's house, and began to lament that he had so highly offended the Queen's Majesty. That, they feared, would come to a great inconvenience to himself, if he were not wisely foreseen. They showed what pains and travail they had taken to mitigate her anger, but they could find nothing but extremity, unless he himself would confess his offence, and put himself in her Grace's will.

Knox. I praise my God, through Jesus Christ, that I have learned not to cry conjuration and treason at everything that the godless multitude does condemn, or yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the testimony of a good conscience that I have given no occasion to the Queen's Majesty to be offended with me; for I have done nothing but my duty. So, whatsoever shall ensue, my good hope is that my God will give me patience to bear it. But far be it from me to confess an offence where my conscience witnesseth there is none.

Lethington. How can it be defended? Have ye not made convocation of the Queen's lieges?

Knox. If I have not a just defence for my act, let me smart for it.

Moray. Let us hear your defences; we would be glad that ye might be found innocent.

Knox. Nay, I am informed by divers, and even by you, my Lord Secretary, that I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged. Therefore I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defences.

At those words they seemed both offended; and the Secretary departed. But the Earl of Moray remained still, and would have entered into further discourse with the said John concerning the state of the Court. But he answered, "My Lord, I understand more than I would of the affairs of the Court; and therefore it is not needful that your Lordship trouble with the recounting of it. If you stand in good case, I am content; and if you do not, as I fear ye do not already, or else ye shall not do before long, blame not me. Ye have the counsellors whom ye have chosen; my weak judgment both ye and they despised. I can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God may be other than my troubled heart feareth."

John Knox is brought before the Queen and Privy Council.

Within four days, the said John was called before the Queen and Council betwixt six and seven o'clock at night. The season of the year was the midst of December. The bruit rising in the town that John Knox was sent for by the Queen, the brethren of the Kirk followed in such number that the inner close was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber door where the Queen and Council sat. These had been reasoning amongst themselves before, but had not fully satisfied the Secretary's mind. And so the Queen had retired to her cabinet, and the Lords were talking each one with other, as occasion served. Upon the entrance of John Knox, they were commanded to take their places, and did so, sitting as Councillors, one opposite another.

The Duke of Chatelherault, according to his dignity, began the one

side. Upon the other side sat the Earl of Argyll, and in order of precedence followed the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Glencairn, the Earl Marischall, the Lord Ruthven, then the common officers, Pittarrow, then Comptroller, the Justice Clerk, and Mr. John Spens of Condie, Lord Advocate; divers others stood by. Removed from the table sat old Lethington, father to the Secretary, Mr. Henry Sinclair, then Bishop of Ross, and Mr. James M'Gill, Clerk Register.

The Trial of John Knox for High Treason.

Things thus put in order, the Queen came forth, and, with no little worldly pomp, was placed in the chair, having two faithful supporters, the Master of Maxwell upon the one tor [219] and Secretary Lethington on the other tor of the chair. There they waited diligently all the time of that accusation, sometimes the one occupying her ear, sometimes the other. Her pomp lacked one principal point, to wit, womanly gravity; for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bare-headed, she first smiled, and after gave a gawf of laughter. When her placeboes gave their plaudits, affirming, with like countenance, "This is a good beginning," she said: "But wot ye whereat I laugh? Yon man gared me greet, [220] and grat never tear himself: I will see if I can gar him greet." At that word the Secretary whispered her in the ear, and she him again, and with that gave him a letter. After inspecting this, he directed his visage and speech to John Knox.

Lethington. The Queen's Majesty is informed that ye have travailed to raise a tumult of her subjects against her, and for certification thereof, there is presented to her your own letter subscribed in your name. Yet, because her Grace will do nothing without a good advisement, she has convened you before this part of the Nobility, that they may witness betwixt you and her.

Queen. Let him acknowledge his own handwriting, and then shall we judge

of the contents of the letter.

So the letter was presented from hand to hand to John Knox, who examined it.

Knox. I gladly acknowledge this to be my handwriting; and also I remember that I indited a letter to the brethren in sundry quarters, in the month of October, giving signification of such things as displeased me. So good opinion have I of the fidelity of the scribes that they would not willingly adulterate my original, albeit I left divers subscribed blanks with them, I acknowledge both handwriting and ditement. [221]

Lethington. Ye have done more than I would have done.

Knox. Charity is not suspicious.

Queen. Well, well, read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you.

Knox. I shall do the best I can.

With loud voice he began to read the letter already quoted. After it was read to the end, it was presented again to Mr. John Spens; for the Queen commanded him to accuse, as he afterwards did, but very gently.

Queen. Heard ye ever, my Lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter?

No man gave answer, and Lethington addressed himself to John Knox.

Lethington. Master Knox, are ye not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a letter has passed your pen, and from you is come to the knowledge of others.

Knox. My Lord Secretary, before I repent I must be taught of my offence.

Lethington. Offence! If there were no more than the convocation of the Queen's lieges, the offence could not be denied.

Knox. Remember yourself, my Lord. There is a difference betwixt a

lawful convocation, and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I have often offended since I came last to Scotland: for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this day in which my pen served not? Before this, no man laid it to my charge as a crime.

Lethington. Then was then, and now is now. We have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had.

Knox. The time that has been is even now before my eyes; for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the Devil has gotten a visor upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry: and then, I think ye will confess, the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives. Now the Devil comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength.

Queen. What is this? Methinks ye trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?

Lord Ruthven. No, Madam, for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily; and, whatever your Grace or others think thereof, we think it no treason.

Queen. Hold your peace, and let him make answer for himself.

Knox. Madam, I began to reason with the Secretary, whom I take to be a far better dialectician than your Grace is, that all convocations are not unlawful. And now my Lord Ruthven has given the instance. If your Grace will deny this, I shall address myself to the proof.

Queen. I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons. But what authority have ye to convocate my subjects when ye will, without my commandment?

Knox. I have no pleasure to decline from the former purpose. And yet, Madam, to satisfy your Grace's two questions, I answer that at my will

I never convened four persons in Scotland; but, upon the instructions of the brethren, I have given divers notifications, and great multitudes have assembled. If your Grace complain that this was done without your Grace's commandment, I answer--So has all that God has blessed within this realm from the beginning of this action. Therefore, Madam, I must be convicted by a just law that I have done against the duty of God's messenger in writing this letter, before either I be sorry, or yet repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary would persuade me. What I have done, I have done at the commandment of the general Kirk of this realm; and, therefore, I think I have done no wrong.

Queen. Ye shall not escape so. Is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be Acts of Parliament against such whisperers.

That was granted by many.

Knox. But wherein can I be accused?

Queen. Read this part of your own bill, which began, "These fearful summonses are directed against them, to wit the brethren foresaid, to make, no doubt, preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude." Lo, what say ye to that?

Many doubted what the said John should answer.

Knox. Is it lawful for me, Madam, to answer for myself? Or shall I be condemned before I be heard?

Queen. Say what ye can, for I think ye have enough ado.

Knox. I will first, then, desire this of your Grace, Madam, and of this most honourable audience, whether your Grace knows not that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?

The Queen held her peace; but all the Lords, with common voice, said, "God forbid that either the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of teaching and preaching, stood in the power of the Papists: just experience has told us what cruelty lies in their hearts."

Knox. I must proceed, then, seeing that I perceive that all will grant that it was a barbarous cruelty to destroy such a multitude as profess the Evangel of Jesus Christ within this realm. This, oftener than once or twice, has been attempted by force, as things done of late days do testify. Disappointed by God and His providence, the Papists have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the prince party, under colour of law: what they could not do by open force, they hope to perform by crafty deceit. For who thinks, my Lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists within this realm shall end in the murdering of these two brethren now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? I think no man of judgment can so esteem, but rather the direct contrary; that is, by this few number they intend to prepare a way to bloody enterprises against the whole. Therefore, Madam, cast up when ye list the Acts of your Parliament. I have offended nothing against them. In my letter, I accuse neither your Grace nor your nature of cruelty. But I affirm yet again that the pestilent Papists, who have inflamed your Grace without cause against those poor men at this present, are the sons of the Devil; and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a murderer from the beginning.

A Councillor. Ye forget yourself, ye are not now in the pulpit.

Knox. I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore I speak. The truth I speak, impugn it whoso list. And hereunto I add, Madam, that honest, gentle, and meek natures by appearance, may, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, be converted and

altered to the direct contrary. We have example in Nero, who, in the beginning of his empire, had some natural shame; but, after his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alleging that nothing was either unhonest nor yet unlawful for the personage of him who was emperor above others--when he had drunken of this cup, I say, to what enormities he fell: the histories bear witness. And now, Madam, to speak plainly, Papists and conjured enemies to Jesus Christ have your Grace's ear patent at all times. I assure your Grace they are dangerous counsellors, and that your mother found.

As this was said, Lethington smiled, and spake secretly to the Queen in her ear; what it was, the table heard not. But immediately she addressed her visage, and spake to John Knox.

Queen. Well, ye speak fair enough here before my Lords; but the last time I spake with you secretly, ye caused me greet many salt tears, and said to me stubbornly that ye set not by my greeting.

Knox. Madam, because now, the second time, your Grace has burdened me with that crime, I must answer, lest for my silence I be holden guilty. If your Grace be ripely remembered, the Laird of Dun, yet living to testify the truth, was present at the time whereof your Grace complains. Your Grace accused me of having irreverently handled you in the pulpit; that I denied. Ye said, What ado had I to speak of your marriage? What was I, that I should mell with such matters? I answered that, as touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a subject of this commonwealth; but as touching the office wherein it had pleased God to place me, I was a watchman, both over the realm and over the Kirk of God gathered within the same. For that reason, I was bound in conscience to blow the trumpet publicly, oft as ever I saw any upfall, [222] any appearing danger, either to the one or to the other. A certain bruit affirmed that traffic of marriage was betwixt your Grace

and the Spanish ally; and as to that I said that if your Nobility and Estates did agree--unless both ye and your husband should be so straitly bound that neither of you might hurt this commonwealth, nor yet the poor Kirk of God within the same--in that case I would pronounce that the consenters were troublers of this commonwealth, and enemies to God, and to His promise [223] planted within it. At these words, I grant, your Grace stormed, and burst forth into an unreasonable weeping. What mitigation the Laird of Dun would have made, I suppose your Grace has not forgotten. While nothing was able to stay your weeping, I was compelled to say, "I take God to record that I never took pleasure to see any creature weep, yea, not my children when my own hands had beaten them, much less can I rejoice to see your Grace make such regret. But, seeing that I have offered your Grace no such occasion, I must rather suffer your Grace to take your own pleasure, before I dare conceal the truth, and so betray both the Kirk of God and my commonwealth." These were the most extreme words that I spoke that day.

After the Secretary had conferred with the Queen, he said, "Mr. Knox, ye may return to your house for this night."

"I thank God and the Queen's Majesty," said the other. "And, Madam, I pray God to purge your heart from Papistry, and to preserve you from the counsel of flatterers; for, however pleasant they appear to your ear and corrupt affections for the time, experience has told us into what perplexity they have brought famous princes."

Lethington and the Master of Maxwell were that night the two stoops [224] of her chair.

The Verdict of the Privy Council.

John Knox being departed, it was demanded of the Lords and others that were present, every man by his vote, whether John Knox had not offended

the Queen's Majesty. The Lords voted uniformly that they could find no offence. The Queen had retired to her cabinet. The flatterers of the Court, and Lethington principally, raged. The Queen was brought again, and placed in her chair, and they were commanded to vote over again. This highly offended the whole Nobility, who began to speak in open audience. "What! shall the Laird of Lethington have power to control us: or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent against our conscience, for pleasure of any creature?" And so the whole Nobility absolved John Knox again, and praised God for his modesty, and for his plain and sensible answers. Yea, before the end, it is to be noted that, among so many placeboes, we mean the flatterers of the Court, there was not one that plainly durst condemn the poor man that was accused, this same God ruling their tongue, as once He ruled the tongue of Balaam, when he would gladly have cursed God's people.

The Displeasure of the Queen.

When this was perceived, the Queen began to upbraid Mr. Henry Sinclair, then Bishop of Ross, and said, hearing his vote to agree with the rest, "Trouble not the bairn: I pray you trouble him not; for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of them that have passed before him." The bishop answered coldly, "Your Grace may consider that it is neither affection to the man, nor yet love to his profession, that moves me to absolve him; but the simple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me after it, albeit others would have condemned him." This said, the Lords and whole assisters arose and departed. That night was neither dancing nor fiddling in the Court; for Madam was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have had John Knox at her disposal by vote of her Nobility.

John Knox, absolved by the votes of the greatest part of the Nobility

from the crime intended against him, even in the presence of the Queen, she raged, and the placeboes of the Court stormed. And so began new assaults to be made upon the said John, to confess an offence, and to put himself in the Queen's will, they promising that his greatest punishment should be to go within the Castle of Edinburgh, and immediately return to his own home. He answered, "God forbid that my confession should condemn those noble men who for their conscience' sake, and with the displeasure of the Queen, have absolved me. And, further, I am assured that ye will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless ye would desire me to cease from preaching: for how can I exhort others to peace and Christian quietness, if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?"

The General Assembly: December 1563.

At the General Assembly of the Kirk, the just petitions of the ministers and commissioners of kirks were despised at the first, with these words, "As ministers will not follow our counsels, so will we suffer ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come." And when the whole Assembly said, "If the Queen will not provide for our ministers, we must; for both Third and Two-part are rigorously taken from us, and from our tenants." "If others," said one, "will follow my counsel, the gaird [225] and the Papists shall complain as long as our ministers have done." At these words the former sharpness was coloured, [226] and the speaker alleged that he did not refer to all ministers, but to some to whom the Queen was no debtor; for what Third received she of burghs? Christopher Goodman answered, "My Lord Secretary, if ye can show me what just title either the Queen has to the Third, or the Papists to the Two-part, then I think I should solve whether she were debtor to ministers within burghs or not." But thereto he received this check for answer, "Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in

aliena Republica;" that is, "Let not a stranger be curious in a strange commonwealth." The man of God answered, "Albeit I be a stranger in your polity, I am not so in the Kirk of God; and its care does no less appertain to me in Scotland than if I were in the midst of England."

John Knox demands the Judgment of his Brethren.

Many wondered at the silence of John Knox; for in all those quick reasonings he opened not his mouth. The cause thereof he himself expressed in those words: "I have travailed, right honourable and beloved Brethren, since my last arrival within this realm, in an upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as He is my witness, than the advancement of His glory, and the stability of His Kirk within this realm; and yet of late days I have been accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurps to myself power that becomes me not. True it is that I have given notification to the Brethren in divers quarters concerning the extremity intended against certain faithful men for looking at a priest going to Mass, and for observing those that transgressed just laws; but that therein I have usurped further power than is given to me, until I be condemned by you, I utterly deny.

"I say that by you, that is, by the charge of the General Assembly, I have as just power to advertise the Brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have authority to preach the Word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you I was appointed to the one and to the other; and, therefore, in the name of God, I crave your judgments. The danger that appeared to me in my accusation was not so fearful as were the words that came to my ears dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, 'What can the Pope do more than send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed.'

Let me have your judgments whether I have usurped any power to myself,

or if I have but obeyed your commandment."

The flatterers of the Court, amongst whom Sir John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, was then not the least, began to storm, and said, "Shall we be compelled to justify the rash doings of men?" "My Lord," said John Knox, "ye shall speak your pleasure for the present: of you I crave nothing; but if the Kirk that is here present do not either absolve me, or else condemn me, never shall I in public or in private, as a public minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning."

Acquittal of John Knox by the General Assembly.

The said John being removed, the whole Kirk found, after long contention, that a charge was given to him to warn the brethren in all quarters as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that act not to be his only, but to be the act of all. Thereat were the Queen's clawbacks [227] more enraged than ever they were before; for some of them had promised to the Queen to get the said John convicted, both by the Council and by the Kirk; and, being frustrated of both, she and they thought themselves not a little disappointed....

Signs of God's Displeasure.

God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that He was offended at the iniquity that was committed even within this realm; for upon the 20th day of January there fell wet in great abundance, which in falling froze so vehemently, that the earth was but one sheet of ice. The fowls, [228] both great and small, froze, and might not fly: many died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might resolve. In that same month the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed for the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the 15th and 18th days thereof, there were seen in the firmament battles arrayed, spears and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies. These

things were not only observed, but also spoken of and constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit.

Lavish Entertainments at Court.

But the Queen and our Court made merry. There was banqueting upon banqueting. The Queen banqueted all the Lords; and that was done upon policy, to remove the suspicion of her displeasure against them, because they would not, at her devotion, condemn John Knox. To remove, we say, that jealousy, she made the banquet to the whole Lords, and thereat she would have the Duke of Chatelherault amongst the rest. It behoved them to banquet her again; and so did banqueting continue till Fastern's-e'en [229] and after. But the poor ministers were mocked, and reputed as monsters; the guard, and the affairs of the kitchen were so griping, [230] that the ministers' stipends could not be paid.

The Queen's broken Promises.

And yet at the Assembly preceding, solemn promise of redress had been made in the Queen's name, by the mouth of Secretary Lethington, in audience of many of the nobility and of the whole Assembly. He had affirmed that he had commandment of her Highness to promise them full contentation [231] of things bygone to all the ministers within the realm; and that, such order would be kept in all times to come, the whole body of the Protestants would have occasion to stand content. The Earl of Moray affirmed the same, and many other fair promises had been given in writing by Lethington himself, as may be seen from the register of the Acts done in the General Assembly. But the world can witness how far that, or any other promise by her, or in her name, to the Kirk of God, was observed.

Secretary Lethington defies the Servants of God.

The ministers perceiving all things tend to ruin, discharged their conscience in public and private; but they received for their labours

hatred and indignation. Amongst others, that worthy servant of God, Mr. John Craig, speaking against the manifest corruption that then declared itself without shame or fear, said, "At one time, hypocrites were known by their disguised habits, and we had men as monks, and women as nuns; but now, all things are so changed that we cannot discern the earl from the abbot, or the nun from such as would be held noblewomen; so that we have got a new order of monks and nuns. But, seeing that ye are not ashamed of that unjust profit, would God that therewith ye had the cowl of the nun, the veil, yea, and the tail joined with all, that so ye might appear in your own colours." Their liberty did so provoke the choler of Lethington, that, in open audience, he gave himself to the Devil, if ever after that day he should regard what became of ministers. He should do what he could that his companions should have a skair [232] with him; "and let them bark and blow," said he, "as loud as they list." That was the second time that he had given his defiance to the servants of God.

The Courtiers and the Kirk.

Hereupon rose whispering and complaints by the flatterers of the Court. Men were not charitably handled, said they: "Might not sins be reproved in general, albeit men were not so specially taxed, that all the world might know of whom the preacher spake?" To this the answer was made, "Let men be ashamed to offend publicly, and the ministers shall abstain from specialities; but so long as Protestants are not ashamed manifestly to act against the Evangel of Jesus Christ, so long cannot the ministers of God cease to cry that God will be revenged upon such abusers of His holy Word." Thus had the servants of God a double battle; fighting upon the one side against the idolatry and the rest of the abominations maintained by the Queen; and upon the other part, against the unthankfulness of such as sometime would have been esteemed

the chief pillars of the Kirk within the realm. The threatenings of the preachers were fearful; but the Court thought itself in such security that it could not miscarry.

The Queen, after the banqueting, kept a diet by direction of Monsieur la Usurie, Frenchman, who had been acquainted with her malady before, being her physician. And thereafter, for the second time, she made her progresses to the North, and commanded the Earl of Caithness to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, for a murder committed by his servants upon the Earl Marischall's men. He obeyed, but he was speedily relieved; for bloodthirsty men and Papists, such as he is, are best subjects to the Queen. "Thy kingdom come, O Lord; for in this realm there is nothing (amongst such as should punish vice and maintain virtue) but abomination abounding without bridle."

The Courtiers rouse John Knox: he preaches concerning Idolatry.

The flatterers of the Court did daily enrage against the poor preachers: happiest was he that could invent the most bitter taunts and disdainful mockings of the ministers. At length they began to jest at the term of idolatry, affirming, "That men wist not what they spake when they called the Mass idolatry." Yea, some proceeded further, and feared not at open tables to affirm, that they would sustain the argument that the Mass was no idolatry. These things coming to the ears of the preachers, were proclaimed in the public pulpit of Edinburgh, with this complaint directed by the speaker to his God. "O Lord, how long shall the wicked prevail against the just! How long shalt Thou suffer Thyself and Thy blessed Evangel to be despised of men; of men, we say, that make themselves defenders of the truth. Of Thy manifest and known enemies we complain not, but of such as unto whom Thou hast revealed Thy light: for now it comes to our ears that men, not Papists, but chief Protestants, will defend the Mass to be no idolatry. If this

were so, O Lord, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably, alas, O Lord, have I deceived Thy people; and that Thou knowest, O Lord, I have ever abhorred more than a thousand deaths."

Turning his face towards the room where sat such men as had so affirmed, "If I be not able to prove the Mass to be the most abominable idolatry that ever was used since the beginning of the world, I offer myself to suffer the punishment appointed by God to a false teacher; and it appears to me that the affirmers should be subject to the same law; for it is the truth of God that ye persecute and blaspheme; and it is the invention of the Devil that, obstinately against His Word, ye maintain. Albeit ye now flyrt and flyre, [233] as though all that were spoken were but wind, yet am I as assured, as I am that my God liveth, that some that hear your defection and railing against the truth and the servants of God, shall see a part of God's judgments poured forth upon this realm, and principally upon you that fastest cleave to the favour of the Court, for the abominations that are maintained by you."

Such vehemence provoked the tears of some, yet those men that knew themselves guilty said, in a mocking manner, "We must recant, and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry."

The General Assembly: June 1564.

The General Assembly, held in June 1564, approaching, to this the great part of those of the Nobility that are called Protestants, convened; some for assistance of the ministers, and some to accuse them.... On the first day of the General Assembly, the Courtiers and the Lords that depended upon the Court, did not present themselves in session with their brethren. Many wondering thereat, an ancient and honourable man, the Laird of Lundie, said, "Nay, I wonder not of their present absence; but I wonder that, at our last Assembly, they drew themselves apart, and joined not with us, but drew from us some of our ministers, and

willed them to conclude such things as were never proponed in the public Assembly. That appears to me to be very prejudicial to the liberty of the Kirk. My judgment is, therefore, that they be informed of this offence, which the whole brethren have conceived of their former fault; with humble request that, if they be brethren, they will assist their brethren with their presence and counsel, for we never had greater need. If they be minded to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now than afterwards." The whole Assembly agreed to this, and gave commission to certain brethren to signify the minds of the Assembly to the Lords: that was done on the same afternoon.

The Protestant Courtiers maintain an independent Position.

At first, the Courtiers seemed not a little offended that they should be suspected of defection: yet, upon the morrow, they joined with the Assembly, and came into it. But they drew themselves apart, as they had done before, and entered the Inner Council House. There were the Duke's Grace, the Earls Argyll, Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Marischall, and Rothes; the Master of Maxwell, Secretary Lethington, the Justice Clerk, the Clerk Register, and the Comptroller, the Laird of Pittarrow.

After a little consultation, they directed a messenger, Mr. George Hay, then called the Minister of the Court, requiring the Superintendents, and some of the learned ministers, to confer with them.

The Assembly answered that they had convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the Kirk; and therefore, that they could not lack their superintendents and chief ministers, whose judgments were so necessary that, without them, the rest should sit as it were idle. They therefore, as before, willed them that, if they acknowledged themselves members of the Kirk, they would join with the brethren, and propone in public such things as they pleased; and so they should have the assistance of the whole in all things that might conform to God's

commandment. Hurt and slander might arise, rather than any profit or comfort to the Kirk, were they to send from themselves a portion of their company. For they feared that all men should not stand content with the conclusion, where the conference and reasons were only heard by a few.

This answer was not given without cause; for no small travail was made to have drawn some ministers to the faction of the courtiers, and to have sustained their arguments and opinions. But when it was perceived by the most politic amongst them that they could not prevail by that means, they proponed the matter in other terms. Purging themselves first that they never meant to divide themselves from the society of their brethren, they said that they had certain heads to confer with certain ministers; and that, to prevent confusion, they thought it more expedient to have the conference before a few, rather than in the public audience. The Assembly did still reply, that they would not admit secret conference upon those heads that must be concluded by a general vote.

The Lords promised that no conclusion should be taken, or yet vote required, until their propositions and the reasons should both be heard and considered by the whole Assembly. Upon that condition, there were directed to them, with express charge to conclude nothing without the knowledge and advice of the Assembly, the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of Angus, the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Craig, William Christison, and Mr. David Lindsay, ministers, with the Rector of St. Andrews, and Mr. George Hay. The Superintendent of Glasgow, Mr. John Willock, was moderator, and John Knox waited upon the scribe. And so they were appointed to sit with the brethren. Because the principal complaint touched John Knox, he was also called for.

Secretary Lethington defines the Attitude of the Lords of the Court.

Secretary Lethington began the harangue, which contained these heads: First, how much we were indebted unto God, by whose providence we had liberty of religion under the Queen's Majesty, albeit she was not persuaded in it herself: Secondly, how necessary a thing it was that the Queen's Majesty, by all good offices, so spake he, of the Kirk, and of the ministers principally, should be retained in the constant opinion that they unfeignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her subjects to have a good opinion of her: And, lastly, how dangerous a thing it was that ministers should be noted to disagree one from another, in form of prayer for Her Majesty, or in doctrine concerning obedience to Her Majesty's authority. "And in these two last heads," said he, "we desire you all to be circumspect; but especially we must crave of you, our brother, John Knox, to moderate yourself, as well in form of praying for the Queens Majesty, as in doctrine that ye propone touching her estate and obedience. Neither shall ye take this," said he, "as spoken to your reproach, quia nevus interdum in corpore pulchro, but because others by your example may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the same modesty and foresight; and wise men do foresee the opinion that may engender in the people's heads."

The Disputation between John Knox and the Secretary.

John Knox. If such as fear God have occasion to praise Him because idolatry is maintained, the servants of God are despised, wicked men are placed again in honour and authority, and, finally, because vice and impiety overflow this whole realm without punishment, then have we occasion to rejoice and to praise God. But if those and the like actions are wont to provoke God's vengeance against realms and nations, then, in my judgment, the godly within Scotland ought to lament and mourn; and so to prevent [234] God's judgments, lest He, finding all in a like security, strike in His hot indignation, perchance beginning at

such as think they offend not.

Lethington. That is a head wherein ye and I never agreed; for how are ye able to prove that ever God struck or plagued a nation or people for the iniquity of their prince, if they themselves lived godly?

Knox. I looked, my Lord, to have audience, until I had absolved the other two parts; but seeing that it pleases your Lordship to cut me off before the midst, I will answer your question. The Scripture of God teaches me that Jerusalem and Judah were punished for the sin of Manasseh; and if ye will allege that they were punished because they were wicked, and offended with their king, and not because their king was wicked, I answer that, albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, saying in express words, "For the sin of Manasseh," yet will I not be so obstinate as to lay the whole sin, and the plagues that followed, upon the king, and utterly absolve the people. I will grant you that the whole people offended with the king: but how, and in what fashion, I fear that ye and I shall not agree. I doubt not but that the great multitude accompanied him in all the abominations which he did; for idolatry and a false religion have ever been, are, and will be pleasing to the most part of men. To affirm that all Judah committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither has certainty, nor yet appearance of truth. Who can think it possible that all those of Jerusalem should so shortly turn to external idolatry, considering the notable reformation in the days of Hezekiah, a short time before? But yet, the text says, "Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err." True it is; for the one part willingly followed him in his idolatry, and the other, by reason of his authority, suffered him to defile Jerusalem, and the temple of God, with all abominations. So were they all criminal for his sin; the one by act and deed, the other by suffering and permission. Even so, all Scotland is guilty this

day of the Queen's idolatry, and ye, my Lords, especially, above all others.

Lethington. Well, that is the chief head wherein we never agreed; but of that we shall speak hereafter. What will ye say as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the Queen's Majesty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her authority, as also of the form of the prayer which commonly ye use, and so on?

Knox. My Lord, a good conscience will not suffer me to move the people more earnestly, or to pray otherwise than heretofore I have done. He who knows the secrets of hearts knows that, privately and publicly, I have called to God for the Queen's conversion, and have willed the people to do the same, showing them the dangerous estate wherein not only she herself stands, but also the whole realm, by the reason of her indurate blindness.

Lethington. That is exactly wherein we find greatest fault. Your extremity against the Queen's Mass, in particular, passes measure. Ye call her a slave to Satan; ye affirm that God's vengeance hangs over the realm by reason of her impiety; and what is this else but to rouse up the heart of the people against Her Majesty, and against them that serve her?

There was heard an exclamation from the rest of the flatterers that such extremity could not profit. The Master of Maxwell said in plain words, "If I were in the Queen's Majesty's place, I would not suffer such things as I hear."

Knox. If the words of preachers shall always be wrested to the worst construction, then will it be hard to speak of anything so circumspectly (provided that the truth be spoken) that it shall not escape the censure of the calumniator. The most vehement, and, as ye put it, excessive manner of prayer that I use in public is this, "O

Lord, if it be Thy pleasure, purge the heart of the Queen's Majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan in which she has been brought up, and yet remains, for the lack of true doctrine; and let her see, by the illumination of Thy Holy Spirit, that there is no means to please Thee but by Jesus Christ, Thy only Son, and that Jesus Christ cannot be found but in Thy holy Word, nor yet received but as it prescribes; which is, to renounce our own wisdom and preconceived opinion, and worship Thee as Thou commandest; that in so doing she may avoid that eternal damnation which abides all who are obstinate and impenitent unto the end; and that this poor realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably follow idolatry, maintained against Thy manifest Word and the open light thereof." This, said he, is the form of my common prayer, as yourselves can witness. Now, I would hear what is worthy of reprehension in it.

Lethington. There are three things that I never liked. The first is that ye pray for the Queen's Majesty with a condition, saying, "Illuminate her heart, if it be Thy good pleasure." It may appear from these words that ye doubt of her conversion. Where have ye the example of such prayer?

Knox. Wheresoever the examples are, I am assured of the rule, which is this, If we shall ask anything according to His will, He shall hear us; and our Master, Christ Jesus, commanded us to pray unto our Father, "Thy will be done."

Lethington. But where do ye ever find one of the Prophets so to have prayed?

Knox. It sufficeth me, my Lord, that the Master and Teacher of both Prophets and Apostles has taught me so to pray.

Lethington. But, in so doing, ye put a doubt in the people's head

concerning her conversion.

Knox. Not I, my Lord. Her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me to doubt of her conversion.

Lethington. Wherein rebels she against God?

Knox. In all the actions of her life, but in these two heads especially; firstly, she will not hear the preaching of the blessed Evangel of Jesus Christ; and, secondly, she maintains that idol, the Mass.

Lethington. She does not think that rebellion, but good religion.

Knox. So thought they that at one time offered their children to Moloch; and yet the Spirit of God affirms that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God. This day the Turks think they have a better religion than that of the Papists. I think ye will excuse neither of them from committing rebellion against God: nor can ye justly excuse the Queen, unless ye make God to be partial.

Lethington. But yet, why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt?

Knox. Because I have learned to pray in faith. Now faith, ye know, depends upon the words of God, and the Word teaches me that prayers profit the sons and daughters of God's election. Whether she be one of these or not, I have just cause to doubt; and, therefore, I pray God "illuminate her heart," if it be His good pleasure.

Lethington. But yet ye can produce the example of none that so has prayed before you.

Knox. I have already answered that; but yet, for further declaration, I will demand a question. Do ye think that the Apostles prayed themselves as they commanded others to pray?

"Who doubts of that?" said the whole company that were present.

Knox. Well then, I am assured that Peter said these words to Simon Magus, "Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, that,

if it be possible, the thought of your heart may be forgiven thee."

Here we may plainly see that Peter joins a condition with his commandment that Simon should repent and pray, to wit, if it were possible that his sin might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant that some sins were unto the death, and so without all hope of repentance or remission. Think ye not, my Lord Secretary, there may touch my heart, concerning the Queen's conversion, the same doubt that then touched the heart of the Apostle?

Lethington. I would never hear you or any other call that in doubt.

Knox. But your will is no assurance to my conscience. And, to speak freely, my Lord, I wonder if ye yourself doubt not of the Queen's conversion; for more evident signs of induration [235] have appeared, and still do appear in her, than outwardly Peter could have espied in Simon Magus. Albeit at one time he had been a sorcerer, he joined with the Apostles, believed, and was baptized; and albeit the venom of avarice remained in his heart, and he would have bought the Holy Ghost, yet, when he heard the fearful threatenings of God pronounced against him, he trembled, desired the assistance of the prayers of the Apostles, and humbled himself like a true penitent, so far as the judgment of man could pierce, and yet we see that Peter doubted of his conversion. Why then may not all the godly justly doubt of the conversion of the Queen, who has practised idolatry (which is no less odious in the sight of God than is the other) and still continues in the same, yea, who despises all threatenings, and refuses all godly admonitions?

Lethington. Why say ye that she refuses admonition? She will gladly hear any man.

Knox. But what obedience, to God or to His Word, ensues of all that is spoken to her? Or when shall she be seen to give her presence to the

public preaching?

Lethington. I think never, so long as she is thus treated.

Knox. And so long ye and all others must be content that I pray, so that I may be assured of being heard by my God, that His good will may be done, either in making her comfortable to His Kirk, or, if He has appointed her to be a scourge to it, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled.

Lethington. Well let us come to the second head. Where find ye that the Scripture calls any the bond slaves to Satan? or that the Prophets of God speak so irreverently of kings and princes?

Knox. The Scripture says, that "by nature we are all the sons of wrath." Our Master, Christ Jesus, affirms, that "such as do sin are servants to sin," and that it is the only Son of God that sets men at freedom. Now, what difference there is betwixt the sons of wrath, and the servants of sin, and the slaves to the Devil, I understand not, except I be taught. If the sharpness of the term offend you, I have not invented that phrase of speech, but have learned it out of God's Scripture; for those words I find spoken unto Paul, "Behold, I send thee to the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Mark these words, my Lord, and sturr not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost. The same Apostle, writing to his scholar Timothy, says, "Instruct with meekness those that are contrary minded, if God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and that they may come to amendment, out of the snare of the Devil, which are taken of him at his will." If your Lordship rightly considers these sentences, ye shall not only find my words to be the words of the Holy Ghost, but also that the condition which I use to add, has the assurance of God's Scriptures.

Lethington. But they spake nothing against kings in especial, and yet your continual crying is, "The Queen's idolatry, the Queen's Mass, will provoke God's vengeance!"

Knox. In the former sentences I hear not kings and queens excepted, but all unfaithful are pronounced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant, the Devil. But belike, my Lord, ye little regard the estate wherein they stand, when ye would have them so flattered, that the danger thereof should neither be known nor declared to the poor people.

Lethington. Where will ye find that any of the Prophets did so entreat kings and queens, rulers or magistrates?

Knox. In more places than one. Ahab was a king, and Jezebel was a queen, and yet of what the Prophet Elijah said to the one and to the other, I suppose ye are not ignorant?

Lethington. That was not cried out before the people to make them odious to their subjects.

Knox. That Elijah said, "Dogs shall lick the blood of Ahab, and eat the flesh of Jezebel," the Scriptures assure me; but I read not that it was whispered in their own ear, or in a corner. The plain contrary appears to me. That is, both the people and the Court understood well enough what the Prophet had promised; for so witnessed Jehu, after God's vengeance had stricken Jezebel.

Lethington. They were singular motions of the Spirit of God, and appertain nothing to this our age.

Knox. Then the Scripture has far deceived me, for St. Paul teaches me that, "Whatsoever is written within the Holy Scriptures, is written for our instruction." And my Master said that "Every learned and wise scribe brings forth his treasure, both things old and things new." And the Prophet Jeremiah affirms that "Every realm and every city that

likewise offends, as then did Jerusalem, should likewise be punished." Why then, I neither see nor yet can understand that the acts of the ancient Prophets, and the fearful judgments of God executed before us upon the disobedient, appertain not unto this our age. But now, to put an end to this head, my Lord, the Prophets of God have not spared to rebuke wicked kings, as well to their face as before the people and subjects. Elisha feared not to say to King Jehoram, "What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother; for as the Lord of Hosts lives, in whose sight I stand, if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat, the King of Judah, I would not have looked toward thee nor seen thee." It is plain that the Prophet was a subject in the kingdom of Israel, and yet how little reverence he gives to the King. Jeremiah the Prophet was commanded to cry to the King and to the Queen, and to say, "Behave yourselves lawfully; execute justice and judgment; or else your carcases shall be cast to the heat of the day, and unto the frost of the night." Unto Coniah, Shallum, and Zedekiah, he speaks in special, and shows to them, in his public sermons, their miserable ends; and therefore ye ought not to think it strange, my Lord, that the servants of God mark the vice of kings and queens, as well as of other offenders, and that because their sins are more noisome to the commonwealth than are the sins of inferior persons.

For the most part of this reasoning, Secretary Lethington leaned upon the Master of Maxwell's breast, who said, "I am almost weary: I would that some other would reason in the chief head, which is not touched." The Earl of Morton, Chancellor, commanded Mr. George Hay to reason against John Knox, in the head of obedience due unto magistrates; and he began so to do.

Knox. Brother, I am well content that ye reason with me, because I know

you to be both a man of learning and of modesty: but that ye shall oppose yourself to a truth of which, I suppose, your own conscience is no less persuaded than is mine, I cannot well approve. I would be sorry that you and I should be reputed to reason as two scholars of Pythagoras, to show the quickness of our imagination. I protest here, before God, that, whatsoever I sustain, I do the same of conscience; yea, I dare no more sustain a proposition known unto myself untrue, than dare I teach false doctrine in the public place. Therefore, Brother, if conscience move you to oppose yourself to that doctrine which ye have heard from my mouth in that matter, do it boldly: it shall never offend me. But it pleases me not that ye be found to oppose yourself to me, if ye are persuaded in the same truth. In that there may be greater inconvenience than either ye or I do consider for the present.

Hay. Far be it from me to prove myself willing to impugn or confute that head of doctrine, which not only ye, but many others, yea, and I myself have affirmed; for so should I be found contrarious to myself. My Lord Secretary knows my judgment in that head.

Lethington. Marry; ye are well the worse of the two. I remember well your reasoning when the Queen was in Carrick.

Knox. Well, seeing, Brother, that God has made you occupy the chair of truth, in which, I am sure, we will agree in all principal heads of doctrine, let it never be said that we disagree in disputation.

John Knox was moved thus to speak, because he understood more of the craft than the other did.

Lethington. Well, I am persuaded in this last head somewhat better than I was in the other two. Mr. Knox, yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th to the Romans; we heard the mind of the Apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God has established powers upon the earth; we

heard the necessity that mankind has of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared; but in two things I was offended, and so I think were some more of my Lords that were then present. The one was that ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God and the persons that were placed in authority; and ye affirmed that men might refuse the persons, and yet not offend against God's ordinance. This is the one; the other ye had no time to explain; but methought ye meant this,--that subjects were not bound to obey their princes if they commanded unlawful things; but that they might resist their princes, and were never bound to suffer.

Knox. In very deed ye have rightly both marked my words, and understood my mind; for I have long been of that same judgment, and so I yet remain.

Lethington. How will ye prove your division and difference, and that the person placed in authority may be resisted, and God's ordinance not transgressed, seeing that the Apostle says, "He that resists the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Knox. My Lord, the plain words of the Apostle make the difference, and the acts of many approved by God prove my affirmative. First, the Apostle affirms that the powers are ordained of God for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors. From this it is plain that the ordinance of God and the power given unto men is one thing, and the person clad with the power or with the authority is another. God's ordinance is the conservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintaining of virtue, which is in itself holy, just, constant, stable, and perpetual. But men clad with the authority are commonly profane and unjust; yea, they are mutable and transitory, and subject to corruption. God threateneth them by His Prophet David, saying, "I have said ye are gods, and every one

of you the sons of the Most Highest; but ye shall die as men, and the princes shall fall like others." Here I am assured that persons, the soul and body of wicked princes, are threatened with death: I think that ye will not affirm that so also are the authority, the ordinance and the power, wherewith God has endued such persons; for, as I have said, as it is holy, so is it the permanent will of God. Now, my Lord, it is evident that the prince may be resisted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated. The people resisted Saul, when he had sworn by the living God that Jonathan should die. The people, I say, swore to the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, so that not a hair of his head fell. Now, Saul was the anointed king, and they were his subjects, and yet they so resisted him that they made him no better than mansworn. [236]

Lethington. I doubt if in so doing the people did well.

Knox. The Spirit of God accuses them not of any crime, but rather praises them, and condemns the king, as well for his foolish vow and law made without God, as for his cruel mind, that would have punished an innocent man so severely. I shall not stand entirely upon this: what follows shall confirm it. This same Saul commanded Abimelech and the priests of the Lord to be slain, because they had committed treason, as he alleged, for intercommuning with David. His guard and principal servants would not obey his unjust commandment; but Doeg, the flatterer, put the king's cruelty to execution. I will not ask your judgment whether the servants of the king, in not obeying his commandment, resisted God or not; or whether Doeg, in murdering the priests, gave obedience to a just authority. I have the Spirit of God, speaking by the mouth of David, to assure me of the one as well as of the other; for he, in his fifty-second Psalm, condemns that act as a most cruel murder; and affirms that God will punish not only the commander but the merciless executor. I conclude that they who

gainstood his commandment resisted not the ordinance of God.

And now, my Lord, to answer to the statement of the Apostle, where he affirms that such as resist the power resist the ordinance of God, I say that the power in that place is not to be understood to be the unjust commandment of men, but the just power wherewith God has armed His magistrates and lieutenants to punish sin and maintain virtue. If any man enterprise to take from the hands of a lawful judge a murderer, an adulterer, or any other malefactor that by God's law deserves death, this same man resists God's ordinance, and procures to himself vengeance and condemnation, because he has stayed God's sword from striking. But this is not the case if men, in the fear of God, oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes; in doing so, they do not resist God, but the Devil, who abuses the sword and authority of God.

Lethington. I sufficiently understand what ye mean; and to the one part I will not oppose myself. But I doubt of the other. If the Queen commanded me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her. But, were she to command others to do it, or by a colour of justice to take his life from him, I cannot tell if I should be found to defend him against the Queen and against her officers.

Knox. Under protestation that the audience think not that I seek favours for myself, my Lord, I say that, if ye be persuaded of my innocency, and if God has given you such power and credit as might deliver me, and yet you suffered me to perish, in so doing you should be criminal, and guilty of my blood.

Lethington. Prove that, and win the play.

Knox. Well, my Lord, remember your promise, and I shall be short in my probation. The Prophet Jeremiah was apprehended by the priests and prophets, who were a part of the authority within Jerusalem, and by the

multitude of the people, and this sentence was pronounced against him, "Thou shalt die the death; for thou hast said, this house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without inhabitant." The princes, hearing the uproar, came from the king's house, and sat down in judgment in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's House, and there the priests and the prophets, before the princes, and before all the people, stated their accusation in these words, "This man is worthy to die, for he has prophesied against this city, as your ears have heard." Jeremiah answered that whatsoever he had spoken proceeded from God; and therefore said he, "As for me, I am in your hands: do with me as ye think good and right. But know ye for certain that, if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your souls, and upon this city, and upon the habitations thereof; for of truth the Lord has sent me to you, to speak all these words." Now, my Lord, if the prophets and the whole people should have been guilty of the Prophet's blood, how shall ye or others be judged innocent before God, if ye suffer the blood of such as have not deserved death to be shed when ye may save it?

Lethington. The cases are nothing like.

Knox. I would like to learn wherein the dissimilitude stands.

Lethington. First, the king had not condemned him to death. And next, the false prophets and the priests and the people accused him without a cause, and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood.

Knox. Neither of these fights against my argument; for, albeit the king was neither present, nor yet had condemned him, the princes and chief councillors were there sitting in judgment. They represented the king's person and authority, hearing the accusation laid to the charge of the Prophet. Therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as I have already said, that, if he should be condemned and put to death, the king, the

council, and the whole city of Jerusalem should be guilty of his blood, because he had committed no crime worthy of death. If ye think that they should all have been criminal, only because they all accused him, the plain text witnesses the contrary. The princes defended him, and so no doubt did a great part of the people; and yet he boldly affirms that they should be all guilty of his blood if he should be put to death.

The Prophet Ezekiel gives the reason why all are guilty of a common corruption. He says, "I sought a man amongst them that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it, but I found none; therefore have I poured my indignation upon them." From this, my Lord, it is plain that God craves not only that a man do no iniquity in his own person, but also that he oppose himself to all iniquity, so far as in him lies.

Lethington. Then ye will make subjects control their princes and rulers.

Knox. And what harm should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects that they should do wrong nor violence to no man?

Lethington. All this reasoning is not to the purpose; for we reason as if the Queen should become such an enemy to our religion, that she should persecute it, and put innocent men to death. This, I am assured, she never intended, and never will do. If I should see her again of that purpose, yea, if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as far forward in that argument as ye or any other within this realm. But there is not such a thing. Our question is, whether we may and ought to suppress the Queen's Mass? Or whether her idolatry shall be laid to our charge?

Knox. What ye may do by force, I dispute not; but what ye may and ought

to do by God's express commandment, that I can tell. Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but the idolater ought to die the death, unless we will accuse God.

Lethington. I know that the idolater is commanded to die the death; but by whom?

Knox. By the people of God. The commandment was given to Israel, as ye may read, "Hear, Israel, says the Lord, the statutes and the ordinances of the Lord thy God," etc. Yea, a commandment was given, that, if it be heard that idolatry is committed in any one city, inquisition shall be taken; and, if it be found true, the whole body of the people shall then arise and destroy that city, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor child.

Lethington. But there is no commandment given to the people to punish their king if he be an idolater.

Knox. I find no privilege to offend God's Majesty granted to kings, by God, more than to the people.

Lethington. I grant that; but yet the people may not be judges to their king to punish him, albeit he be an idolater.

Knox. God is the Universal Judge, as well of the king as of the people. What His Word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other.

Lethington. We agree in that; but the people may not execute God's judgment. They must leave it to Himself. He will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other plagues.

Knox. I know the last part of your reason to be true; but for the first, that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgments against their king, he being an offender, I am assured ye have no other warrant except your own imagination, and the opinion of such as have more fear to offend princes than God.

Lethington. Why say ye so? I have the judgments of the most famous men within Europe, and of such as ye yourself will confess both godly and learned.

And with that he called for his papers. When these were produced by Mr. Robert Maitland, he began to read with great gravity the judgments of Luther, and Melanchthon, and the minds of Bucer, Musculus, and Calvin, as to how Christians should behave themselves in time of persecution: yea, the Book of Baruch was not omitted.

Lethington. The gathering of these things has cost more travail than I have taken these seven years in the reading of commentaries.

Knox. The more pity; and yet, let others judge what ye have profited your own cause. As for my argument, I am assured ye have weakened it in nothing; for your first two witnesses speak against the Anabaptists, who deny that Christians should be subject to magistrates, or that it is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate. That opinion I no less abhor than ye do, or than does any other that lives. The others speak of Christians subject to tyrants and infidels, so dispersed that they have no other force but only to sob to God for deliverance. That such, indeed, should hazard any further than these godly men direct them, I cannot hastily counsel. But my argument has another ground; for I speak of the people assembled together in one body of one commonwealth, to whom God has given sufficient force, not only to resist, but also to suppress all kind of open idolatry. Such a people, I affirm yet again, are bound to keep their land clean and unpolluted.

That this my division shall not appear strange to you, ye should understand that God required one thing of Abraham and of his seed, when he and they were strangers and pilgrims in Egypt and Canaan; and another thing when they were delivered from the bondage of Egypt, and the possession of the land of Canaan was granted to them. At the first,

and during all the time of their bondage, God craved no more than that Abraham should not defile himself with idolatry. Neither was he nor his posterity commanded to destroy the idols that were in Canaan or in Egypt. But when God gave them the possession of the land, He gave them this strait commandment, "Beware lest ye make league or confederacy with the inhabitants of this land: give not thy sons unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters unto their sons. But this shall ye do unto them, cut down their groves, destroy their images, break down their altars, and leave thou no kind of remembrance of those abominations, which the inhabitants of the land used before: for thou art a people holy unto the Lord thy God. Defile not thyself, therewith, with their gods."

Ye, my Lords, and all such as have professed the Lord Jesus within this realm, are bound to this same commandment. God has wrought no less miracle upon you, both spiritual and corporal, than He did upon the carnal seed of Abraham. For you yourselves cannot be ignorant in what estate your bodies and this poor realm were, not seven years ago. You and it were both in bondage to a strange nation; and what tyrants reigned over your conscience, God perchance may let you feel, because ye do not rightly acknowledge the benefit received. When our poor brethren before us gave their bodies to the flames of fire for the testimony of the truth, and when scarcely ten that rightly knew God could be found in a country-side, it would have been foolishness to have craved the suppressing of idolatry, either by the Nobility, or by the humble subjects. That would have done nothing but expose the simple sheep as a prey to the wolves. But since God has multiplied knowledge, and has given the victory to His truth, even in the hands of His servants, if ye suffer the land again to be defiled, ye and your Princess shall both drink the cup of God's indignation--she for her

obstinate abiding in manifest idolatry in the great light of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and ye for your permitting and maintaining her in it.

Lethington. In that point we will never agree; and where find ye, I pray you, that any of the Prophets or of the Apostles ever taught such a doctrine as that the people should be plagued for the idolatry of the prince; or that the subjects might suppress the idolatry of their rulers, or punish them for the same?

Knox. My Lord, we know what was the commission given to the Apostles. It was to preach and plant the Evangel of Jesus Christ where darkness had dominion before; and therefore it behoved them, first, to let them see the light before they should urge them to put to their hands to suppress idolatry. I will not affirm what precepts the Apostles gave to the faithful in particular, other than that they commanded all to flee from idolatry. But I find two things which the faithful did; the one was, they assisted their preachers, even against the rulers and magistrates; the other was, they suppressed idolatry wherever God gave them force, asking no leave of the Emperor, or of his deputies. Read the Ecclesiastical History, and ye shall find sufficient example. As to the doctrine of the Prophets, we know they were interpreters of the law of God; and we know they spake to the kings as well as to the people. I read that neither would hear them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both. But I cannot be persuaded that they flattered kings more than the people.

As I have said, God's laws pronounce sentence of death upon idolatry, without exception of any person. Idolatry is never alone; ever does it corrupt religion, and bring with it a filthy and corrupt life. How the Prophets could rightly interpret the law, and show the causes of God's judgments, which they ever threatened should follow idolatry, and the

rest of abominations that accompany it--how they could reprove the vices, and not show the people their duty, I understand not. Therefore, I constantly believe that the doctrine of the Prophets was so sensible that the kings understood their own abominations, and the people understood what they ought to have done in punishing and repressing them. But because the most part of the people were no less rebellious to God than were their princes, the one and the other convened against God and against His servants. And yet, my Lord, the acts of some Prophets are so evident, that we may collect from them what doctrine they taught; for it were no small absurdity to affirm that their acts should repugn to their doctrine.

Lethington. I think ye refer to the history of Jehu. What will ye prove thereby?

Knox. The chief head that ye deny and I affirm--that the Prophets never taught that it appertained to the people to punish the idolatry of their kings. For the probation, I am ready to produce the act of a Prophet. Ye know, my Lord, that Elisha sent one of the children of the Prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him commandment to destroy the house of his master Ahab for the idolatry committed by him, and for the innocent blood that Jezebel his wicked wife had shed. He obeyed, and put this into full execution; and for this God promised him the stability of the kingdom, to the fourth generation. Here is the act of one Prophet that proves that subjects were commanded to execute judgments upon their king and prince.

Lethington. There is enough to be answered thereto. Jehu was a king before he put anything in execution; and besides, the act is extraordinary, and not to be imitated.

Knox. My Lord, he was a mere subject and no king, when the Prophet's servant came to him; yea, and albeit his fellow-captains, hearing of

the message, blew the trumpet, and said, "Jehu is king;" I doubt not that Jezebel both thought and said he was a traitor. So did many others that were in Israel and in Samaria. And as touching what ye allege--that the act was extraordinary, and is not to be imitated--I say that it had ground upon God's ordinary judgment, which commands the idolater to die the death. Therefore, I yet again affirm that it is to be imitated by all those that prefer the true honour, the true worship, and the glory of God to the affections of flesh, and of wicked princes.

Lethington. We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples, unless we have the like commandment and assurance.

Knox. I grant that, if the example repugn to the law, and if an avaricious and deceitful man desired to borrow gold, silver, raiment, or any other necessaries from his neighbour, and withhold the same, he might allege that he might do so and not offend God, because the Israelites did so to the Egyptians, at their departure from Egypt. The example would serve no purpose unless the like cause, and the like commandment to that which the Israelites had, could be produced; because, their act repugned to this commandment of God, "Thou shalt not steal." But where the example agrees with the law, and is, as it were, the execution of God's judgments expressed in it, I say that the example approved by God stands to us in place of a commandment. God of His nature is constant, and immutable; He cannot condemn in the subsequent ages that which He has approved in His servants before us. In His servants before us, by His own commandment, He has approved when subjects have not only destroyed their kings for idolatry, but also rooted out their whole posterity, so that none of that race were afterwards left to empire over the people of God.

Lethington. Whatsoever they did was done at God's commandment.

Knox. That fortifies my argument. You admit that subjects punish their

princes by God's commandment for idolatry and wickedness committed by them.

Lethington. We have not the like commandment.

Knox. That I deny. The commandment, "The idolater shall die the death," is perpetual, as ye yourself have granted. You doubted only who should be executors against the king; and I said the people of God. I have sufficiently proven, I think, that God has raised up the people, and by His Prophet has anointed a king to take vengeance upon the king and upon his posterity. Since that time, God has never retreated [237] that act; and, therefore, to me it remains for a constant and clean commandment to all people professing God, and having the power to punish vice, as to what they ought to do in the like case. If the people had enterprised anything without God's commandment, we might have doubted whether they had done well or evil. But, seeing that God did bring the execution of His law again into practice, after it had fallen into oblivion and contempt, what reasonable man can now doubt of God's will, unless we are to doubt of all things which God does not renew to us by miracles, as it were, from age to age. I am assured that the answer of Abraham to the rich man who, being in hell, desired that Lazarus or some of the dead should be sent to his brethren and friends, to inform them of his incredible pain and torments, and to warn them so to behave themselves that they should not come to that place of torment--that answer shall confound such as crave further approbation of God's will than is already expressed within His holy Scriptures. Abraham said, "They have Moses and the Prophets; if they will not believe them, neither will they believe albeit one of the dead should rise." Even so, my Lord, I say that such as will not be taught what they ought to do, by commandment of God once given and once put in practice, will not believe or obey, albeit God should send angels from

heaven to instruct that doctrine.

Lethington. Ye have but produced one example.

Knox. One sufficeth. But, God be praised, we do not lack others. The whole people conspired against Amaziah, king of Judah, after he had turned away from the Lord, followed him to Lachish and slew him, and took Uzziah and anointed him king instead of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the league and covenant made betwixt their king and them, at the inauguration of Joash, his father, that the king and the people should be the people of the Lord, and then should they be his faithful subjects. When first the father, and afterwards the son, declined from that covenant, they were both punished to the death, Joash by his own servants, and Amaziah by the whole people.

Lethington. I doubt whether they did well or not.

Knox. It shall be free for you to doubt as ye please; but where I find execution according to God's laws, and God Himself does not accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of the cause. Further, it appears to me that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance to their act; for He blessed them with victory, peace, and prosperity, for the space of fifty-two years thereafter.

Lethington. But prosperity does not always prove that God approves the acts of men.

Knox. Yes; when the acts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to God's own promise, expressed in His law, I say that the prosperity succeeding the act is most infallible assurance that God has approved that act. God has promised in His law that, when His people shall exterminate and destroy such as decline from Him, He will bless them, and multiply them, as He has promised to their fathers. Amaziah turned from God; for so the text doth witness; and it is plain that the people slew their king; and it is as plain that God

blessed them. Therefore, yet again I conclude that God approved their act, and it, in so far as it was done according to His commandment, was blessed according to His promise.

Lethington. Well, I think the ground is not so sure that I durst build my conscience thereupon.

Knox. I pray God that your conscience have no worse ground than this, whenever ye shall begin work like that which God, before your own eyes, has already blessed. And now, my Lord, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I weary of standing. (Commandment was given that he should sit down; but he refused it, and said, "Melancholious reasons would have some mirth intermixed.") My last example, my Lord, is this, Uzziah the king, not content of his royal estate, malapertly took upon him to enter within the temple of the Lord, to burn incense upon the altar of incense; and Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men. These withstood Uzziah the king, and said to him, "It pertaineth thee not, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to offer incense. Go forth of the sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and you shall have no honour of the Lord God." From this, my Lord, I conclude that subjects not only may, but ought to withstand and resist their princes, whenever they do anything that expressly repugns to God's law or holy ordinance.

Lethington. They that withstood the king were not simple subjects. They were the priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ. We have none such priests this day, to withstand kings if they do wrong.

Knox. I grant that the High Priest was the figure of Christ, but I deny that he was not a subject. I am assured that he, in his priesthood, had no prerogative above those that had gone before him. Now, Aaron was

subject unto Moses, and called him his lord. Samuel, being both prophet and priest, subjected himself to Saul, after he was inaugurated by the people. Zadok bowed before David; and Abiathar was deposed from the priesthood by Solomon. These all confessed themselves subjects to the kings, albeit therewith they ceased not to be figures of Christ. Ye say that we have no such priests this day, but I might answer that neither have we such kings this day as then were anointed at God's commandment, and sat upon the seat of David, and were no less the figure of Christ Jesus in their just administration, than were the priests in their appointed office. Such kings, I am assured, we have not now, more than have we such priests. Christ Jesus, being anointed in our nature by God, His Father, as King, Priest, and Prophet, has put an end to all external unction. And yet, I think, ye will not say that God has now diminished His graces for those whom He appoints ambassadors betwixt Him and His people, more than He does from kings and princes. Therefore, I see not why the servants of Jesus Christ may not also justly withstand kings and princes that this day no less offend God's Majesty than Uzziah did, unless ye will say that we, in the brightness of the Evangel, are not straitly bound to regard God's glory or His commandments, as were the fathers that lived under the dark shadows of the law.

Lethington. Well, I will dip no further into that head. But how resisted the priests the king? They only spake to him, without further violence intended.

Knox. That they withstood him, the text assures me; but that they did nothing but speak, I cannot understand. The plain text affirms the contrary. They caused him hastily to depart from the sanctuary, yea, he was compelled to depart. This manner of speaking, I am assured, imports in the Hebrew tongue another thing than exhorting, or commanding by

word.

Lethington. They did that after he was espied to be leprous.

Knox. They withstood him before; but their last act confirms my proposition so evidently, that such as will oppose themselves to it must needs oppose themselves to God. My assertion is, that kings have no privilege to offend God's Majesty more than had the people; and that, if they do so, they are no more exempted from the punishment of the law than is any subject; yea, and that subjects may not only lawfully oppose themselves to their kings, whenever they do anything that expressly repugns to God's commandment, but also that they may execute judgment upon them according to God's law. If the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer according to God's law, not as a king, but as an offender, and this history clearly proves that the people may put God's laws into execution. As soon as the leprosy appeared in his forehead, he was not only compelled to depart out of the sanctuary, but he was also removed from all public society and administration of the kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a house apart, even as the law commanded. He got no greater privilege in that case than any other of the people should have done; and this was executed by the people; for there is no doubt that more than the priests alone were witnesses of his leprosy. We do not find that any oppose themselves to the sentence of God pronounced in His law against the leprous; and therefore, yet again say I that the people ought to execute God's law even against their princes, when their open crimes deserve death by God's law, but especially when they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude. And now, my Lords, I will reason no longer, for I have spoken more than I intended.

Lethington. And yet I cannot tell what can be concluded.

Knox. Albeit ye cannot, I am assured of what I have proven, to wit:--1.

That subjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and therein offended not God. 2. That subjects have refused to strike innocents when a king commanded, and in doing so denied no just obedience. 3. That such as struck at the commandment of the king before God were reputed murderers. 4. That God has not only of one subject made a king, but also has armed subjects against their natural kings, and commanded them to take vengeance upon them according to His law. 5. That God's people have executed God's law against their king, having no further regard to him in that behalf, than if he had been the most simple subject within this realm. Therefore, albeit ye will not understand what should be concluded, I am assured not only that God's people may, but also that they are bound to do the same where the like crimes are committed, and when He gives unto them the like power.

Lethington. Well, I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion.

Knox. My Lord, the truth ceases not to be the truth, howsoever men either misknow it, or yet gainstand it. And yet, I praise my God that I lack not the consent of God's servants in that head.

With that, John Knox presented to the Secretary the Apology of Magdeburg; and willed him to read the names of the ministers who had subscribed the defence of the town to be a most just one; adding, that to resist a tyrant is not to resist God, or yet His ordinance.

When the Secretary had read this, he scripped and said, "Homines obscuri." [238] The other answered, "Dei tamen servi." [239]

So Lethington arose and said, "My Lords, ye have heard the reasons upon both sides: it becomes you now to decide, and to give an order unto preachers, that they may be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the Queen's Mass from her?"

While some began to give their votes, for some were appointed, as it

were, leaders to the rest, John Knox said, "My Lords, I suppose that ye will not do contrary to your Lordships' promise, made to the whole Assembly. This was that nothing should be voted in secret, until all matters should first be debated in public, and that then the votes of the whole Assembly should put an end to the controversy. Now have I only sustained the argument, and shown my conscience in most simple manner, rather than insisted upon the force and vehemence of any one argument. Therefore I, for my part, utterly dissent from all voting, until the whole Assembly have heard the propositions and the reasons of both parties. For I unfeignedly acknowledge that many in this company are more able to sustain the argument than I am.

"Think ye it reasonable," said Lethington, "that such a multitude as are now convened should reason and vote in these heads and matters that concern the Queen's Majesty's own person and affairs."

"I think," said the other, "that, whosoever should bind, the multitude should hear, unless they have resigned their power to their commissioners. This they have not done, so far as I understand; for my Lord Justice Clerk heard them say, with one voice, that in nowise would they consent that anything should either be voted or concluded here."

"I cannot tell," said Lethington, "if my Lords that be here present, and that bear the burden of such matters, should be bound to their will. What say ye, my Lords? Will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?"

After long reasoning, some that were made for the purpose said, "Why may not the Lords vote, and then show unto the Kirk whatsoever is done?"

"That appears to me," said John Knox, "not only a backward order, but also a tyranny usurped upon the Kirk. For me, do as ye list, as I reason, so I vote; yet I protest, as before, that I dissent from all

voting, until the whole Assembly understand the questions as well as the reasonings."

"Well," said Lethington, "that cannot be done now, for the time is spent; and therefore, my Lord Chancellor, said he, ask ye the votes, and take by course every one of the ministers, and one of us."

The Lords and Ministers discuss Lethington's Proposition and Knox's Answer.

The Rector of St. Andrews, first commanded to speak his conscience, said, "I refer to the Superintendent of Fife, for I think we are both of one judgment; and yet, if ye will that I speak first, my conscience is this. If the Queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, the Nobility and Estates of this realm, professors of the true doctrine, may justly oppose themselves to her. But, as concerning her own Mass, albeit I know it is idolatry, I am not yet resolved, whether or not we may take it from her by violence." The Superintendent of Fife said, "That is my conscience." So also affirmed some of the Nobility. But others voted frankly, and said that, as the Mass was an abomination, it was just and right that it should be suppressed; and that, in so doing, men did no more wrong to the Queen's Majesty than would they that should, by force, take from her a poisoned cup when she was going to drink it.

Mr John Craig's Judgment.

At last, Mr. John Craig, fellow-minister with John Knox in the Kirk of Edinburgh, was required to give his judgment and vote. "I will gladly show to your Honours what I understand," he said; "but I greatly doubt whether my knowledge and conscience shall satisfy you, seeing that ye have heard so many reasons, and are so little moved by them. But yet I shall not conceal from you my judgment, adhering first to the protestation of my brother that our voting prejudge not the liberty of

the General Assembly. I was in the University of Bologna in the year of God 1554, and there, in the place of the Black Friars of the same town, I saw in the time of their General Assembly this conclusion set forth. This I heard reasoned, determined, and concluded:--'All rulers, be they supreme or be they inferior, may be and ought to be reformed or deposed by them by whom they are chosen, confirmed, or admitted to their office, as oft as they break that promise made by the oath to their subjects. Princes are no less bound by oath to the subjects, than are the subjects to their princes, and therefore ought to be kept and reformed equally, according to the law and condition of the oath that is made by either party.'

"This conclusion, my Lords, I heard sustained and concluded, as I have said, in a most notable auditory. The sustainer was a learned man, Monsieur Thomas de Finola, the Rector of the University, a man famous in that country. Magister Vincentius de Placentia affirmed the conclusion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man. The occasion of this disputation and conclusion was a certain disorder and tyranny attempted by the Pope's governors. These began to make innovations in the country against the laws formerly established, alleging themselves not to be subject to such laws, by reason that they were not institute [240] by the people, but by the Pope, who was king of that country. They claimed that they, having full commission and authority from the Pope, might alter and change statutes and ordinances of the country, without any consent of the people. Against this usurped tyranny, the learned and the people opposed themselves openly. When all reasons which the Pope's governors could allege were heard and confuted, the Pope himself was fain to take up the matter, and to promise, not only to keep the liberty of the people, but also that he should neither abrogate any law or statute, nor make

any new law without their own consent. Therefore, my Lord, my vote and conscience is, that the princes are not only bound to keep laws and promises to their subjects, but also that, in case they fail, they may be justly deposed; for the bond betwixt the prince and the people is reciprocal."

Then started up a clawback of that corrupt Court, and said, "Ye wot not what ye say; for ye tell us what was done in Bologna; we are a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth."

"My Lord," said he, "my judgment is, that every kingdom is or, at least, should be a commonwealth, albeit every commonwealth be not a kingdom; and, therefore, I think that, in a kingdom no less than in a commonwealth, diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated. The tyranny of princes who continually reign in a kingdom is more hurtful to the subjects, than is the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths. But yet, my Lords, to assure you and all others further, that head was disputed to the uttermost; and then, in the end, it was concluded, that they spoke not of such things as were done in divers kingdoms and nations by tyranny and negligence of people. 'But we conclude,' said they, 'what ought to be done in all kingdoms and commonwealths, according to the law of God, and the just laws of man. And if, by the negligence of the people, or by the tyranny of princes, contrary laws have been made, yet may that same people, or their posterity, justly crave all things to be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths; and such as will not do so, deserve to eat the fruit of their own foolishness.'"

Master James Macgill, then Clerk of Register, perceiving the votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainness of the foresaid servant of God, said, "I remember that this same question was long debated once

before this in my house, and there, by reason that we were not all of one mind, it was concluded that Mr. Knox should, in all our names, write to Mr. Calvin for his judgment in the controversy."

"Nay," said Mr. Knox, "my Lord Secretary would not consent that I should write, alleging that the greatest weight of the answer stood in the narrative, and therefore promised that he would write, and I should see it. But when, at divers times, I required him to remember his promise, I found nothing but delay."

Thereto the Secretary did answer, "True it is, I promised to write, and true it is, that divers times Mr. Knox required me so to do. But, when I had more deeply considered the weight of the matter, I began to find more doubts than I did before, and this one amongst others, how durst I, being a subject, and the Queen's Majesty's Secretary, take upon me, without her own knowledge and consent, to seek resolution of controversies depending betwixt her Highness and her subjects." Then was there an acclamation of the clawbacks of the Court, as if Apollo had given his response. It was wisely and faithfully done.

"Well," said John Knox, "let worldly men praise worldly wisdom as highly as they please, I am assured that by such shifts idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jesus Christ is betrayed. God one day will be revenged." At this and the like sharpness many were offended, the voting ceased, and every faction began plainly to speak as affection moved them. In the end John Knox was commanded yet to write to Mr. Calvin, and to the learned in other Kirks, to ascertain their judgments on that question. This he refused, stating his reason. "I myself am not only fully resolved in conscience, but also I have heard the judgments of the most godly and most learned that be known in Europe, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm. I came not to this realm without their resolution; and for my assurance I have the

handwritings of many. Therefore, if I should now move the same question again, what should I do but either show my own ignorance and forgetfulness, or else inconstancy? So may it please you to pardon me, albeit I write not. But I will teach you the surer way, which is this, write ye and complain upon me, that I teach publicly and affirm constantly such doctrine as offends you, and so shall ye know their plain minds, and whether I and they agree in judgment or not."

Divers said the offer was good; but no man was found that would be the secretary. And so did the Assembly break up after long reasoning. After that time, the ministers were holden of all the courtiers as monsters.

In all that time the Earl of Moray was so fremmed [241] to John Knox, that neither by word nor writing was there any communication betwixt them.

THE END.

[177] The Fourth Book of the Progress and Continuance of True Religion within Scotland.

[178] Theft.

[179] Courtezans.

[180] Crowd of followers.

[181] Supporters.

[182] Too deep.

[183] Presented gifts.

[184] Brewing.

[185] Robbery.

[186] Fright.

[187] Apparel of mourning.

[188] Giddy young women.

[189] Make disturbance.

[190] That is, the Papists in possession of benefices.

[191] Knox here quotes, in full, the Acts passed by the Council.

[192] Pulpit.

[193] Adjust.

[194] Stewards.

[195] "Soon after, the Earldom of Moray was bestowed upon him, instead of the Earldom of Mar. Lord Erskine had an old right to the Earldom of Mar."--MS. variant.

[196] Daughter-in-law.

[197] On the move.

[198] Range.

[199] Formerly Lord James Stewart: cf. page 247, n.

[200] Inhabitant with full municipal right.

[201] Maternal grandfather.

[202] Fealty of retainers.

[203] Impediment.

[204] Dictation; guidance.

[205] That is, his clansmen were being mobilised.

[206] Overturn.

[207] Sir John Gordon, of Findlater, second son of the Earl of Huntly. Confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for a murderous attack upon Lord Ogilvy of Airly in a quarrel concerning property, he had broken ward.--Ed.

[208] He was denounced as a traitor. With a following of eight hundred men, he encountered the Earl of Moray and the Queen's forces outside Aberdeen, and was defeated and slain at the battle of Corrichie.--Ed.

[209] Made scruple.

[210] Bordering of gowns with tassels.

[211] Meddled.

[212] Letter.

[213] Pocket-handkerchiefs.

[214] Ardour; violence.

[215] The crime of beating or assaulting a person within his own house.

[216] The papistical ceremony, down to its minutest details (?).

[217] That is, as she should dictate.

[218] Duplicate.

[219] Arm.

[220] Weep.

[221] What is written.

[222] Incident; matter cast up.

[223] Evangel.

[224] Supports.

[225] Guard; civil establishment.

[226] Modified; dissembled.

[227] Sycophants.

[228] Birds.

[229] Shrove Tuesday; the day before Lent.

[230] Extortionate.

[231] Satisfaction.

[232] Share (?).

[233] Mock and deride.

[234] Anticipate.

[235] Hardening.

[236] Perjured.

[237] Repudiated; withdrawn.

[238] "Men of no note."

[239] "Servants of God, however."

[240] Placed in authority.

[241] Strange; unfriendly.

The Preface.

I. KNOX'S CONFESSION.

II. THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

The Estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same professing the Holy Evangel of Christ Jesus, to their natural countrymen, and to all other realms and nations, professing the same Lord Jesus with them, wish grace, peace, and mercy from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of righteous judgment, for salutation.

Long have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger. But such has been the rage of Satan against us, and against the eternal verity of Christ Jesus lately born amongst us, that to this day no time has been granted unto us to clear our consciences, as most gladly we would have done; for how we have been tossed for a whole year past, the most part of Europe, as we suppose, does understand. But seeing that, of the infinite goodness, above expectation, of our God, who never suffers His afflicted to be utterly confounded, we have obtained some rest and liberty, we could not but set forth this brief and plain confession of such doctrine as is proponed unto us, and as we believe and profess. We do so, partly for satisfaction of our brethren, whose hearts we doubt not have been and yet are wounded by the despiteful railing of such as yet have not learned to speak well, and partly for stopping of the mouths of impudent blasphemers, who boldly condemn that which they have neither heard nor yet understand. Not that we judge that the cankered malice of such is able to be cured by this simple Confession. No, we know that the sweet savour of the Evangel is, and shall be, death to the sons of

perdition. But we have chief respect to our weak and infirm brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, lest that they be troubled or carried away by the diversity of rumours which Satan spreads abroad against us, to the defecting of this our most godly enterprise. If any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's holy Word, and it please him of his gentleness and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing, we of our honour and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, that is, from His holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss. We take God to record in our consciences, that from our hearts we abhor all sects of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's Evangel, which is the only food of our souls; and therefore so precious unto us, that we are determined to suffer the extremity of worldly danger, rather than that we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same. For we are most certainly persuaded that whosoever denies Christ Jesus, or is ashamed of Him, in presence of men, shall be denied before the Father, and before His holy angels. And therefore, by the assistance of the mighty Spirit of our Lord Jesus, we firmly promise to abide to the end in the Confession of this our Faith.

Chapter 10

Of the Creation of Man.--Cap. II.

We confess and acknowledge one only God, to whom only we must cleave, [whom only we must serve], [243] whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust; who is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible: one in substance, and yet distinct in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: By whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and in earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by His inscrutable Providence, to such end as His eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice has appointed them, to the manifestation of His own glory.

[243] Words in square brackets are not in MSS. but are found in old printed copies of the Confession.--Ed.

We confess and acknowledge this our God to have created man, to wit, our first father Adam, of whom also God formed the woman to His own image and similitude; to whom He gave wisdom, lordship, justice, free-will, and clear knowledge of Himself; so that in the whole nature of man there could be noted no imperfection. From which honour and perfection man and woman did both fall; the woman being deceived by the serpent, and man obeying to the voice of the woman, both conspiring against the Sovereign Majesty of God, who before, in expressed words, had threatened death, if they presumed to eat of the forbidden tree.

Of the Revelation of the Promise.--Cap. IV.

By which transgression, commonly called Original Sin, was the image of God utterly defaced in man; and he and his posterity of nature became enemies to God, slaves to Satan, and servants to sin; insomuch that death everlasting has had, and shall have, power and dominion over all that have not been, are not, or shall not be regenerate from above: which regeneration is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, working in the hearts of the elect of God an assured faith in the promise of God, revealed to us in His word; by which faith they apprehend Christ Jesus, with the graces and benefits promised in Him.

For this we constantly believe, that God, after the fearful and horrible defection of man from His obedience, did seek Adam again, call upon him, rebuke his sin, convict him of the same, and in the end made unto him a most joyful promise, to wit, that the seed of the woman should break down the serpent's head; that is, he should destroy the works of the Devil. Which promise, as it was repeated and made more clear from time to time, was embraced with joy, and most constantly retained by all the faithful, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to David, and so forth to the incarnation of Christ Jesus: who all, we mean the faithful fathers under the law, did see the joyful days of Christ Jesus, and did rejoice.

Chapter 12

Of the Incarnation of Christ Jesus.--Cap. VI.

We most constantly believe, that God preserved, instructed, multiplied, honoured, decorated, and from death called to life His Kirk in all ages, from Adam until the coming of Christ Jesus in the flesh: Abraham He called from his father's country, him He instructed, his seed He multiplied, the same He marvellously preserved and more marvellously delivered from the bondage [and tyranny] of Pharaoh; to them He gave His laws, constitutions, and ceremonies; them He possessed in the land of Canaan; to them, after judges, and after Saul, He gave David to be King, to whom He made promise, that of the fruit of his loins should one sit for ever upon his regal seat. To this same people, from time to time, He sent prophets to lead them back to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatry, and albeit, for their stubborn contempt of justice, He was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as before was threatened by the mouth of Moses, insomuch that the holy city was destroyed, the temple burned with fire, and the whole land left desolate the space of seventy years; yet of mercy did He lead them back again to Jerusalem, where the city and temple were rebuilt, and they, against all temptations and assaults of Satan, did abide until the Messias came, according to the promise. When the fulness of time came, God sent His Son, His Eternal Wisdom, the substance of His own glory, into this world, who took the nature of Manhood of the substance of a woman, to wit, of a virgin, and that by the operation of the Holy Ghost: And so was born the just seed of David, the Angel of the great counsel of God; the very Messias promised, whom we acknowledge and confess Emmanuel; very God and very man, two perfect natures united and joined in one person. By this our

Confession we condemn the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius, and such others as either deny the eternity of His Godhead or the verity of His human nature, confound them, or divide them.

Election.--Cap. VIII.

We acknowledge and confess that this most wondrous conjunction betwixt the Godhead and the Manhood in Christ Jesus did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence also our salvation springs and depends.

For that same Eternal God, and Father, who of mere mercy elected us in Christ Jesus, His Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed Him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor, and great Bishop of our souls. But because that the enmity betwixt the justice of God and our sins was such that no flesh by itself could or might have attained unto God, it behoved that the Son of God should descend unto us, and take Himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones, and so become the perfect Mediator betwixt God and man; giving power to so many as believe in Him to be the sons of God, as He Himself does witness: "I pass up to my Father and unto your Father, to my God and unto your God." By this most holy fraternity, whatsoever we have lost in Adam is restored to us again. And for this cause are we not afraid to call God our Father, not so much because He hath created us, which we have in common with the reprobate, as for that He has given to us His only Son to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to [acknowledge and] embrace Him for our only Mediator, as before is said.

It behoved further, the Messias and Redeemer to be very God and very man, because He was to underlie the punishment due for our transgressions, and to present Himself in the presence of His Father's judgment, as in our person to suffer for our transgression and inobedience, by death to overcome him that was author of death. But because the only Godhead could not suffer death, neither could the only

Manhood overcome the same; He joined both together in one person, that the imbecility of the one should suffer, and be subject to death, which we had deserved, and the infinite and invincible power of the other, to wit, of the Godhead, should triumph and procure for us life, liberty, and perpetual victory. And so we confess, and most undoubtedly believe.

Resurrection.--Cap. X.

That our Lord Jesus Christ offered Himself a voluntary sacrifice unto His Father for us; that He suffered contradiction of sinners; that He was wounded and plagued for our transgressions; that He, being the clean and innocent Lamb of God, was condemned in the presence of an earthly judge, that we might be absolved before the tribunal seat of our God; that He suffered not only the cruel death of the Cross, which was accursed by the sentence of God, but also that He suffered for a season the wrath of His Father, which sinners had deserved. But yet we avow that He remained the only and well-beloved and blessed Son of His Father, even in the midst of His anguish and torment, which He suffered in body and soul, to make the full satisfaction for the sins of His people. We confess and avow, that there remains no other sacrifice for sins; which if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow that they are blasphemers against Christ's death, and the everlasting purgation and satisfaction procured for us by the same.

We undoubtedly believe that, insomuch as it was impossible that the dolours of death should retain in bondage the Author of life, our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified, dead, and buried, descended into hell, did rise again for our justification, and the destruction of him who was the author of death, and brought life again to us that were subject to death and to its bondage. We know that His resurrection was confirmed by the testimony of His very enemies; by the resurrection of the dead, whose sepulchres did open, and who did arise and appear to many within the city of Jerusalem. It was also confirmed by the testimony of His angels, and by the senses and judgments of His apostles, and of others who had conversation, and did eat and drink with Him after His

resurrection.

Ascension.--Cap. XI.

We nothing doubt but that the self-same body, which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, dead, and buried, and rose again, did ascend into the heavens for the accomplishment of all things; where, in our names and for our comfort, He has received all power in heaven and in earth; where He sits at the right hand of the Father, inaugurate in His kingdom, Advocate and only Mediator for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative He alone amongst the brethren shall possess, until all His enemies be made His footstool, as we undoubtedly believe they shall be in the final judgment; to the execution whereof we certainly believe that our Lord Jesus shall visibly return as we believe that He was seen to ascend. And then we firmly believe, that the time of refreshing and restitution of all things shall come, insomuch that they that from the beginning have suffered violence, injury, and wrong for righteousness' sake, shall inherit that blessed immortality promised from the beginning: but contrariwise, the stubborn, inobedient, cruel, oppressors, filthy persons, adulterers, and all sorts of unfaithful men shall be cast into the dungeon of outer darkness, where their worm shall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguished. The remembrance of which day, and of the judgment to be executed in the same, is not only to us a bridle whereby our carnal lusts are refrained; but also such inestimable comfort, that neither may the threatening of worldly princes, nor yet the fear of temporal death and present danger, move us to renounce and forsake that blessed society which we the members have with our Head and only Mediator, Christ Jesus, whom we confess and avow to be the Messias promised, the only Head of His Kirk, our just Lawgiver, our only High Priest, Advocate, and Mediator. In which

honours and offices, if man or angel presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them, as blasphemous to our Sovereign and Supreme Governor, Christ Jesus.

Chapter 16

The Cause of Good Works.--Cap. XIII.

This our faith, and the assurance of the same, proceeds not from flesh and blood, that is to say, from no natural powers within us, but is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Him we confess God, equal with the Father and with the Son; who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all truth by His own operation; without Him we should remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of His Son, Christ Jesus. For of nature we are so dead, so blind, and so perverse, that neither can we feel when we are pricked, see the light when it shines, nor assent to the will of God when it is revealed; only the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darkness from our minds, and boweth our stubborn hearts to the obedience of His blessed will. As we confess that God the Father created us when we were not, and as His Son, our Lord Jesus, redeemed us when we were enemies to Him, so also do we confess that the Holy Ghost does sanctify and regenerate us, altogether without respect to any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. In more plain words, as we willingly spoil ourselves of all honour and glory of our own creation and redemption, so do we also of our regeneration and sanctification: for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one good thought; but He who has begun the good work in us is only He that continueth us in the same, to the praise and glory of His undeserved grace.

The cause of good works we therefore confess to be, not our freewill, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus; who, dwelling in our hearts by true faith, brings forth such good works as God hath prepared for us to walk in: for we most boldly affirm, that it is blasphemy to say that Christ Jesus abides in the hearts of such as in whom there is no Spirit of

sanctification. And therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppressors, cruel persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthy persons, idolaters, drunkards, thieves, and all workers of iniquity, have neither true faith, nor any portion of the Spirit of sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jesus, so long as they obstinately continue in their wickedness. For how soon that ever the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which God's elect children receive by true faith, takes possession in the heart of any man, so soon does He regenerate and renew the same man; so that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and begins to love that which before he hated; and from thence comes that continual battle which is betwixt the flesh and the Spirit in God's children; while the flesh and natural man, according to its own corruption, lusts for things pleasing and delectable unto itself, grudges in adversity, is lifted up in prosperity, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the Majesty of God. But the Spirit of God, which giveth witness to our spirit that we are the sons of God, makes us to resist the Devil, to abhor filthy pleasures, to groan in God's presence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption; and finally, so to triumph over sin that it reign not in our mortal bodies. Carnal men, being destitute of God's Spirit, have not this battle; these do follow and obey sin with greediness, and without repentance, even as the Devil and their corrupt lusts do prick them. But the sons of God, as before is said, do fight against sin, do sob and mourn, when they perceive themselves tempted to iniquity: and, if they fall, they rise again with earnest and unfeigned repentance. And these things they do not by their own power; but the power of the Lord Jesus, without whom they were able to do nothing, worketh in them all that is good.

Chapter 17

What Works are reputed good before God.--Cap. XIV.

We confess and acknowledge that God has given to man His holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works as displease and offend His Godly Majesty; but also are commended all such as please Him, and as He hath promised to reward. And these works be of two sorts; the one are done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours; and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. To have one God; to worship and honour Him; to call upon Him in all our troubles; to reverence His holy name; to hear His Word; to believe the same; to communicate with His holy Sacraments: these are the works of the First Table. To honour father, mother, princes, rulers, and superior powers; to love them; to support them, yea, to obey their charges, unless repugnant to the commandment of God; to save the lives of innocents; to repress tyranny; to defend the oppressed; to keep our bodies clean and holy; to live in sobriety and temperance; to deal justly with all men, both in word and in deed; and, finally, to repress all appetite for our neighbour's hurt: these are the good works of the Second Table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God, as those works that are commanded by Himself. The contrary is sin most odious, which always displeases Him, and provokes Him to anger. Not to call upon Him alone when we have need; not to hear His Word with reverence; to contemn and despise it; to have or to worship idols; to maintain and defend idolatry; lightly to esteem the reverent name of God; to profane, abuse, or contemn the Sacraments of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist any that God has placed in authority, while they pass not over the bounds of their office; to murder, or to consent thereto; to bear hatred, or to suffer innocent blood to be shed if we may gainstand it;

and, finally, the transgressing of any other commandment in the First or Second Table, we confess and affirm to be sin, by which God's hot displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankful world. So that good works we affirm to be these only that are done in faith, and at God's commandment, who in His law has expressed what be the things that please Him. And evil works, we affirm to be, not only those that are expressly done against God's commandment, but those also that, in matters of religion and worshipping of God, have no other assurance but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning has ever rejected; as, by the prophet Isaiah and by our Master Christ Jesus, we are taught in these words--"In vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Of the Kirk.--Cap. XVI.

The law of God we confess and acknowledge most just, most equal, most holy, and most perfect; commanding those things which, being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and able to bring man to eternal felicity. But our nature is so corrupt, so weak, and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfil the works of the law in perfection; yea, "If we say we have no sin," (even after we are regenerate,) "we deceive ourselves, and the truth of God is not in us." And therefore it behoved us to apprehend Christ Jesus, with His justice and satisfaction, who is the end and accomplishment of the law to all that believe; by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of God fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points. For God the Father, beholding us in the body of His Son Christ Jesus, accepteth our imperfect obedience as it were perfect, and covereth our works, which are defiled with many spots, with the justice of His Son. As we have already plainly confessed, we do not mean that we are so set at liberty that we owe no obedience to the law; but we affirm that no man on earth, Christ Jesus only excepted, hath given, giveth, or shall give in work, that obedience to the law which the law requireth. When we have done all things, we must fall down and unfeignedly confess that we are unprofitable servants. And therefore whosoever boast themselves of the merits of their own works, or put their trust in the works of supererogation, boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idolatry.

As we believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe that from the beginning there has been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be a Church; that is to say, a company

and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him, by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the only Head of the same Kirk, which also is the body and spouse of Christ Jesus; which Kirk is Catholic, that is, universal, because it contains the elect of all ages, of all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion and society with God the Father, and with His Son Christ Jesus, through the sanctification of His Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called the communion, not of profane persons, but of saints, who, as citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits, to wit, of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and of one baptism; out of the which Kirk there is neither life nor eternal felicity. And therefore we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those that affirm that men which live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed. For as without Christ Jesus there is neither life nor salvation, so shall there none be participant thereof but such as the Father has given unto His Son Christ Jesus, and those that in time come to Him, avow His doctrine, and believe into Him--we comprehend the children with the faithful parents. This Kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth whom He has chosen, and comprehends as well, as said is, the elect that be departed, commonly called the Kirk triumphant, as those that yet live and fight against sin and Satan as shall live hereafter.

Chapter 19

Of the notes by which the True Kirk is discerned from the false, and who shall

The elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours; not that they sleep and come to a certain oblivion, as some fantastic heads do affirm, but they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, to which we and all God's elect are subject in this life; and therefore do bear the name of the Kirk militant. As contrariwise, the reprobate and unfaithful departed have anguish, torment, and pain, that cannot be expressed; so that neither are the one nor the other in such sleep that they feel not joy or torment, as, in the parable of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth chapter of Luke, His words to the thief, and these words of the souls crying under the altar, "O Lord, Thou that art righteous and just, how long shalt Thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth!" do plainly testify.

be judge of the doctrine.--Cap. XVIII.

Because that Satan from the beginning has laboured to deck his pestilent synagogue with the title of the Kirk of God, and has inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true Kirk and members thereof, as Cain did Abel; Ishmael, Isaac; Esau, Jacob; and the whole priesthood of the Jews, Jesus Christ Himself and His apostles after Him; it is a thing most requisite that the true Kirk be discerned from the filthy synagogue, by clear and perfect notes, lest we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The notes, signs, and assured tokens whereby the immaculate spouse of Christ Jesus is known from that horrible harlot the Kirk malignant, we affirm are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an

error; for Cain in age and title was preferred to Abel and Seth. Jerusalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, where also were the priests lineally descended from Aaron; and greater multitude followed the Scribes, Pharisees, and Priests than unfeignedly believed and approved Christ Jesus and His doctrine; and yet, as we suppose, no man of sound judgment will grant that any of the forenamed were the Kirk of God. The notes, therefore, of the true Kirk of God we believe, confess, and avow to be, first, the true preaching of the Word of God; into the which God has revealed Himself to us, as the writings of the prophets and apostles do declare. Secondly, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, which must be annexed to the Word and promise of God, to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. Lastly, ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered, as God's Word prescribes, whereby vice is repressed, and virtue nourished. Wheresoever then these former notes are seen, and of any time continue, be the number never so few above two or three, there, without all doubt, is the true Kirk of Christ, who, according to His promise, is in the midst of them; not that Kirk universal, of which we have before spoken, but particular; such as was in Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places in which the ministry was planted by Paul, and were of himself named the Kirks of God. And such Kirks, we the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland, professors of Christ Jesus, confess us to have in our cities, towns, and places reformed; for the doctrine taught in our Kirks is contained in the written Word of God, to wit, in the books of the Old and New Testaments. In these books we mean, which of the ancient have been reputed canonical, in the which we affirm that all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind are sufficiently expressed; the interpretation whereof, we confess, neither appertaineth to private nor public person, nor yet to any kirk for any

pre-eminence or prerogative, personal or local, which one has above another; but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which also the Scripture was written. When controversy then happeneth for the right understanding of any place or sentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of any abuse within the Kirk of God, we ought not so much to look what men before us have said or done, as unto that which the Holy Ghost uniformly speaks within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that which Christ Jesus Himself did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing universally granted, that the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of unity, is in nothing contrarious unto Himself. If then the interpretation, determination, or sentence of any doctor, Kirk, or Council, repugn to the plain Word of God written in any other place of the Scripture, it is a thing most certain, that theirs is not the true understanding and meaning of the Holy Ghost, supposing that councils, realms, and nations have approved and received the same. For we dare not receive and admit any interpretation which directly repugneth to any principal point of our faith, or to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet unto the rule of charity.

Chapter 20

Of General Councils, of their Power, Authority, and Causes of their

As we believe and confess the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfect, so do we affirm and avow the authority of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm, therefore, that such as allege the Scripture to have no other authority, but that which is received from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true Kirk, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own spouse and pastor, but taketh not upon her to be mistress over the same.

Convention.--Cap. XX.

As we do not rashly condemn that which godly men assembled together in General Council, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us; so without just examination dare we not receive whatsoever is obtrused unto men, under the name of General Councils. For plain it is, that as they were men, so have some of them manifestly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far, then, as the Council proveth the determination and commandment that it giveth by the plain Word of God, so far do we reverence and embrace the same. But if men, under the name of a Council, pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to make constitutions repugning to the Word of God, then utterly we must refuse the same, as the doctrine of devils which draws our souls from the voice of our only God, to follow the doctrines and constitutions of men. The cause, then, why General Councils were convened, was neither to make any perpetual law, which God before had not made, nor yet to forge new articles of our belief, nor to give the Word of God authority, much less to make that to be His Word, or yet the true interpretation of the same, which was not before by His holy will

expressed in His Word. But the cause of Councils, we mean of such as merit the name of Councils, was partly for confutation of heresies, and for giving public confession of their faith to the posterity following; which both they did by the authority of God's written Word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not err, by reason of their general assembly. And this we judge to have been the chief cause of General Councils. The other was for good policy and order to be constitute and observed in the Kirk, in which, as in the house of God, it becomes all things to be done decently and in order. Not that we think that a policy and an order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed when they rather foster superstition, than edify the Kirk using the same.

Of the Sacraments.--Cap. XXI.

As the Fathers under the Law, besides the verity of the sacrifices, had two chief Sacraments, to wit, Circumcision and the Passover, the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed God's people; so do we acknowledge and confess that we now, in the time of the Evangel, have two Sacraments only, institute by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used of all those that will be reputed members of His body, to wit, Baptism and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, called the Communion of His body and blood. And these Sacraments, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, were institute of God, not only to make a visible difference betwixt His people and those that were without His league, but also to exercise the faith of His children; and by participation of the same Sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society, which the elect have with their Head, Christ Jesus. And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of those that affirm Sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. No, we assuredly believe that by Baptism we are ingrafted in Christ Jesus to be made partakers of His justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted; and, also, that in the Supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that He becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into His natural blood, as the Papists have perniciously taught and damnably believed; but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the Sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carries us above all things that are visible, carnal and earthly, and makes us to

feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of the Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place, which is betwixt His body now glorified in the heaven and us now mortal in this earth, yet we most assuredly believe that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless is the communion of His blood. So that we confess and undoubtedly believe that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's Table, so do eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that He remaineth in them and they in Him; yea, that they are so made flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bones, that, as the Eternal Godhead hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus (which of its own condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality, so doth Christ Jesus His flesh and blood eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogative. Albeit we confess that these are neither given unto us at that only time, nor yet by the proper power and virtue of the Sacraments alone, we affirm that the faithful in the right use of the Lord's Table have such conjunction with Christ Jesus as the natural man cannot comprehend: yea, and farther we affirm that, albeit the faithful oppressed by negligence, and human infirmity, do not profit so much as they would at the very instant action of the Supper, yet shall it after bring forth fruit, as lively seed sown in good ground; for the Holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithful of the fruit of that mystical action. But all this, we say, comes by true faith, which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who only makes His Sacraments effectual unto us; and, therefore, whosoever slandereth us, as that we affirmed or believed Sacraments to be only naked and bare signs, do injury unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But liberally and frankly we must

confess that we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in His natural substance and the elements in the Sacramental signs; so that we will neither worship the signs in place of that which is signified by them, nor yet do we despise and interpret them as unprofitable and vain; but we use them with all reverence, examining ourselves diligently before we do so, because we are assured by the mouth of the Apostle that such as eat of that bread, and drink of that cup, unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus.

Chapter 22

Of the right Administration of the Sacraments.--Cap. XXII.

That Sacraments be rightly ministered, we judge two things requisite. The one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the Word, or into whose mouths God has put some sermon of exhortation, they being men lawfully chosen thereto by some kirk. The other, that they be ministered in such elements, and in such sort as God hath appointed. Else we affirm that they cease to be right Sacraments of Christ Jesus. And, therefore, it is, that we flee the society of the Papistical Kirk, in participation of their Sacraments; first, because their ministers are no ministers of Christ Jesus; yea, which is more horrible, they suffer women, whom the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize. And, secondly, because they have so adulterate, both the one Sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's action abideth in the original purity; for oil, salt, spittle, and such-like in baptism, are but men's inventions; adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes or buists, [244] are profanation of Christ's Sacraments, and no use of the same. For Christ Jesus said, "Take, eat," etc., "do ye this in remembrance of Me." By these words and charge He sanctified bread and wine to be the Sacrament of His body and blood; to the end that the one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other; and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blind Papists have done heretofore, who also have committed sacrilege, stealing from the people the one part of the Sacrament, to wit, the blessed cup. Moreover, that the Sacraments be rightly used, it is required that the end and cause why the

Sacraments were institute be understood and observed, as well by the minister as by the receivers: for, if the opinion be changed in the receiver, the right use ceaseth. This is most evident from the rejection of the sacrifices (as also if the teacher teach false doctrine) which were odious and abominable unto God, albeit they were His own ordinances, because wicked men made use of them for another end than God had ordained. The same affirm we of the Sacraments in the Papistical Kirk, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jesus to be adulterate, as well in the external form as in the end and opinion. What Christ Jesus did and commanded to be done, is evident by the three Evangelists, [who speak of the Sacraments,] and by Saint Paul. What the priest does at his altar we need not rehearse. The end and cause of Christ's institution, and why the self same should be used, is expressed in these words--"Do this in remembrance of Me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth" (that is, extol, preach, and magnify) "the Lord's death till He come." But to what end, and in what opinion the priests say their masses, let the words of the same, their own doctors and writings witness; to wit, that they, as mediators betwixt Christ and His Kirk, do offer unto God the Father a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead. This doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation to the sufficiency of His only sacrifice, once offered for purgation of all those that shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce.

Of the Civil Magistrate.--Cap. XXIV.

We confess and acknowledge that baptism appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithful as to those that be of age and discretion. And so we condemn the error of the Anabaptists, who deny baptism to appertain to children before they have faith and understanding. But the Supper of the Lord we confess to appertain only to such as have been of the household of faith and can try and examine themselves, as well in their faith as in their duty towards their neighbours. Such as eat [and drink] at that holy table without faith, or being at dissension or division with their brethren, do eat unworthily: and, therefore, in our kirks our ministers take public and particular examination of the knowledge and conversation of such as are to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jesus.

We confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities to be distinct and ordained by God: the powers and authorities in the same, be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magistrates in free cities, to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of His own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. So that whosoever goes about to take away or to confound the whole state of civil policies, now long established, we affirm not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly to fight against God's expressed will. We farther confess and acknowledge that such persons as are placed in authority are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holden in most reverent estimation; because they are the lieutenants of God, in whose session God Himself doth sit and judge (yea, even the judges and princes themselves), to whom by God is given the sword, to the praise

and defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open malefactors. Moreover, to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertains; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever, as in David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah and others, highly commended for their zeal in that case, may be espied. And therefore we confess and vow, that such as resist the supreme power, doing that thing which appertains to his charge, do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And farther, we affirm that whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel, and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travail in the executing of their office, deny their help, support, and counsel to God, who by the presence of His lieutenant craveth it of them.

Chapter 24

The Gifts freely given to the Kirk.--Cap. XXV.

Albeit that the word of God truly preached, the Sacraments rightly ministered, and discipline executed according to the Word of God, be the certain and infallible signs of the true Kirk; yet do we not so mean that every particular person joined with such a company, is an elect member of Christ Jesus. For we acknowledge and confess that darnel, cockle, and chaff may be sown, grow, and in great abundance lie in the midst of the wheat; that is, the reprobate may be joined in the society of the elect, and may externally use with them the benefits of the Word and Sacraments; but such, being but temporal professors in mouth and not in heart, do fall back and do not continue to the end; and therefore have they no fruit of Christ's death, resurrection, nor ascension. But such as with heart unfeignedly believe, and with mouth boldly confess the Lord Jesus, as before we have said, shall most assuredly receive these gifts; first, in this life, remission of sins, and that by faith only in Christ's blood, insomuch that, albeit sin remain and continually abide in these our mortal bodies, it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Christ's justice. Secondly, in the general judgment there shall be given to every man and woman resurrection of the flesh; for the sea shall give her dead, the earth those that therein be inclosed; yea, the Eternal, our God, shall stretch out His hand upon dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substance of the self-same flesh that every man now bears, to receive, according to their works, glory or punishment. For such as now delight in vanity, cruelty, filthiness, superstition, or idolatry, shall be adjudged to the fire inextinguishable, in the which they shall be tormented for ever, as well in their own bodies, as in

their souls, which now they give to serve the Devil in all abomination. But such as continue in well-doing to the end, boldly professing the Lord Jesus, [we constantly believe that they shall receive glory, honour and immortality, to reign for ever in life everlasting with Christ Jesus,] to whose glorified body all His elect shall be made like, when He shall appear again to judgment, and shall render up the kingdom to God His Father, who then shall be, and ever shall remain all in all things, God blessed for ever: To whom, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and ever. Amen.

Arise, O Lord, and let Thy enemies be confounded: Let them flee from Thy presence that hate Thy godly name: Give Thy servants strength to speak Thy Word in boldness: and let all nations attain to Thy true knowledge.

These Acts and Articles were read in face of Parliament and ratified by the Three Estates of the Realm at Edinburgh, on the 17th day of August in the year of God 1560.

[242] The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the Realm of Scotland, published by them in Parliament, and by the Estates thereof ratified and approved, as wholesome and sound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God's Word. (Original Title.)

I. Of Doctrine.

Seeing that Christ Jesus is He whom God the Father has commanded only to be heard and followed of His sheep, we urge it necessary that His Evangel be truly and openly preached in every kirk and assembly of this realm; and that all doctrine repugning to the same be utterly suppressed as damnable to man's salvation.

Lest upon this generality ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for explication. By preaching of the Evangel, we understand not only the Scriptures of the New Testament but also of the Old; to wit, the Law, Prophets, and Histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure, than we have Him now expressed in verity. And, therefore, with the Apostle we affirm, that all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort. In which books of Old and New Testaments we affirm that all things necessary for the instruction of the Kirk, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and sufficiently expressed.

By the contrary doctrine, we understand whatsoever men, by laws, councils, or constitutions have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the expressed commandment of God's Word; such as vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to several and disguised apparels, to the superstitious observation of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience' sake, prayer for the dead, and keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by man, such as be all those that the Papists have invented, as the feasts, as they term them, of apostles, martyrs, virgins, of Christmas, circumcision, epiphany, purification, and other fond feasts of our Lady. Which things, because in God's Scriptures they neither have commandment nor assurance, we

judge utterly to be abolished from this realm; affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

II. Of Sacraments.

To the true preaching of the holy Evangel of Christ Jesus it is necessary that His holy Sacraments be annexed, and truly ministered, as seals and visible confirmations of the spiritual promises contained in the Word. These be two, to wit, Baptism and the Holy Supper of the Lord Jesus; which are rightly ministered when the people, before the administration of the same, are plainly instructed by a lawful minister, and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus; when God's promises are rehearsed, the end and use of the Sacraments declared, and that in such a tongue as the people do understand; when, farther, to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their practice nothing changed from the institution of the Lord Jesus and practice of His holy Apostles.

Albeit the order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how both these Sacraments may be rightly ministered; yet, that a uniformity be kept, we have thought good to add the following as superabundant.

In Baptism, we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water only; that the Word and declaration of the promises ought to precede we have already said. Wherefore, whosoever presumeth in baptism to use oil, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration or crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Jesus of imperfection; for it was void of all such inventions devised by men. And such as would presume to alter Christ's perfect ordinance you ought severely to punish.

The Table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered when it approacheth most nigh to Christ's own action. But plain it is that at that Supper, Christ Jesus sat with His disciples, and therefore do we

judge, that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action; that bread and wine ought to be there; that thanks ought to be given; distribution of the same made; and commandment given that the bread should be taken and eaten; and that all should likewise drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is, we suppose no godly man will doubt. As touching the damnable errors of the Papists, who can defraud the common people of the one part of that holy Sacrament, to wit, of the cup of the Lord's blood, we suppose their error to be so manifest that it needeth no confutation; neither yet intend we to confute anything in this our simple confession; but to offer public disputation to all that list to oppugn anything affirmed by us.

That the minister break the bread and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobriety, to break with other, we think nighest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice of the Apostles, as we read it in St. Paul.

During this action, we think it necessary that some comfortable places of the Scriptures be read, which may bring in mind the death of Christ Jesus and the benefit of the same; for, seeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the same to be most apt to stir up our dull minds, then and at all times. Let the discretion of the ministers appoint the places to be read as they think good. What times we think most convenient for the administration of the one and of the other of these Sacraments shall be declared in the policy of the Kirk.

IV. Concerning Ministers and their Lawful Election.

As we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and His holy Sacraments to be rightly ministered; so can we not cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, monasteries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral kirks, canonries, colleges, others than presently are parish kirks or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this realm, except only the palaces, mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the same. As also that idolatry may be removed from the presence of all persons of whatsoever estate or condition within this realm.

Let your honours be assuredly persuaded that where idolatry is maintained, or permitted where it may be suppressed, there shall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also upon the negligent sufferers of the same; especially if God have armed their hands with power to suppress such abomination. By idolatry we understand the Mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same: and finally all honouring of God, not contained in His holy Word.

1. In a Kirk reformed or tending to reformation, none ought to presume to preach, or to minister the Sacraments, until they be called to the same in proper form. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission; and, because election of ministers in this cursed Papistry has altogether been abused, we think it expedient to treat of it more largely.

It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein

the space of forty days, the best reformed kirk, to wit, the church of the Superintendent with his Council, may present unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge.

And that this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons that are to be examined must be commanded to compear before men of soundest judgment, resident in some principal town adjacent unto them; as they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns, or Strathearn, to present themselves in St. Andrews; those that be in Lothian, Merse, or Teviotdale, in Edinburgh; and likewise those that be in other districts must resort to the best reformed cities or towns, that is, to the city of the Superintendent. There, first, in the schools or, failing that, in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their gifts, utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting some place of Scripture to be appointed by the ministry. This ended, the person that is presented, or that offered himself to the administration of the kirk, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the kirk, and that openly and before all that list to hear, in all the chief points that now lie in controversy betwixt us and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, or other such enemies to the Christian religion. If he be found sound, able to persuade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers, then must he be directed to the kirk and congregation where he should serve, that there, in open audience of his flock, in divers public sermons, he may give confession of his faith in the articles of Justification, of the office of Christ Jesus, of the number, effect, and use of the Sacraments; and finally, of the whole religion, which heretofore hath been corrupted by the Papists.

If his doctrine be found wholesome, and able to instruct the simple, and if the Kirk justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor

utterance, then we judge the kirk which before was destitute, unreasonable if they refuse him whom the Kirk did offer, and that they should be compelled, by the censure of the Council and Kirk, to receive the person appointed and approven by the judgment of the godly and learned; unless the same kirk have presented a man better or as well qualified to the examination, before this foresaid trial of the person presented by the Council of the whole Kirk. As, for example, the Council of the Kirk presents to any kirk a man to be their minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided: in the meantime, the kirk is provided with another, sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers and next reformed kirk to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people to whom he should be appointed pastor must be preferred to the presentation of the Council or greater kirk; unless the person presented by the inferior kirk be judged unable for the regiment by the learned. For it must be altogether avoided that any man be violently intrused or thrust in upon any congregation. This liberty must be carefully reserved to every several congregation, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers. But we do not call it violent intrusion when the Council of the Kirk, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a sufficient man to instruct them; and him they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as before is said.

2. What may disqualify any person for admission to the ministry of the Kirk.--It is to be observed that no person noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the Kirk by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the regiment of the Kirk, or yet received in ecclesiastical administration.

By public infamy we understand, not the common sins and offences which

any has committed in time of blindness, by frailty (if of the same, by a better and more sober conversation, he hath declared himself verily penitent), but such capital crimes as the civil sword ought and may punish with death, according to the word of God. For, besides that the Apostle requireth the life of ministers to be so irreprehensible, that they have a good testimony from those that be without, we judge it a thing unseemly and dangerous, that he shall have public authority to preach to others the life everlasting, from whom the civil magistrate may take the life temporal for a crime publicly committed. And if any object that the prince has pardoned his offence, and that he has publicly repented, and so is not only his life in assurance, but also that he may be received to the ministry of the Kirk; we answer that repentance does not take away the temporal punishment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamy before man. That the life and conversation of the person presented, or to be elected, may be the more clearly known, public edicts must be directed to all parts of this realm, or at the least to those parts where the person hath been most conversant: as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued after the years of infancy and childhood were passed. Strait commandment would be given that if any capital crimes were committed by him they should be notified; as, if he hath committed wilful murder, or adultery, if he were a common fornicator, a thief, a drunkard, a fighter, a brawler, or a contentious person. These edicts ought to be notified in the chief cities, with the like charge and commandment, with declaration that such as concealed his known sins did, so far as in them lay, deceive and betray the Kirk, which is the spouse of Christ Jesus, and did communicate with the sins of that wicked man.

3. Admission of Ministers.--The admission of ministers to their

offices, must consist in consent of the people and kirk whereto they shall be appointed, and in approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

We judge it expedient, that the admission of ministers be in open audience; that some especial minister make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, touching their manners, conversation, and life, as also touching the obedience which the kirk owe to their ministers. Commandment should be given as well to the minister as unto the people, both being present, to wit, that he with all careful diligence attend upon the flock of Christ Jesus, over which he is appointed preacher; that he will walk in the presence of God so sincerely that the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied unto him, and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly that his life may confirm, in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word he persuadeth unto others. The people would be exhorted to reverence and honour their ministers chosen, as the servants and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandments which they pronounce from God's mouth and book, even as they would obey God Himself; for whosoever heareth Christ's ministers heareth Himself, and whosoever rejecteth them, and despiseth their ministry and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus.

Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve that kirk, we cannot approve; for albeit the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge is not necessary.

The minister elected or presented, examined, and, as said is, publicly admitted, must not at his pleasure leave the flock to the which he has promised his fidelity and labours; nor may the flock reject nor change

him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition. The whole Kirk, or the most part thereof, for just considerations, may transfer a minister from one kirk to another: nor do we mean that men who now do serve as it were of benevolence may not be appointed and elected to serve in other places; but we cannot approve that once being solemnly elected and admitted they should change at their own pleasure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of godly and learned men shall seem to some a just reason why so strait and sharp examination should not be taken universally, because it shall appear that the most part of the kirks shall have no minister at all. But let these men understand that the lack of able men shall not excuse us before God if, by our consent, unable men be placed over the flock of Christ Jesus; as also that amongst the Gentiles, godly, learned men were as rare as they be now amongst us, when the Apostle gave the rule to try and examine ministers which we now follow. Let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true minister, yea and in some cases it is worse; for those that be utterly destitute of ministers will be diligent to search for them; but those that have a vain shadow do commonly without farther care content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a minister, when in very deed they have none. We cannot judge a dispenser of God's mysteries him who in no wise can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungry souls; neither judge we that the Sacraments can be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God has put no sermon of exhortation.

The chiefest remedy left to your honours and to us, in all this rarity of true ministers, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will please His mercy to thrust out faithful workmen into this His harvest; and next,

that your honours, with the consent of the Kirk, are bound by your authority to compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edify the Kirk of God, that they bestow them where greatest necessity shall be known; for no man may be permitted to live idle, or as he himself lists, but he must be appointed to travail where your wisdoms and the Kirk shall think expedient.

We cannot prescribe unto your honours certain rule how that ye shall distribute the ministers and learned men, whom God has already sent unto you. But hereof we are assured, that it greatly hindereth the progress of Christ's Evangel within this poor realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the Kirk, and others remain together in one place, the most part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require in God's name, that by the authority which ye have of God, ye compel all men to whom God has given any talent to persuade by wholesome doctrine, to bestow the same, if they be called by the Kirk to the advancement of Christ's glory, and to the comfort of His troubled flock; and that ye, with the consent of the Kirk, assign unto your chiefest workmen, not only towns to remain in, but also provinces, that by their faithful labours kirks may be erected, and order established, where none is now. If on this manner ye will use your power and authority, chiefly seeking God's glory, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God shall bless you and your enterprises.

4. For Readers.--To the kirks where no ministers can be had presently must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the Kirk, till they grow to greater perfection; and in process of time he that is but a reader may attain to the further degree, and, by consent of the Kirk and discreet ministers, may be permitted to administer the

Sacraments; but not before he be able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, besides his reading, and be admitted to the ministry. We know some that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserved praise of all godly men, and whose knowledge also might greatly help the simple, who yet only content themselves with reading. These must be animated and, by gentle admonition, encouraged by some exhortation to comfort their brethren, and so may be admitted to administration of the Sacraments. But such readers as have had neither exercise nor continuance in Christ's true religion must abstain from ministration of the Sacraments, until they give declaration and witness of their honesty and further knowledge. [246]

[246] The Lords think that none should be admitted to preach unless they are qualified therefor, but rather that they should be retained as readers; and such as are preachers already, not found qualified for that office by the Superintendent, should be placed as readers.

(Additio.) [Here and at sundry other points in the Book there are incorporated passages marked "Additio," importing emendations made by the Lords upon the original document submitted by the Compilers. In the present edition these emendations are, in most instances, transferred to footnotes.--Ed.]

V. Concerning Provision for the Ministers, and for Distribution of the Rents

and Possessions justly appertaining to the Kirk.

Seeing that from our Master Christ Jesus and His Apostle Paul we have it that the workman is worthy of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzled, of necessity it is that honest provision be made for the ministers. This we require to be such that they have neither occasion of solicitude nor of insolence and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them. For we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godliness, and equity that the widow and children of him who in his life did faithfully serve the Kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should, after his death, be left comfortless of all provision. [247]

It is difficult to appoint a stipend to every several minister, by reason that the charges and necessity of all will not be alike; for some will be continuers in one place, while some will be compelled to travel and oft to change dwelling-place if they shall have charge of divers kirks. Some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than another, and some perchance will be single men. If equal stipends be appointed to all those that in charge are so unequal, one would suffer penury, or another would have superfluity and too much. We judge, therefore, that every minister should have sufficient whereupon to keep a house and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, as well for keeping of his house, as clothes, flesh, fish, books, fuel, and other things necessary. Provision should be made for

this from the rents and treasury of the kirk where he serveth, at the discretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the person and necessity of the time. It is thought good that every minister should have at least forty bolls meal and twenty-six bolls malt, to find his house in bread and drink, and so much more as the discretion of the kirk finds necessary. He should have, besides, money for buying other provision to his house, and other necessaries, and the modification of this is referred to the judgment of the kirk, to be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the kirk; providing always that there be advanced to every minister sufficient provision of all things for a quarter of a year beforehand. [248]

For those that travel from place to place, whom we call Superintendents, who remain a month or less in one place for the establishing of the Kirk, and thereafter, for the same purpose, change to another place, further consideration must be had. To each Superintendent there should be allowed, we think, six chalders [249] bear, [250] nine chalders meal, three chalders oats for his horse, and five hundred marks of money. This shall be eked and pared at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm, and be paid to him yearly.

The children of the ministers must have the liberties of the cities next adjacent the place of their father's labours, freely granted. They must have the privileges in schools, and bursaries in colleges; that is, they shall be sustained at learning, if they be found apt thereto, and failing thereof, they shall be put to some handicraft, or exercised in some virtuous industry, whereby they may become profitable members of the commonwealth. [251]

In God's presence we bear witness that we require these provisions not so much for ourselves, or for any that to us appertain, as for the

increase of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himself and his children to God, and so serve His Kirk that he will look for no worldly commodity. This cankered nature which we bear is provoked to follow virtue when it seeth honour and profit annexed to the same, as, contrarily, virtue is despised of many when virtuous and godly men live without honour. And, too, we should be sorry that poverty should discourage men from study and from following the way of virtue, whereby they might edify the Kirk and flock of Christ Jesus.

We have not spoken of the stipend of readers, because, if they can do nothing but read, they can be neither called nor judged true ministers. And yet regard must be had to their labours; but only that they may be spurred forward to virtue, and not by a stipend appointed for their reading be retained permanently in that estate. For a reader that is lately entered, we think forty marks, more or less, as the parishioners and readers can agree, should be sufficient. He must teach the children of the parish, besides reading the Common Prayers and the books of the New and Old Testaments. If from reading he begin to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, until, finally, he come to the honour of a minister. But if he be found unable after two years, then must he be removed from office, and discharged of all stipend, in order that another may be proven as long. It is always to be avoided, that any reader who is judged unable to come at any time to some reasonable knowledge, whereby he may edify the Kirk, shall perpetually be nourished upon the charge of the Kirk. Further, it must be avoided that any child, or person within twenty-one years of age, be admitted to the office of a reader. Readers ought to be endowed with gravity, wit, and discretion, lest by their lightness the Prayers or Scriptures read be of less price and estimation. The readers shall be

put in by the Kirk, and admitted by the Superintendent.

For the other sort of readers who have long continued in godliness, have some gift of exhortation, are in hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and teach the children, we think a hundred marks, or more at the discretion of the Kirk, may be appointed; difference being made betwixt them and the ministers that openly preach the word and minister the Sacraments.

There still remain other two sorts of people to be provided for, from that which is called the patrimony of the Kirk, to wit, the poor and the teachers of youth. Every several kirk must provide for the poor within itself; for fearful and horrible it is that the poor (whom not only God the Father in His law, but Christ Jesus in His Evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul, have so earnestly commended to our care) are universally so contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging. Them the civil magistrate ought to punish; but God commandeth His people to be careful for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed, who neither can nor may travail for their sustentation. For these latter, as also for persons of honesty fallen into decay and penury, such provision ought to be made, that of our abundance should their indigence be relieved.

How, most conveniently and most easily, this may be done in every city, and in other parts of this realm, God shall show you wisdom and the means, if your minds shall godly thereto be inclined. All must not be suffered to beg that gladly so would do; neither yet must beggars remain where they choose; but the stout and strong beggar must be compelled to work, and every person that may not work must be compelled to repair to the place where he or she was born (unless of long continuance he or she have remained in one place), and there reasonable

provision must be made, as the Church shall appoint. The order nor sums, in our judgment, cannot be particularly appointed, until such time as the poor of every city, town, or parish be compelled to repair to the places where they were born, or to the place of their residence. There their names and number must be taken and put in roll; and then may the wisdom of the kirk appoint stipends accordingly.

[247] Provision for the wives of ministers after their decease to be remitted to the discretion of the Kirk. (Additio.)

[248] This paragraph was an additio of the Lords of the Congregation.

[249] A measure of about 90 bushels, roughly.

[250] Barley.

[251] We require the same for their daughters; to wit, that they be virtuously brought up, and honestly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the Kirk. (Additio.)

VI. Of the Superintendents. [252]

1. Because we have appointed a larger stipend to these that shall be Superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signify such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time; as also how many Superintendents we think necessary, with their bounds, office, the manner of their election, and causes that may deserve deposition from that charge.

We consider that, if the ministers whom God hath endowed with His singular graces amongst us should be appointed to several and certain places, there to make their continual residence, the greatest part of this realm should be destitute of all doctrine. This would not only give occasion for great murmuring, but would be dangerous to the salvation of many. Therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient for this time that, from the whole number of godly and learned men now presently in this realm, there be selected twelve or ten (for into so many provinces have we divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment shall be given to plant and erect churches, and to set order and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribeth, to the districts that shall be appointed to their care, where none are now. By these means your love and common care over all the inhabitants of this realm, to whom ye are equal debtors, shall evidently appear; and the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge. Many that now be dead in superstition and ignorance shall attain to some feeling of godliness, and may be provoked to search and seek further knowledge of God, and of His true religion and worshipping. On the contrary, if they be neglected, they shall not only grudge, but also they shall seek the

means whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry. Therefore nothing desire we more earnestly than that Christ Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realm; and this shall not suddenly be, unless men be appointed and compelled faithfully to travel in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.

2. The Names of the Places of Residence, and several Dioceses of the Superintendents.--(1) The Superintendent of Orkney; whose diocese shall be the Isles of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and Strathnaver. His residence to be in the town of Kirkwall.

(2) The Superintendent of Ross; whose diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Moray, with the North Isles of Skye, and the Lewis, with their adjacents. His residence to be in Chanonry of Ross.

(3) The Superintendent of Argyll; whose diocese shall comprehend Argyll, Kintyre, Lorne, the South Isles, Arran, and Bute, with their adjacents, with Lochaber. His residence to be in Argyll.

(4) The Superintendent of Aberdeen; whose diocese is betwixt Dee and Spey, containing the sheriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff. His residence to be in Old Aberdeen.

(5) The Superintendent of Brechin; whose diocese shall be the whole sheriffdoms of Mearns and Angus, and the Brae of Mar to Dee. His residence to be in Brechin.

(6) The Superintendent of St. Andrews; whose diocese shall comprehend the whole sheriffdom of Fife and Fotheringham to Stirling; and the whole sheriffdom of Perth. His residence to be in St. Andrews.

(7) The Superintendent of Edinburgh; whose diocese shall comprehend the whole sheriffdoms of Lothian, and Stirling on the south side of the Water of Forth; and thereto is added, by consent of the whole Church, Merse, Lauderdale, and Wedale. [253] His residence to be in Edinburgh.

(8) The Superintendent of Jedburgh; whose diocese shall comprehend

Teviotdale, Tweeddale, Liddesdale, with the Forest of Ettrick. His residence to be Jedburgh.

(9) The Superintendent of Glasgow; whose diocese shall comprehend Clydesdale, Renfrew, Monteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham. His residence to be in Glasgow.

(10) The Superintendent of Dumfries; whose diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, Nithsdale, Annandale, with the rest of the Dales in the west. His residence to be in Dumfries.

Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore; neither must they remain where gladly they would. They must be preachers themselves, and such as may make no long residence in any one place, until their churches be planted and provided with ministers, or at the least with readers.

Charge must be given to them that they remain in no one place above twenty or thirty days in their visitation, until they have passed through their whole bounds. They must preach thrice every week, at the least; and when they return to their principal town and residence they must be likewise exercised in preaching and in edification of the Church there; and yet they must not be suffered to continue there so long, as that they seem to neglect their other churches. After they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they shall be compelled, unless by sickness they be detained, to re-enter upon visitation. They shall not only preach, but also shall examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, the order of their churches, and the manners of the people. They must further consider how the poor are provided for, and how the youth are instructed; they must admonish where admonition is needed, restore order where by good counsel they are able to appease; and, finally, they must note such crimes as are heinous, that by the censure of the Church the same may

be corrected.

If the Superintendent be found negligent in any of these chief points of his office, and especially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the Word, and in visitation of his churches; or if he be convicted of any of those crimes which in the common ministers are condemned, he must be deposed, without respect to his person or office.

3. Of the Election of Superintendents.--In this present necessity, the nomination, examination, and admission of Superintendents cannot be so strait as we require, and as afterwards it must be. For the present, therefore, we think sufficient that either your honours, by yourselves, nominate so many as may serve the forewritten provinces; or that ye give commission to men in whom ye suppose the fear of God to be, to do the same; these men, being called into your presence, shall be by you, and by such as your honours may please to call unto you for consultation in that case, appointed to their provinces. We think it expedient and necessary, that the gentlemen, as well as the burgesses of every diocese, be made privy at the same time to the election of the Superintendent, both to bring the Church into some practice of her liberty, and to make the pastor better favoured of the flock whom themselves have chosen.

If your honours cannot find for the present so many able men as the necessity requireth, then, on our judgments, it is more profitable that those provinces remain vacant until God provide better, rather than that men unable to edify and govern the Church be suddenly placed in that charge. For experience hath taught us what pestilence hath been engendered in the Church by men unable to discharge their offices. When, therefore, after three years, any Superintendent shall depart, or chance to be deposed, the chief town within that province, to wit, the ministers, elders, and deacons, with the magistrate and council of the

same town, shall nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the Superintendent, as to two or three provinces next adjacent, two or three of the most learned and most godly ministers within the whole realm, that from amongst them, one with public consent may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant. The chief town shall be bound to do this within the term of twenty days. If this period expire and no man be presented, then shall three of the next adjacent provinces, with consent of their Superintendents, ministers, and elders, enter into the right and privileges of the chief town, and shall present every one of them one, or two if they list, to the chief town, to be examined as the order requireth. It shall also be lawful for all the churches of the diocese to nominate within the same time such persons as they think worthy to stand in election; and this must be put in edict.

After the nominations are made, public edicts must be sent, first warning all men that have any objection against the persons nominated, or against any one of them, to be present in the chief town at day and place appointed, to object what they can against the election. Thirty days we think sufficient to be assigned thereto; thirty days, we mean, after the nomination shall be made.

The day of election being come, the whole ministers of that province, with three or more of the Superintendents next adjacent, or thereto named, shall examine not only the learning, but also the manners, prudence, and ability to govern the Church, of all those that are nominated; that he who shall be found most worthy may be burdened with the charge. If the ministers of the whole province should bring with them the votes of those that were committed to their care, the election should be the more free; but, always, the votes of all those that convene must be required. The examinations must be publicly made; those that stand in election must publicly preach; and men must be charged in

the name of God, to vote according to conscience, and not after affection. If anything be objected against any that stand in election, the Superintendents and ministers must consider whether the objection be made of conscience or of malice, and they must answer accordingly. Other ceremonies than sharp examination, approbation of the ministers and Superintendents, with the public consent of the elders and people then present, we cannot allow. The Superintendent being elected, and appointed to his charge, must be subjected to the censure and correction of the ministers and elders, not only of his chief town, but also of the whole province over which he is appointed overseer.

If his offences be known, and the ministers and elders of his province be negligent in correcting him, the next one or two Superintendents, with their ministers and elders, may convene him, and the ministers and elders of his chief town, within his own province or chief town; and they may accuse and correct the Superintendent in those things that are worthy of correction, as well as the ministers and elders for their negligence and their ungodly tolerance of his offences. Whatsoever crime deserves correction or deposition of any other minister deserveth the same in the Superintendent, without respect of person.

After the Church is established, and three years be passed, we require that no man be called to the office of a Superintendent, who hath not for two years at least, given declaration of his faithful labours in the ministry of some church.

No Superintendent may be transferred at the pleasure or request of any one province without the consent of the whole Council of the Church, and that only for grave causes and considerations.

Of one thing, in the end, we must admonish your honours. In appointing Superintendents for the present, ye may not disappoint your chief towns, and places where learning is exercised, of such ministers, as

more may profit by residence in one place than by continual travel from place to place. For if ye so do, the youth in those places shall lack the profound interpretation of the Scriptures; and so shall it be long before your gardens send forth many plants. On the contrary, if one or two towns be continually exercised as they may, the Commonwealth shall shortly taste of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly.

[252] The Sections are numbered in this edition as in the edition of 1722. Originally the Book of Discipline had nine "heads" with sundry sub-headings, numbered in some cases and not in others. The numbering coincides up to this point.--Ed.

[253] The tract of country drained by the Gala Water and Caden Water. It comprised an ecclesiastical district in the unreformed Church, and subsequently a parish, of which the town of Stow formed the central point.--Ed.

VII. Of Schools and Universities.

As the office and duty of the godly magistrate is not only to purge the Church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from bondage of tyrants, but also to provide, to the uttermost of his power, that it may abide in the same purity to the posterities following, we cannot but freely communicate our judgments to your honours in this behalf.

1. The Necessity of Schools.--Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of all godliness; and seeing, also, how God ceaseth to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them, as He changed His Apostles and others in the primitive Church: it is necessary that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, for the profit and comfort of that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus. Therefore we judge it necessary that every several church have a schoolmaster appointed, such an one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upaland, [254] where the people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there take care of the children and youth of the parish, instructing them in their first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism, as we have it now translated in the Book of our Common Order, called the Order of Geneva.

And, farther, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the Superintendent, there be erected a college, in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the tongues, shall be read by sufficient Masters. For these honest stipends must be appointed; and provision must be made for those that are poor, and are not able by themselves, nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward.

The fruit and commodity hereof shall speedily appear. For, first, the youths and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in virtue, in presence of their friends; by whose good care may be avoided those many inconveniences into which youth commonly falls, either by too much liberty, which they have in strange and unknown places while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good care, and of such necessities as their tender age requireth. Secondarily, the exercise of the children in every church shall be great instruction to the aged.

Lastly, the great schools, called Universities, shall be replenished with those that are apt to learn; for this must be carefully provided, that no father, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasy, especially in their youth. All must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.

The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness, as heretofore they have done. They must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled to dedicate their sons, by good exercise, to the profit of the Church and to the Commonwealth; and this they must do at their own expense, because they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained as the charge of the Church, until trial be taken whether the spirit of docility be found in them or not. If they be found apt to letters and learning, then may they not (we mean, neither the sons of

the rich, nor yet the sons of the poor) be permitted to reject learning. They must be charged to continue their study, so that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them. For this purpose must discreet, learned, and grave men be appointed to visit all schools for the trial of their exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit, the ministers and elders, with the best learned in every town, shall every quarter take examination how the youth have profited.

A certain time must be appointed to reading, and to learning of the Catechism; a certain time to Grammar, and to the Latin tongue; a certain time to the Arts, Philosophy, and to the other tongues; and a certain time to that study in which they intend chiefly to travail for the profit of the Commonwealth. This time being expired, we mean in every course, the children must either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be sent to some handicraft, or to some other profitable exercise. Care must always be taken that first they have the form of knowledge of Christian religion, to wit, the knowledge of God's law and commandments; the use and office of the same; the chief articles of our belief; the right form to pray unto God; the number, use, and effect of the Sacraments; the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of His office and natures, and such others. Without this knowledge, neither deserveth any man to be named a Christian, nor ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's Table; and, therefore, these principles ought to be taught and must be learned in youth.

2. The Times appointed to every Course.--Two years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the Catechism, and to have some entrance to the first rudiments of Grammar. For the full accomplishment of the Grammar, we think other three or four years, at most, sufficient. For the Arts, to wit, Logic and Rhetoric, and for the Greek tongue, we allow four years. The rest of youth, until the age of

twenty-four years, should be spent in that study wherein the learner would profit the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the Laws or Physic or Divinity. After twenty-four years have been spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the Church or Commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader in the same College or University. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things into practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years, shall serve itself with true preachers and other officers necessary for your Commonwealth.

3. The Erection of Universities.--The Grammar schools and schools of the tongues being erected as we have said, next we think it necessary that there be three Universities in this whole realm, established in the towns accustomed: the first in St. Andrews, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen.

In the first University and principal, which is St. Andrews, there be three Colleges. And in the first College, which is the entrance of the University, there be four classes or sessions: the first, to the new supposts, [255] shall be only Dialectic; the next, only Mathematics; the third, of Physic only; the fourth, of Medicine. And in the second College, two classes or sessions: the first, in Moral Philosophy; the second, in the Laws. And in the third College, two classes or sessions: the first, in the tongues, to wit, Greek and Hebrew; the second, in Divinity.

4. Of Readers, and of the Degrees, of Time, and Study.--In the first College, and in the first class, shall be a reader [256] of Dialectic, who shall accomplish his course thereof in one year. In the Mathematic, which is the second class, shall be a reader who shall complete his course of Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, and Astrology in one year. In the third class, shall be a reader of Natural Philosophy, who shall

complete his course in a year. And he who, after these three years, by trial and examination, shall be found sufficiently instructed in these aforesaid sciences, shall be laureate and graduate in Philosophy. In the fourth class, shall be a reader of Medicine, who shall complete his course in five years. After the study for this time, he who is by examination found sufficient, shall be graduate in Medicine.

In the second College, in the first class, there shall be one reader only in the Ethics, Economics, and Politics, who shall complete his course in the space of one year. In the second class, shall be two readers in the Municipal and Roman Laws, who shall complete their courses in four years. After this time, those who by examination are found sufficient, shall be graduate in the Laws.

In the third College, in the first class, there shall be a reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who shall complete the grammars thereof in half a year, and for the remnant of the year, the reader of the Hebrew shall interpret a Book of Moses, the Prophets or the Psalms; so that his course and class shall continue a year. The reader of the Greek shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some place of the New Testament. And in the second class, there shall be two readers in Divinity, one in the New Testament, the other in the Old. These shall complete their course in five years. After this time, those shall be graduate in Divinity who shall be found by examination sufficient.

We think it expedient that no one be admitted unto the first College, and to be suppost of the University, unless he have from the master of the school, and from the minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, a testimonial of his learning, docility, [257] age, and parentage. Likewise, trial shall be taken by certain examiners, deputed by the rector and Principals, and if he be found sufficiently

instructed in Dialectic, he shall forthwith, that same year, be promoted to the class of Mathematic.

None shall be admitted to the class of Medicine but he that shall have his testimonial of his time well spent in Dialectic, Mathematic, and Physic, and of his docility [257] in the last.

None shall be admitted to the class of the Laws but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in Dialectic, Mathematic, Physic, Ethic, Economics, and Politics, and of his docility in the last.

None shall be admitted unto the class and session of Divinity but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in Dialectic, Mathematic, Physic, Ethic, Economic, Moral Philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docility in Moral Philosophy and the Hebrew tongue. But neither shall such as will apply them to hear the Laws be compelled to hear Medicine; nor such as apply them to hear Divinity be compelled to hear either Medicine or the Laws.

In the second University, which is Glasgow, there shall be two Colleges only. In the first shall be a class of Dialectic, another in Mathematic, the third in Physic, ordered in all sorts as St. Andrews.

In the second College there shall be four classes: the first in Moral Philosophy, Ethics, Economics, and Politics; the second, of the Municipal and Roman Law; the third, of the Hebrew tongue; the fourth, in Divinity. These shall be ordered in all sorts, as we have written in the order of the University of St. Andrews.

The third University of Aberdeen shall be conform to this University of Glasgow, in all sorts.

We think it needful that there be chosen from the body of the University a Principal for every College--a man of learning, discretion, and diligence. He shall receive the whole rents of the

College, and distribute the same according to the erection of the College, and shall daily hearken the diet accounts, adjoining to him weekly one of the readers or regents. In the oversight of the readers and regents he shall watch over their diligence, in their reading, as well as their exercitation of the youth in the matter taught. He shall have charge of the policy and uphold of the place; and for punishment of crimes, shall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the College. He shall be accountable yearly to the Superintendent, Rector, and rest of the Principals convened, about the first of November. His election shall be in this sort. There shall be three of the most sufficient men of the University, not Principals already, nominated by the members of the College (sworn to follow their consciences) whose Principal is departed, and publicly proponed through the whole University. After eight days the Superintendent, by himself or his special Procurator, with the Rector and rest of the Principals, as a chapter convened, shall confirm that one of the three whom they think most sufficient, being before sworn to do the same with single eye, without respect to fee or favour.

In every College, we think needful at the least one steward, one cook, one gardener, and one porter. These shall be subject to discipline of the Principal, as the rest.

Every University shall have a beadle subject to serve at all times throughout the whole University, as the Rector and Principals shall command.

Every University shall have a Rector, chosen from year to year as follows. The Principals being convened with the whole Regents in chapter, shall be sworn that every man in his room shall nominate such one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to bear such charge and dignity; and three of them that shall be of test nominated

shall be put in edict publicly, fifteen days before Michaelmas. On Michaelmas Even shall be convened the whole Principals, Regents, and Supposts that are graduate, or have at least studied their time in Ethics, Economics, and Politics, and no others younger; and every nation, [258] first protesting in God's presence to follow the sincere dictate of their consciences, shall nominate one of the said three. He that has most votes shall be confirmed by the Superintendent and Principal, and his duty with an exhortation shall be proponed unto him. This shall be done on the twenty-eighth day of September; and thereafter oaths shall be taken, hinc inde, for his just and godly government, and of the remnant's lawful submission and obedience. At his entrance to the University he shall be propyned with a new garment, bearing Insignia Magistratus; and he shall be bound to visit every College monthly, and with his presence to decorate and examine the lections and exercitation thereof. His assessors shall be a lawyer and a theologian, with whose advice he shall decide all civil questions betwixt the members of the University. If any one outside the University shall pursue a member thereof, or be pursued by a member of the same, the Rector shall assist the Provost and Bailies, or other judges competent, to see that justice be ministered in these cases. Likewise, if any of the University be criminally pursued, he shall assist the judges competent, and see that justice be ministered.

We think it expedient, that in every College, in each University, there be twenty-four bursars, divided equally in all the classes and sessions, as is above expressed: that is, in St. Andrews, seventy-two bursars; in Glasgow, forty-eight bursars; in Aberdeen, forty-eight; to be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the College; and be admitted at the examination of the ministry and chapter of Principals in the University, as well in docility of the persons offered, as of

the ability of their parents to sustain them themselves, and not to burden the Commonwealth with them.

5. Of Stipends and Expenses necessary.--We think expedient that the Universities be doted with temporal lands, with rents, and revenues of the Bishoprics' temporality, and of the Collegiate Kirks, as far as their ordinary charges shall require; and therefore, we crave that it would please your honours, by advice of your honours' Council and vote of Parliament, to do the same. And that the same may be shortly expedite, we have recollected the sums we think necessary for the same. (1) For the ordinary stipend of the Dialectitian Reader, the Mathematician, Physician, and Reader in Moral Philosophy, we think sufficient a hundred pounds for every one of them. (2) For the stipend of every Reader in Medicine and Laws, a hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence. (3) To every Reader in Hebrew, Greek, and Divinity, two hundred pounds. (4) To every Principal of a College, ij lb. (5) To every Steward, sixteen pounds of fee. (6) To every Gardener, to every Cook, and to every Porter, each, ten marks. (7) To the board of every Bursar, other than those in the classes of Theology and Medicine, twenty pounds. (8) To every Bursar in the class of Theology, which will be only twelve persons in St. Andrews, 24 lib.

The sum of yearly and ordinary expenses in the University of St. Andrews, extends to 3796 lib.

The sum of yearly and ordinary expenses of Glasgow 2922 "

Aberdeen, the same 2922 "

The sum of the ordinary charges of the whole 9640 lib.

The beadle's stipend shall be of every entrant and suppost of the University, two shillings; of every one graduate in Philosophy, three shillings; of every one graduate in Medicine or Laws, four shillings; in Theology, five shillings; all Bursars being excepted.

We have thought good that, for building and upkeep of the places, a general collection be made; and that every Earl's son, at his entrance to the University, shall give forty shillings, and suchlike at every graduation, forty shillings; every Lord's son suchlike at each time, thirty shillings; each freeholding Baron's son, twenty shillings; every Feuar and substantial gentleman's son, one mark; every substantial Husbandman's or Burgess's son, at each time, ten shillings; every one of the rest, excepting the Bursars, five shillings at each time.

We recommend that this collection be gathered in a common box, put in keeping of the Principal of the Theologians, every Principal having a key thereof. The contents should be counted each year once, with the relicts of the Principals to be laid into the same, about the fifteenth day of November, in presence of the Superintendent, Rector, and the whole Principals. At their whole consent, or at least the most part thereof, the sums collected should be reserved and employed only upon the building and upkeep of the places, and repairing of the same, as ever necessity shall require. For this end, the Rector with his assistants shall be obliged to visit the places each year once, immediately after he is promoted, upon the last of October, or thereby.

6. Of the Privilege of the University.--We desire that innocency should defend us rather than privilege, and we think that each person of the University should be answerable, before the Provost and Bailies of each town where the Universities are, for all crimes whereof they are accused, only that the Rector be Assessor to them in the said actions. In civil matters, if the question on both sides be betwixt members of the University, making their residence and exercitation therein for the time, the party called shall not be obliged to answer, otherwise than before the Rector and his Assessors. In all other cases of civil pursuit, the general rule of the Law shall be observed, Actor sequitur

forum rei, etc.

The Rector and all inferior members of the University shall be exempted from all taxations, imposts, charges of war, or any other charge that may onerate or abstract him or them from the duties of their office--such as Tutory, Curatory, Deaconry, or any suchlike, that are established, or hereafter shall be established in our Commonwealth. In this manner, without trouble, this one may wait upon the upbringing of the youth in learning, that other bestow his time only in that most necessary exercition. [259]

All other things, touching the books to be read in each class and all such particular affairs, we refer to the discretion of the Masters, Principals, and Regents, with their well advised Councils; not doubting but that, if God shall grant quietness and give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to provide for them. These, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion, than help or comfort. And as this is most true, we leave it with the rest of the commodities to be weighed by your honours' wisdom, and set forward by your authority for the most high advancement of this Commonwealth, committed to your charge.

[254] At a distance from the sea; in the country.

[255] Scholars; undergraduates.

[256] Tutor.

[257] Capacity for receiving instruction.

[257] Capacity for receiving instruction.

[258] Classification of students according to birthplace.

[259] Bodily exercise; military exercise.--Jamieson.

VIII. Of the Rents and Patrimony of the Kirk.

The ministers and the poor, together with the schools, when order shall be taken thereanent, must be sustained upon the charges of the Church. Provision must therefore be made, how and from whom the necessary sums must be lifted. But, before we enter upon this head, we must crave of your honours, in the name of the Eternal God and of His Son, Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground. These have been so oppressed by these cruel beasts, the Papists, that their lives have been dolorous and bitter. If ye will have God author and approver of your reformation, ye must not follow their footsteps. Ye must have compassion upon your brethren, appointing them to pay reasonable teinds, that they may feel some benefit of Christ Jesus, now preached unto them.

With grief of heart we hear that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papists, requiring of them whatsoever before they paid to the Church; so that the papistical tyranny is only like to be changed to the tyranny of the lord or of the laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that so we do: if you permit such cruelty to be used, neither shall ye, who by your authority ought to gainstand such oppression, nor shall they that use the same, escape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the Church to be restored to her liberty, that, in her restitution, the poor, who heretofore by the cruel Papists have been spoiled and oppressed, may now receive some comfort and relaxation. [260]

Nor do we judge it to proceed from justice that one man shall possess

the teinds of another; but we think it a thing most reasonable that every man have the use of his own teinds, provided that he be answerable to the deacons and treasurers of the Church for that which justly shall be appointed unto him. We require deacons and treasurers to receive the rents rather than the ministers themselves; because not only the ministers, but also the poor and schools must be sustained from the teinds. We think it most expedient, therefore, that common treasurers, to wit, the deacons, be appointed from year to year, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the Church; and that commandment be given that no man be permitted either to receive, or yet to intromit with anything appertaining to the sustentation of the persons foresaid, but such as by common consent of the Church are thereto appointed.

If any think this prejudicial to the tacks and assedations [261] of those that now possess the teinds, let them understand that an unjust possession is no possession before God. Those of whom they received their title and presupposed right were and are thieves and murderers, and had no power so to alienate the patrimony and common good of the Church. And yet we are not so extreme, but that we wish just recompense to be made to such as have disbursed sums of money to those unjust possessors, so that it has not been so disbursed of late days to the prejudice of the Church. Such alienations as are found and known to be made by plain collusion ought in nowise to be sustained by you. For that purpose, we think it most expedient that whosoever have assedation of teinds or churches be openly warned to produce their assedation and assurance, that, cognition [262] being taken, the just tacksman may have a just and reasonable recompense for the years that are to run, the profit of the years passed being considered and deducted; and that the unjust and surmised may be served accordingly. Thus the Church, in

the end, may recover her liberty and freedom, and that only for relief of the poor.

Your honours may easily understand that we speak not now for ourselves, but in favour of the poor and the labourers defrauded and oppressed by the priests and by their confederate pensioners. For, while the priests' pensioner's idle belly has been delicately fed, the poor, to whom a portion of that appertains, have pined with hunger. Moreover, the true labourers were compelled to pay that which they ought not: for the labourer is neither debtor to the dumb dog called the bishop, nor yet unto his hired pensioner; but is debtor only unto the Church. And the Church is only bound to sustain and nourish at her charges the persons before mentioned, to wit, the ministers of the Word, the poor, and the teachers of the youth.

But now to return to the former head. The sums able to sustain these forenamed persons, and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policy within the Church, must be lifted from the teinds, to wit, the teind sheaf, teind hay, teind hemp, teind lint, teind fishes, teind calf, teind foal, teind lamb, teind wool, teind cheese, etc. And, because that we know that the tithes reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity, we think that all things doted to hospitality, all annual rents, both in burgh and land, pertaining to Priests, Chantery, [263] Colleges, Chaplainries, and to Friars of all orders, to the Sisters of the Sciennes, and to all others of that order, and such others within this realm, should be received still to the use of the church or churches within the towns or parishes where they were doted.

Furthermore, there should be appropriated for the upholding of the Universities and sustentation of the Superintendents, the whole revenue of the temporality of the Bishops', Deans', and Archdeacons' lands, and

all rents of lands pertaining to the Cathedral churches whatsoever. Besides, merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, who have nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must make some provision in their cities, towns, or dwelling-places to support the need of the Church.

To the ministers, and failing these the Readers, must be restored their manses and their glebes; otherwise they cannot serve their flock at all times as their duty is. If any glebe exceed six acres of land, the rest shall remain in the possessor's hands until order be taken therein.

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The receivers and collectors of these rents and duties must be the deacons or treasurers appointed from year to year in every church, by common consent and free election of the church. The deacons may distribute no part of that which is collected, but by commandment of the ministers and elders; and they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the Church before hath determined; and the deacons shall pay the sums, either quarterly, or from half year to half year, to the ministers which the Kirk hath appointed. The same they shall do to the schoolmasters, readers, and hospitals, if any be, always receiving acquittances for their discharge.

If any extraordinary sums fall to be delivered, then must the ministers, elders, and deacons consult whether the deliverance of these sums doth stand with the common utility of the Church or not; and if they do universally agree and condescend either upon the affirmative or the negative, then, because they are in credit and office for the year, they may do as best seemeth unto them. But if there be controversy amongst themselves, the whole Church must be made privy; and after the matter has been exponed and the reasons heard, the judgment of the Church, with the ministers' consent, shall prevail.

The deacons shall be bound and compelled to make accounts to the ministers and elders of that which they have received, as oft as the policy shall appoint; and the elders when they are changed, which must be every year, must clear their accounts before such auditors as the Church shall appoint. When the deacons and elders are changed, they shall deliver to them that shall then be elected, all sums of money, corns, and other profits remaining in their hands. The tickets for these must be delivered to the Superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that the abundance as well as the indigence of every church may be evidently known, and that a reasonable equality may be had throughout the whole realm. If this order be precisely kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter. The free and yearly election of deacons and elders will not suffer any one to usurp a perpetual dominion over the Church; the knowledge of the rental shall suffice them to receive no more than whereof they shall be bound to make accounts; and the deliverance of the money to the new officers shall not suffer private men to use in their private business that which appertaineth to the public affairs of the Church.

[260] Concluded by the Lords: that these teinds and other exactions be clean discharged, and never be taken in time coming, such as the Uppermost Cloth, the Corps-present, the Clerk-mail, the Easter offerings, Teind Ale, and all handlings Upaland can neither be required nor received of godly conscience. (Additio.)

[261] Leases.

[262] Evidence.

[263] Chanters were laics endowed with ecclesiastical benefices.

[264] The Lords condescend that the manse and yards be restored to the ministers. And all the Lords consent that the ministers have six acres of land, except Marischall, Morton, Glencairn, and Cassillis, where

manses are of great quantity. (Additio.)

IX. Of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

1. As no commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good laws, and sharp execution of the same; so neither can the Church of God be brought to purity, nor be retained in the same, without the order of Ecclesiastical Discipline. This is required for reproving and correcting these faults which the civil sword doth either neglect or may not punish. Blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other capital crimes, worthy of death ought not properly to fall under censure of the Church; because all such open transgressors of God's laws ought to be taken away by the civil sword. But drunkenness, excess (be it in apparel, or be it in eating and drinking), fornication, oppression of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying or selling by wrong mete or measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do properly appertain to the Church of God, to punish as God's Word commandeth.

But, because this accursed Papistry hath brought such confusion into the world that neither was virtue rightly praised nor vice severely punished, the Church of God is compelled to draw the sword, which of God she has received, against such open and manifest offenders, cursing and excommunicating all such (as well those whom the civil sword ought to punish as the others) from all participation with her in prayers and Sacraments, until open repentance manifestly appear in them. As the order of Excommunication and proceeding to the same ought to be grave and slow, so, being once pronounced against any person of what estate and condition that ever he be, it must be kept with all severity. For laws made and not kept engender contempt of virtue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sin. Therefore we think this order expedient

to be observed before and after excommunication.

If the offence be secret and known to few, and rather stands in suspicion than in manifest proof, the offender ought to be privately admonished to abstain from all appearance of evil. If he promises to do this, and to declare himself sober, honest, and one that feareth God, and feareth to offend his brethren, then may the secret admonition suffice for his correction. But if he either contemns the admonition, or, after promise made, do show himself no more circumspect than he was before, then must the minister admonish him; to whom if he be found inobedient, the Church must proceed according to the rule of Christ, as after shall be declared.

If the crime be public and such as is heinous, as fornication, drunkenness, fighting, common swearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called into the presence of the minister, elders, deacons, where his sin and offence ought to be declared and aggravated, [265] so that his conscience may feel how far he hath offended God, and what slander he hath raised in the Church. If signs of unfeigned repentance appear in him, and if he require to be admitted to public repentance, the ministry may appoint unto him a day when the whole Church conveneth together, that, in presence of all, he may testify the repentance which before them he professed. If he accept, and with reverence make testimony, confessing his sin, condemning the same, and earnestly desiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him into their society, notwithstanding his former offence, the Church may and ought to receive him as a penitent. For the Church ought to be no more severe than God declareth Himself to be, who witnesseth that, in whatsoever hour a sinner unfeignedly repenteth, and turns from his wicked way, He will not remember one of his iniquities; and the Church ought diligently to avoid excommunicating those whom God

absolveth.

If the offender, called before the ministry, be found stubborn, hard-hearted, or one in whom no sign of repentance appeareth, then must he be dismissed with an exhortation to consider the dangerous estate in which he stands; with the assurance that, if the ministry find in him no other token of amendment of life, they will be compelled to seek a further remedy. If he within a certain space show his repentance, they must present him to the Church as before is said.

But if he continue in his impenitence, then must the Church be admonished that such crimes are committed amongst them, and that these have been reprehended by the ministry, and the persons provoked to repent; also, because no sign of repentance appeareth unto them, that they could not but signify unto the Church the crimes, but not the person, requiring them earnestly to call to God to move and touch the heart of the offender, so that suddenly and earnestly he may repent.

If the person malign, then, on the next day of public assembly, the crime and the person must be both notified unto the Church, and their judgment must be required, if that such crimes ought to be suffered unpunished amongst them. Request also would be made to the most discreet and to the nearest friends of the offender to travail with him to bring him to knowledge of himself, and of his dangerous estate, and a commandment be given to all men to call to God for the conversion of the impenitent. If a solemn and a special prayer were made and drawn for that purpose, the thing should be the more gravely done.

On the third Sunday, the minister ought to inquire if the impenitent have declared any signs of repentance to any of the ministry. If he hath, the minister may appoint him to be examined by the whole ministry; either then, instantly, or at another day affixed to the consistory. [266] Should the guilty person's repentance appear, as well

of the crime as of his long contempt, then may he be presented to the Church, and make his confession, and be accepted as before is said. But if no man bear witness to his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated; and, by the mouth of the minister, consent of the ministry, and commandment of the Church, such a contemner must be pronounced excommunicate from God and from the society of His Church. After this sentence no person, his wife and family only excepted, may have any kind of conversation with him who is excommunicate; be it in eating and drinking, buying or selling, yea, in saluting or talking with him, except that it be at the commandment or with licence of the ministry, for his conversion; that he by such means confounded, seeing himself abhorred by the faithful and godly, may have occasion to repent and so be saved. The sentence of his excommunication must be published universally throughout the realm, lest any man should pretend ignorance.

His children, begotten or born after that sentence and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptism until either they be of age to require the same, or else the mother, or some of his especial friends, members of the Church, offer and present the child, abhorring and condemning the iniquity and obstinate contempt of the impenitent. If any think it severe that the child should be punished for the iniquity of the father, let them understand that the Sacraments appertain only to the faithful and to their seed. Such as stubbornly contemn all godly admonition and obstinately remain to their iniquity cannot be accounted amongst the faithful.

2. The Order for Public Offenders.--We have spoken nothing of those that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, man-slayers, and adulterers; for such, as we have said, the civil sword ought to punish to death. But, if they be permitted to live, the Church must, as before is said,

draw the sword which of God she hath received, holding them as accursed even in their very act. The offender in each case must be called and order of the Church used against him, in the same manner as the persons that for obstinate impenitence are publicly excommunicate. The obstinate impenitent after the sentence of excommunication, and the murderer or adulterer, stand in one case as concerning the judgment of the Church; that is, neither may be received in the fellowship of the Church to prayers or sacraments (but to hearing of the Word they may be admitted) until first they offer themselves to the ministry, humbly requiring the ministers and elders to pray to God for them, and also to be intercessors to the Church that they may be admitted to public repentance, and so to the fruition of the benefits of Christ Jesus, distributed to the members of His body.

If this request be humbly made, then may not the ministers refuse to signify the same unto the Church on the next day of public preaching, the minister giving exhortation to the Church to pray to God to perform the work which He appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender unfeigned repentance of his grievous crime, and the sense and feeling of His great mercy, by the operation of His Holy Spirit.

Thereafter, a day ought publicly to be assigned unto him to give open confession of his offence and contempt, and so to make a public satisfaction to the Church of God. On that day the offender must appear in presence of the whole Church, and with his own mouth condemn his own impiety, publicly confessing the same; desiring God of His grace and mercy, and His congregation, that it will please them to accept him into their society, as before is said. The minister must examine diligently whether he find in the offender a hatred and displeasure of his sin, as well of his crime as of his contempt; and if he confess this, he must travail with him, to see what hope he hath of God's

mercy.

If the minister find the offender reasonably instructed in the knowledge of Christ Jesus, in the virtue of His death, he may comfort him with God's infallible promises, and demand of the Church if they be content to receive in the society of their body that creature of God, whom Satan before hath drawn into his nets, seeing that he declares himself penitent. If the Church grant this, and they may not justly deny the same, then ought the minister in public prayer to commend him to God, and confess the sin of that offender and of the whole Church, desiring mercy and grace for Christ Jesus' sake. This prayer being ended, the minister ought to exhort the Church to receive that penitent brother into their favour, as they require God to receive themselves when they have offended. In sign of their consent, the elders and chief men of the Church shall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two, in name of the whole, shall kiss and embrace him with all reverence and gravity, as a member of Christ Jesus.

When these things have been done, the minister shall exhort the reconciled to take diligent heed in times coming, that Satan entrap him not into such crimes, admonishing him that he will not cease to tempt and try by all means possible to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God, and to the ordinance of His Son Christ Jesus. The exhortation being ended, the minister ought to give public thanks unto God for the conversion of that brother, and for the benefits which we receive by Jesus Christ, praying for the increase and continuance of the same.

If the penitent, after he have offered himself to the ministry or to the Church, be found ignorant in the principal points of our religion, and chiefly in the article of Justification and of the office of Christ Jesus, he ought to be exactly instructed before he be received. For it

is a mocking of God to receive into repentance those who know not wherein stands their remedy when they repent their sin.

3. Persons subject to Discipline.--To discipline must all estates within this realm be subject, if they offend; the rulers as well as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the Church. And because the eye and the mouth of the Church ought to be most single and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the ministers ought most diligently to be tried. Of this we shall speak after we have spoken of the election of elders and deacons, who must assist the ministers in all public affairs of the Church, etc.

[265] Their enormity emphasised.

[266] Appointed diet of the Church Court.

X. Touching the Election of Elders and Deacons, etc.

Men of best knowledge in God's Word, of cleanest life, men faithful, and of most honest conversation that can be found in the Church, must be nominated to be in election; and the names of the same must be publicly read to the whole kirk by the minister, who shall give them advertisement that from amongst these must be chosen elders and deacons. If any of the nominated be noted with public infamy, he ought to be repelled; for it is not seemly that the servant of corruption shall have authority to judge in the Church of God. If any man knows others of better qualities within the church than these that be nominated, let them be put in election, that the church may have the choice.

If churches be of smaller number than that seniors and deacons can be chosen from amongst them, they may well be joined to the next adjacent church. For the plurality of churches, without ministers and order, shall rather hurt than edify.

The election of elders and deacons ought to take place once every year (we judge the first day of August to be most convenient), lest, by long continuance of such officers, men presume upon the liberty of the Church. It hurts not that one man be retained in office more years than one, so that he be appointed yearly, by common and free election; provided always that the deacons, treasurers, be not compelled to receive the office again for the space of three years.

How the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely, every several church may take such order as best seemeth to them.

The elders, being elected, must be admonished of their office, which is

to assist the minister in all public affairs of the Church, to wit, in judging and discerning causes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, and in having respect to the manners and conversation of all men within their charge; for the light and unbridled life of the licentious ought to be corrected and bridled by the gravity of the seniors.

Yea, the seniors ought to take heed to the life, manners, diligence, and study of their minister. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him. And if he be worthy of deposition, they, with consent of the church and Superintendent, may depose him, if his crime so deserve. If a minister be light in conversation, he ought to be admonished by his elders and seniors. If he be negligent in study, or one that waiteth not upon his charge and flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful doctrine, he deserveth sharper admonition and correction. If he be found stubborn and inobedient to this, the seniors of one church may complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent churches where men of greater gravity are. If he be found inobedient to their admonition, he ought to be discharged from his ministry, until his repentance appear and a place be vacant for him.

Should any minister be taken in any notable crime, such as whoredom, adultery, murder, manslaughter, perjury, teaching of heresy, or any that deserveth death or that may be a note of perpetual infamy, he ought to be deposed for ever. By heresy we mean pernicious doctrine, plainly taught and obstinately defended, against the foundation and principles of our faith. And such a crime we judge to deserve perpetual deposition from the ministry; for we know it to be most dangerous to commit the flock to a man infected with the pestilence of heresy.

Some crimes deserve deposition for a time, and until the person give declaration of greater gravity and honesty. As, if a minister be

deprehended drunk, brawling or fighting, an open slanderer, an infamer of his neighbour, factious and a sower of discord, he may be commanded to cease from his ministry until he declare the signs of repentance; upon which the Church shall abide him the space of twenty days or farther, as they shall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election.

Every inferior church shall, by one of their seniors and one of their deacons, once in the year, notify unto the ministry of the Superintendent's church the life, manners, study, and diligence of their ministers, to the end that the discretion of some may correct the lenity of others.

Not only may the life and manners of the ministers come under censure and judgment of the Church, but also that of their wives, children, and family. Care must be taken that ministers neither live riotously nor yet avariciously; yea, respect must be had how they spend the stipend appointed to their living. If a reasonable stipend be appointed, and they live avariciously, they must be admonished to live as they receive; for, as excess and superfluity is not tolerable in a minister, so is avarice and the careful solicitude of money and gear utterly to be condemned in Christ's servants, and especially in those that are fed upon the charge of the Church. We judge it unseemly and not tolerable that ministers shall be boarded in common alehouses or taverns.

Neither yet must a minister be permitted to frequent and commonly haunt the Court, unless it be for a time, when he is either sent by the Church or called for by the Authority for his counsel and judgment. Nor must he be one of the Council in civil affairs, be he judged never so apt for that purpose. Either must he cease from the ministry, which at his own pleasure he may not do, or else from bearing charge in civil affairs, unless it be to assist the Parliament if called upon.

The office of the deacons, as is before declared, is to receive the rents and gather the alms of the Church, and to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministry of the Kirk shall be appointed. They may also assist in judgment with the ministers and elders, and may be admitted to read in the assembly if they be required and be found able thereto. The elders and deacons, with their wives and households, must be under the same censure as is prescribed for the ministers. For they must be careful over their office; and, seeing that they are judges to the manners of others, their own conversation ought to be irreprehensible. They must be sober, humble, lovers and entertainers of concord and peace; and, finally, they ought to be the example of godliness to others. If the contrary thereof appear, they must be admonished by the minister, or by some of their brethren of the ministry, if the fault be secret; if it be open and known, it must be rebuked before the ministry, and the same order kept against the senior or deacon as against the minister.

We do not think it necessary that any public stipend shall be appointed to the elders or to the deacons, because their travail continues but for a year, and also because they are not so occupied with the affairs of the Church but that reasonably they may attend upon their domestic business.

XI. Concerning the Policy of the Church.

Policy we call an exercise of the Church in such things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, inflame the learned to greater fervency, or retain the Church in good order. Thereof there be two sorts: the one utterly necessary; as that the Word be truly preached, the Sacraments rightly ministrate, common prayer publicly made, the children and rude persons instructed in the chief points of religion, and offences corrected and punished; these things, we say, be so necessary that, without the same, there is no face of a visible Kirk.

The other is profitable, but not of mere necessity; as that the Psalms should be sung, that certain places of the Scriptures should be read when there is no sermon, that this day or that day, few or many in the week, the Church should assemble. Of these and such others we cannot see how a certain order can be established. In some churches the Psalms may be conveniently sung; in others, perchance, they cannot. Some churches may convene every day; some thrice or twice in the week; some, perchance, but once. In these and suchlike matters must every particular church, by their own consent, appoint their own policy.

In great towns we think it expedient that every day there be either sermon, or else common prayers, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. We can neither require nor greatly approve that the Common Prayers be publicly used on the day of the public sermon, lest we shall either foster superstition in the people, who come to the Prayers as they come to the Mass, or else give them occasion to think that those be no prayers which are made before and after sermon.

We require that, in every notable town, one day besides the Sunday be appointed to the sermon and prayers. This day, during the time of

sermon, must be kept free from all exercise of labour, as well of the master as of the servants. In smaller towns, as we have said, the common consent of the church must put order. But the Sunday must straitly be kept, both before and after noon, in all towns. Before noon the Word must be preached and Sacraments be administered, as also marriage solemnised, if occasion offer. After noon the young children must be publicly examined in their catechism in audience of the people, and in doing this the minister must take great diligence, to cause the people to understand the questions proponed, as well as the answers, and the doctrine that may be collected thereof. The order, and how much is appointed for every Sunday, are already distinct in our Book of Common Order; the most perfect Catechism that ever yet was used in the Church. After noon, also, baptism may be ministered, when great travail before noon offers occasion. It is also to be observed that prayers be used after noon upon the Sunday, when there is neither preaching nor catechism.

It appertaineth to the policy of the Church to appoint the times when the Sacraments shall be administered. Baptism may be ministrate whensoever the Word is preached; but we think it more expedient, that it be ministered upon the Sunday, or upon the day of prayers only, after the sermon; partly, to remove the gross error by which many deceived persons think that children be damned if they die without baptism; and, partly, to make the people assist the administration of that Sacrament with greater reverence than they do. For we do see the people begin already to wax weary by reason of the frequent repetition of those promises.

Four times in the year we think sufficient for the administration of the Lord's Table. These we desire to be distinct, that the superstition of times may be avoided so far as may be. Your honours are not ignorant

how superstitiously the people run to that action at Easter, even as if the time gave virtue to the Sacrament; and how the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as if it appertaineth not unto them but at that time only. We think therefore most expedient that the first Sunday of March be appointed for one time; the first Sunday of June for another; the first Sunday of September for the third; and the first Sunday of December for the fourth. We do not deny that any several church, for reasonable causes, may change the time, and may administer oftener; but we study to suppress superstition. All ministers must be admonished to be more careful to instruct the ignorant than to satisfy their appetites, and more sharp in examination than indulgent, in admitting to that great mystery such as be ignorant of the use and virtue of the same. We think, therefore, that the administration of the Table ought never to be without previous examination, especially of those whose knowledge is suspect. We think that none are fit to be admitted to that mystery who cannot formally say the Lord's Prayer, recite the Articles of the Belief, and declare the sum of the Law.

Farther, we think it a thing most expedient and necessary that every church have a Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to convene to hear the plain reading or interpretation of the Scriptures, as the Church shall appoint; so that, by frequent reading, this gross ignorance, which in the cursed Papistry hath overflown all, may partly be removed. We think it most expedient that the Scriptures be read in order, that is, that some one book of the Old and the New Testament be begun and orderly read to the end. And the same we judge of preaching, where the minister for the most part remaineth in one place. For this skipping and divagation from place to place of the Scripture, be it in reading or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edify the

Church, as the continual following of a text.

Every master of household must be commanded either to instruct, or else cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principles of the Christian religion; and without the knowledge of them none ought to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jesus. For such as be so dull and so ignorant that they can neither try themselves nor know the dignity and mystery of that action cannot eat and drink of that Table worthily. We therefore judge it necessary that, every year at least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders of the knowledge of every person within the Church; to wit, that every master and mistress of household come themselves, and so many of their family as be come to maturity, before the ministers and elders, to give confession of their faith, and to answer to such chief points of religion as the ministers shall demand. Such as be ignorant in the Articles of their Faith; understand not, nor cannot rehearse the commandments of God; know not how to pray, nor wherein their righteousness consists, ought not to be admitted to the Lord's Table. If these stubbornly continue, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilful ignorance, the discipline of the Church must proceed against them unto excommunication; and then must the matter be referred to the Civil Magistrate. For, seeing that the just liveth by his own faith, and that Christ Jesus justifieth by knowledge of Himself, we judge it insufferable that men shall be permitted to live and continue in ignorance as members of the Church of God.

Moreover, men, women, and children would be exhorted to exercise themselves in the Psalms, that when the church conveneth and doth sing, they may be the more able, with common heart and voice, to praise God. We think it expedient that, in private houses, the most grave and discreet person use the Common Prayers at morn and at night, for the

comfort and instruction of others. For, seeing that we behold and see the hand of God now presently striking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of His judgments, or a provocation of His anger more to be kindled against us, if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulness and to earnest invocation of His name. Only His power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly convert unto Him, remove from us these terrible plagues which now for our iniquities hang over our heads. "Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted."

XII. For Preaching and Interpretation of Scriptures, etc.

To the end that the Church of God may have a trial of men's knowledge, judgments, graces, and utterances, and that such as somewhat have profited in God's Word may from time to time grow to more full perfection to serve the Church, as necessity shall require, it is most expedient that, in every town where schools and repair of learned men are, there be a certain day every week appointed to that exercise which Saint Paul calleth prophesying. The order thereof is expressed by him in these words: "Let two or three prophets speak; and let the rest judge. But if anything be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the former keep silence. For ye may, one by one, all prophesy, that all may learn, and all may receive consolation. And the spirits, that is, the judgments, of the prophets, are subject to the prophets." From these words of the Apostle, it is evident that in Corinth, when the Church assembled for that purpose, some place of Scripture was read. Upon this, first one gave his judgment to the instruction and consolation of the auditors, and after him did another either confirm what the former had said, or add what he had omitted, or gently correct or explain more properly where the whole truth was not revealed to the former. And, in case some things were hid from the one and from the other, liberty was given to a third to speak his judgment, for edification of the Church. Above the number of three, as appeareth, they passed not, for avoiding of confusion.

These exercises, we say, are things most necessary for the Church of God this day in Scotland; for thereby, as we have said, shall the Church have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their own body; and the simple, and such as have

somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study and proceed in knowledge. And, too, the Church shall be edified; for this exercise must be patent to such as list to hear and learn, and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge to the comfort and edification of the Church.

But curious, peregrine, [267] and unprofitable questions are to be avoided, lest of a profitable exercise there might arise debate and strife. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugnant to charity, or standing in plain contradiction to any other manifest place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter, in that exercise, may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher, yea, although he be a minister appointed. He must bind himself to his text, and not enter on digression in explaining common places. He may use no invective in that exercise, unless it be, with sobriety, in confuting heresies. In exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening of the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place, in following the file [268] and dependence of the text, and in observing such notes as may instruct and edify the auditor. That contention may be avoided, neither may the interpreter nor yet any of the assembly move any question in open audience, unless he himself is content to give resolution without reasoning with any other; but every man ought to speak his own judgment to the edification of the Church.

If any be noted with curiosity, or for bringing in any strange doctrine, he must be admonished by the moderators, the ministers and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended. The whole members and number of them that are of the assembly ought to convene together, and then examination should be had as to how the person that did interpret did handle and convey the matter, the interpreter being

removed until every man have given his censure. After this, the person being called, the faults, if any notable be found, are noted, and the person shall be gently admonished. In that last assembly, all questions and doubts, if any arise, should be resolved, without contention.

The ministers of the parish churches to landward, adjacent to every chief town, and the readers (if they have any gift of interpretation) within six miles, must assist and concur with those that prophesy within the towns; to the end that they themselves may either learn, or that others may learn from them. And, moreover, men in whom any gifts are supposed to be, which might edify the Church, if they were well applied, must be charged by the ministers and elders to join themselves with that session and company of interpreters, to the end that the Church may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the Church in the vocation of ministers or not. If any be found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and spiritual graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them; provided that the Civil Magistrate concurs with the judgment and election of the Church. For no man may be permitted to live as best pleaseth himself within the Church of God; but every man must be constrained, by fraternal admonition and correction, to bestow his labours, to the edification of others, when of the Church they are required.

What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise and what books of the Scriptures shall be most profitable to be read, we refer to the judgment of every particular church; we mean, to the wisdom of the ministers and elders.

[267] Foreign; irrelevant.

[268] Thread; sequence.

XIII. Of Marriage.

Because marriage, the blessed ordinance of God, hath partly been contemned in this cursed Papistry; and partly hath been so infirmed, that the persons conjoined could never be assured of continuance, if the Bishops and Prelates should list to dissolve the same; we have thought good to show our judgments how such confusion in times coming may be best avoided.

First, public inhibition must be made that no persons under the power and obedience of others, such as sons and daughters and these that be under curators, neither men nor women, contract marriage privily and without knowledge of their parents, tutors, or curators, under whose power they are for the time. If they do this, the censure and discipline of the Church shall proceed against them. If the parties have their hearts touched with desire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to the parents and open unto them their affection, asking of them counsel and assistance, as to how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If father, friend, or master gainstand their request, and have no other cause than the common sort of men have (to wit, lack of goods, or because they are not so high-born as they require); yet must not the parties whose hearts are touched make any covenant until farther declaration be made unto the Church of God. And, therefore, after they have opened their minds to their parents, or such others as have charge over them, they must declare it also to the ministry or to the Civil Magistrate, requiring them to travail with their parents for their consent, which to do they are bound. If they, to wit, the Magistrate or ministers, find no just cause why the marriage required may not be fulfilled, then, after sufficient

admonition to the father, friend, master, or superior, that none of them resist the work of God, the ministry or Magistrate may enter into the place of the parent and, by consenting to their just requests, may admit them to marriage; for the work of God ought not to be hindered by the corrupt affections of worldly men. We call it the work of God when two hearts, without filthiness before committed, are so joined, that both require and are content to live together in the holy bond of matrimony.

If any man commit fornication with the woman whom he required in marriage, then do both lose this foresaid benefit as well of the Church as of the Magistrate; for neither ought to be intercessors or advocates for filthy fornicators. But the father, or nearest friend whose daughter, being a virgin, is deflowered, hath power by the law of God to compel the man that did that injury to marry his daughter; or, if the father will not accept him by reason of his offence, then may he require the dot [269] of his daughter. If the offender be not able to pay this, then ought the Civil Magistrate to punish his body by some other punishment.

Because fornication, whoredom, and adultery are sins most common in this realm, we require of your honours, in the name of the Eternal God, that severe punishment, according as God hath commanded, be executed against such wicked offenders; for we doubt not but that such enormous crimes, openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the Apostle speaketh, not only upon the offenders, but also upon the places where, without punishment, they are committed.

To return to our former purpose: Marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that have no election for lack of understanding; and therefore we affirm that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age, to wit, the man within fourteen years of age, and

the woman within twelve years, at the least. If it chance that any have been so married and have kept their bodies always separate, we cannot judge them bound to adhere as man and wife, by reason of a promise which in God's presence was no promise at all. But if, in the years of judgment, they have embraced the one the other, then, by reason of their last consent, they have ratified that which others did promise for them in their youth.

In a Reformed Church, marriage ought not to be secretly used, but in open face and public audience of the Church. For avoidance of dangers, it is expedient that the banns be publicly proclaimed on three Sundays, unless the persons be so known that no suspicion of danger may arise, when the banns may be shortened at the discretion of the ministry. But in nowise can we admit marriage to be used secretly, however honourable the persons be. The Sunday before sermon we think most convenient for marriage, and that it be used on no other day, without the consent of the whole ministry.

Unless adultery be committed, marriage, once lawfully contracted, may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, as our master Christ Jesus doth witness. If adultery be sufficiently proven in presence of the Civil Magistrate, the innocent, upon request, ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to suffer death, as God hath commanded. If the civil sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the Church be negligent in their office. This is to excommunicate the wicked, to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent party to be at freedom, be the offender never so honourable before the world. If the life be spared to the offenders, as it ought not to be, if the fruits of repentance of long time appear in them, and if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the Church, we judge that they may be received to participation of the Sacraments, and of the other

benefits of the Church, for we would not that the Church should hold those excommunicate whom God has absolved, that is, the penitent.

If any demand whether the offender, after reconciliation with the Church, may marry again, we answer, that, if they cannot live continent, and if the necessity be such as that they fear farther offence of God, we cannot forbid them to use the remedy ordained of God. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then we judge that in nowise it shall be lawful to the offender to marry any other than the party that hath been offended. The solemnization of the latter marriage must be in the open face of the Church, like the former, but without proclamation of banns.

This we do offer as the best counsel that God giveth unto us in so doubtsome a case. But the most perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God His honour and glory, that ye would prefer His express commandment to your own corrupt judgments, especially in punishing of those crimes which He commandeth to be punished with death. For so should ye declare yourselves God's true and obedient officers, and your commonwealth should be rid of innumerable troubles.

We mean not that sins committed in our former blindness, and almost buried in oblivion, shall be called again to examination and judgment.

But we require that the law may now and hereafter be so established and executed that this ungodly impunity of sin have no place within this realm. For, in the fear of God, we signify unto your honours that whosoever persuadeth you that ye may pardon where God commandeth death deceiveth your souls, and provoketh you to offend God's Majesty.

XIV. Of Burial.

Burial in all ages hath been holden in estimation, to signify the faith that the same body that was committed to the earth would not utterly perish, but would rise again. And we would have the same kept within this realm, provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion and for advantage's sake, be avoided. Singing of Mass, placebo, and dirge, and all other prayers over or for the dead, are not only superfluous and vain, but are idolatry, and are repugnant to the plain Scriptures of God. Plain it is that every one that dieth departeth either in the faith of Christ Jesus, or else departeth in incredulity. Plain it is that they that depart in the true faith of Christ Jesus rest from their labours, and from death do go to life everlasting, as by our Master and by His Apostle we are taught. But whosoever shall depart in unbelief or in incredulity shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him. And so we say that prayers for the dead are not only superfluous and vain, but are expressly repugnant to the manifest Scriptures and truth thereof.
To avoid all inconveniences, we judge it best that there be neither singing nor reading at the burial. Albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious and ignorant persons ever think that the singing or reading of the living does and may profit the dead. For this reason we think it most expedient that the dead be convoyed to the place of burial by some honest company of the Church, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with gravity and sobriety, so that those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and

to hate sin, which is the cause of death. [270]

We are not ignorant that some require a sermon at the burial, or else that some places of Scriptures be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewise they must die. But let those men understand that the sermons which are daily made serve for that use. If men despise these, the preaching of funeral sermons shall nourish superstition and a false opinion, as we have said, rather than bring such persons to any godly consideration of their own estate. Besides, either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in preaching funeral sermons or else they shall have respect to persons, preaching at the burial of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor or despised departeth; and this the ministers cannot do with safe conscience. For, seeing that before God there is in respect of persons, and that their ministry appertaineth to all alike, whatsoever they do to the rich, in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge.

In respect of divers inconveniences, we think it unseemly that the church appointed to preaching and ministration of the Sacraments shall be made a place of burial. Some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, should be appointed for that use; and this ought to be well walled and fenced about, and kept for that use only. [270] And yet, notwithstanding, we are not so precise, but that we are content that particular kirks use them in that behalf, with the consent of the ministry of the same, as they will answer to God, and to the Assembly of the Universal Kirk gathered within the realm. (Additio.)

XVI. For Punishment of those that Profane the Sacraments and do contemn the

Lest the Word of God, and ministration of the Sacraments, come into contempt by unseemliness of the place, churches and places where the people publicly convene should, with expedition, be repaired in doors, windows, thatch, and provided within with such preparations as appertain to the majesty of the Word of God as well as unto the ease and commodity of the people. We know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all other which may not redound to their private commodity, and strait charge and commandment must be given that before a certain day the reparations must be begun, and that before another day, to be affixed by your honours, they be finished. Penalties and sums of money must be enjoined, and then without pardon taken from the contemners.

The reparation would be according to the possibility and number of the church. Every church must have doors, close windows of glass, thatch or slate able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptism, and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper. In greater churches, and where the congregation is great in number, provision must be made within the church for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expenses shall be lifted partly from the people, and partly from the teinds, at the discretion of the ministry.

Word of God, and dare presume to minister them, not being thereto lawfully called.

Satan hath never ceased from the beginning to draw mankind into one of two extremities. He hath sought that men should be so ravished with

gazing upon the visible creatures that, forgetting why these were ordained, they should attribute unto them a virtue and power which God hath not granted unto them. Or else he hath sought that men should so contemn and despise God's blessed ordinance and holy institutions, as if neither in the right use of them were there any profit, nor yet in their profanation were there any danger. As, in this wise, Satan hath blinded the most part of mankind from the beginning; so we doubt not but that he will strive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have seen and presently do see the experience of the one and of the other. What was the opinion of the most part of men, of the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, during the darkness of superstition, is not unknown; how it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, borne in procession, and finally worshipped and honoured as Christ Jesus Himself.

So long as Satan might retain man in that damnable idolatry, he was quiet, as one that possessed his kingdom of darkness peaceably. But since it hath pleased the mercies of God to reveal unto the unthankful world the light of His Word, and the right use and administration of His Sacraments, he essays man upon the contrary part. Where, not long ago, men stood in such admiration of that idol in the Mass that none durst presume to have said the Mass, but the foresworn shaven sort (the beasts marked men); some dare now be so bold as, without all convocation, to minister, as they suppose, the true Sacraments in open assemblies. Some idiots, also, yet more wickedly and more imprudently, dare counterfeit in their houses that which the true ministers do in the open congregation; they presume, we say, to do it in houses without reverence, without Word preached, and without minister, other than of companion to companion. This contempt proceedeth, no doubt, from the malice and craft of that serpent who first deceived man, of purpose to

deface the glory of Christ's Evangel, and to bring His blessed Sacraments into a perpetual contempt.

Farther, your honours may clearly see how proudly and stubbornly the most part despise the Evangel of Christ Jesus offered unto you. Unless ye resist sharply and stoutly the manifest despiser as well as the profaner of the Sacraments, ye shall find them pernicious enemies before long. Therefore, in the name of the Eternal God and of His Son, Christ Jesus, we require of your honours that, without delay, strait laws be made against the one and the other.

We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shall be required of such. But this we fear not to affirm, that the one and the other deserve death. If he which doth falsify the seal, subscription, or coinage of a king is adjudged worthy of death; what shall we think of him who plainly doth falsify the seals of Christ Jesus, Prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced upon the man that durst attempt to hinder the re-edification of the material temple, the sentence that a bauk [271] should be taken from his house, and he himself be hanged upon it; what shall we say of those that contemptuously blaspheme God and manifestly hinder the spiritual temple of God, the souls and bodies of the elect--from being purged, by the true preaching of Christ Jesus, from the superstition and damnable idolatry in which they have been of long plunged and holden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare yourselves careless over the true religion, God will not suffer your negligence to go unpunished. Therefore, the more earnestly require we that strait laws may be made against the stubborn contemners of Christ Jesus, and against such as dare presume to administer His Sacraments, without orderly call to that office; lest, while there be none found to gainstand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled against the whole.

The papistical priests have neither power nor authority to administer the Sacraments of Christ Jesus; because in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation. To them, therefore, must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation which they have had in that behalf in the time of blindness. It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the bishops, nor yet the laying on of their hands that maketh them the true ministers of Christ Jesus. The Spirit of God inwardly moving hearts to seek Christ's glory and the profit of His Church, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and public admission, as before we have said, makes men lawful ministers of the Word and Sacraments. We speak of an ordinary vocation, where Churches are reformed, or at least tend to reformation; and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by Himself, and by His only power, raiseth up to the ministry such as best please His wisdom.

Chapter 39

The Conclusion.

Thus have we, in these few heads, offered unto your honours our judgments, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things which heretofore have altogether been abused in this cursed Papistry. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appear strange unto you at the first sight. But if your wisdoms deeply consider that we must answer not only unto men, but also before the throne of the Eternal God and of His Son, Christ Jesus, for the counsel which we give in this so grave matter, your honours shall easily consider that it is much safer for us to fall into the displeasure of all men on earth, than to offend the Majesty of God, whose justice cannot sutler flatterers and deceitful counsellors to go unpunished.

That we require the Church to be set at such liberty, that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, nor to sustain the tyranny which heretofore by violence hath been maintained, we know will offend many. But if we should keep silence, we are most certain to offend the just and righteous God, who by the mouth of His Apostle hath pronounced this sentence: "He that laboureth not, let him not eat." If we, in this behalf or in any other, require to ask anything, other than by God's expressed commandment, by equity and by good conscience ye are bound to grant, let it be noted, and after repudiated; but if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your honours take heed how ye gainstand the charge of Him whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape.

If blind affection leads you to have respect to the sustentation of those carnal friends of yours, who tyrannously have empired above the poor flock of Christ Jesus, rather than the zeal of God's glory provoke and move you to set His oppressed Church at freedom and liberty, we

fear sharp and sudden punishment for you, and that the glory and honour of this enterprise will be reserved unto others.

Yet shall this our judgment abide to the generations following for a monument, and witness how lovingly God called you and this realm to repentance, what counsellors God sent unto you, and how ye have used the same. If obediently ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but He shall hear you in your greatest necessity. But if, following your own corrupt judgments, ye contemn His voice and vocation, we are assured that your former iniquity, and present ingratitude, shall together crave just punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute His most just judgments, when, after many offences and long blindness, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of His Holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in His presence; so bow the same to His obedience, that ye may prefer His revealed will to your own affections; and so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may punish vice, and maintain virtue within this realm, to the praise and glory of His holy name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation and good example of the posterities following. Amen. So be it.

By your Honours'

Most humble servitors, etc.

From Edinburgh, The twentieth of May 1560.

[245] In a Preface, the compilers addressed themselves to the Great Council of Scotland, "now admitted to the Regiment, by the Providence of God," acknowledging instructions, received on 29th April 1560, to commit to writing their Judgments touching the Reformation of Religion. The book is offered "for common order and uniformity to be known in

this Realm, concerning Doctrine, Administration of Sacraments [Election of Ministers, Provision for their Sustentation], Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Policy of the Kirk." The Lords are desired neither to admit anything which God's plain Word shall not approve, nor yet to reject such ordinances as equity, justice, and God's Word do specify. Cf. pp. 217, 243 supra.

GLOSSARY

Anno &c., 1560. [272]

We, who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the Articles herein specified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this book, think the same good, and in conformity with God's Word in all points, subject to the notes and additions thereto eked; and we promise to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers. Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men, who already have joined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of the Word, and administering of the Sacraments of God.

JAMES. JOHN LOCKHART of Barr.

JAMES HAMILTON. GEORGE CORRIE of Kelwood.

ARCHIBALD ARGYLE. JOHN SHAW of Haly.

JAMES STEWART. ANDREW HAMILTON of

ROTHES. Letham.

JAMES HALIBURTON. GLENCAIRN.

R. BOYD. OCHILTREE.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, SANQUHAR.

DEAN OF MORAY. SAINTJOHNS.

WILLIAM OF CULROSS. WILLIAM LORD HAY.

MASTER ALEXANDER DRUMLANRIG.

GORDON. CUNNINGHAMHEAD.

BARGANY YOUNGER. JOHN MAXWELL.

ANDREW KER of Faldonside. GEORGE FENTON of that Ilk.

T. SCOTT of Hayning. LOCHINVAR.

[272] That is, in modern terms, 27th January 1561, the year running from 25th March (instead of 1st January), in the computation of time then in use.

OF OBSOLETE AND SCOTS WORDS AND PHRASES.

Affray, terror; fright: (v.) to frighten.

Aggravate, to emphasise an enormity.

Aggreage, to aggravate.

Appointment, terms; agreement; truce or treaty.

Arguesyn, lieutenant (naut.).

Assedations, leases.

Assurance, truce; agreement for truce.

Bauk, beam.

Bear, barley.

Bide, to abide; biaden, abode.

Bill, letter; petition.

Birse, bristle; beard.

Block-house, tower; fort.

Boss, a worthless character.

Bourding, jesting.

Brook, to soil.

Bruik, to enjoy; to possess.

Bruit, common talk; rumours; repute.

Buds, gifts; bribes.

Buist (for browst), brewing.

Buist, box; chest.

Burgess, inhabitant of a burgh who has full municipal rights.

Burn, brook.

Burn his bill, make recantation.

Camp-volant, expeditionary force.

Cass, to annul.

Censement, judgment.

Chalder, a grain measure of about 90 bushels.

Chamber-child, valet-de-chambre.

Chanters, laics endowed with ecclesiastical benefices.

Chap, to strike; to knock.

Cheek-mate, familiar.

Chimley, chimney; fire-basket.

Clawback, sycophant.

Clerk-play, a dramatic entertainment founded on a passage of Scripture;

a "mystery."

Cognition, evidence.

Comfort, strength; godly confidence.

Commend, an ecclesiastical benefice committed to a temporary holder.

Commendator, the holder of a commend.

Commodity, advantage.

Compear, to present oneself in response to a summons.

Compone, to agree.

Consequently, in sequence.

Consistory, Church Court.

Cordelier friar, Franciscan.

Cowp, to tilt.

Craig, neck.

Credit, mandate; written instructions.

Crown of the sun, a French crown having as mint mark an emblem of the

sun: gold coin worth 18s.

Cuid, chrisom.

Culverin, the largest cannon used in the 16th century.

Cummer, entanglement; broil; brawl.

Cunyie, mint, coinage; to mint, to coin.

Dad, to knock; to thump.

Dag, to shoot.

Deambulator, promenade.

Delate, to accuse.

Delation, accusation.

Delatour, procrastination.

Dictament, phraseology.

Ding, to knock violently; to dash (p. dang, p.p. dung).

Ditement, what is written.

Divagation, wandering from the straight course.

Divers, sundry.

Doctrine, act of teaching.

Document, warning; evidence.

Dolour, grief; distress.

Dontibour, courtesan.

Dortour, hangings; decorative draperies.

Dot, dowry.

Doted, endowed.

Down-thring, overthrow.

Dule-weed, apparel of mourning.

Dyke, wall.

Dyttament, dictation; guidance.

Effray, to frighten.

Eke, to increase.

Eke, eik, an addition.

Eme, uncle; kinsman.

Ensenyes, companies (milit.).

Exercition, bodily exercise; military exercise.--Jamieson.

Factors, stewards.

Factory, Scots equivalent of a power of attorney.

Fard, ardour; violence.

Fash, to trouble.

Fashery, trouble.

Fashious, troublesome.

Fertour, coffer.

File, thread; sequence.

Fillocks, giddy young women.

Fley, to scare; to frighten.

Flyrt and flyre, to mock and deride.

Forethink, to repent.

Fornent, over against.

Frack, active; ready; make frack, make bustling preparation.

Fray, fright.

Fremmed, strange; unfriendly.

Gaird, guard; civil establishment.

Gait, way; route; upon the gait, on the move.

Gar, to cause; gart, caused.

Gear, goods; stuff.

Girn, to grind or gnash the teeth.

Girnell, granary.

Glaise, a scorching.

Glister, lustre.

Glondours, a state of ill-humour.

Good-daughter, daughter-in-law.

Goodsire, maternal grandfather.

Greet, to weep; grat, wept.

Griping, extortionate.

Gukstoun Glaikstour, apparently a nickname. "A contemptuous designation, expressive of the combination of folly and vainglory."--Jamieson.

Hackbut, harquebus: species of hand firearm used in 15th and 16th centuries.

Hamesucken, the crime of beating or assaulting a person within his own house.

Harberous, hospitable.

Hardess, harshness.

Herschip, plundering.

Horn, public intimation of outlawry.

Horning, outlawry; process of outlawry.

How, hollow; underground.

Hurl, to wheel.

Improve, to disprove.

Inable, to disqualify.

Incontinently, forthwith.

Indifference, impartiality.

Indifferent, impartial.

Induration, hardening of heart.

Indure, to remain of firm purpose.

Ingyne, ingenuity; genius.

Institute, to place in authority.

Irons, coining dies.

Ish, to come out; to sally forth.

Jack, a coat of mail.

Jackman, armed follower.

Jefwellis, jailbirds.

Jow, to toll.

Kep, to intercept; to catch.

Kindness, fealty of retainers.

Knap, to strike.

Knapscall, head-piece.

Kythe, to show; to practise.

Lair, to stick in the mire.

Lavachre, washing.

Lesing, lying.

Let, hindrance.

Letters, writs under the royal signet; summonses.

Lippen, to trust.

Manrent, vassalage.

Mansworn, perjured.

Marrow, match; equal.

Mell, to meddle.

Menyie, crowd of followers.

Mint, threat.

Modify, adjust.

Mows, jest.

Myster, skill; mastery.

Napkin, pocket-handkerchief.

Navy, fleet.

Neifeling, fisticuffs.

Neifs, fists.

Noisome, annoying; troublesome.

Pare, to diminish.

Partaker, ally.

Patron, skipper.

Penult, second last (day).

Peregrine, foreign; irrelevant.

Placebo, the opening antiphon of vespers for the dead, in the Romish service; from opening words of Psalm xvi.

Placeboes, parasites; flatterers.

Plack, a small copper coin.

Platt, to place close.

Platt on his knees, threw himself on his knees.

Pock, bag; case.

Poise, secret hoard of money.

Pottinger, apothecary.

Power, forces.

Practise, to intrigue.

Prevent, anticipate.

Propine, to present gifts.

Purchase, to sue out; to procure.

Purpose, conversation.

Rays, yards (naut.).

Reduce, to bring back.

Reek, smoke.

Regiment, rule; control.

Reif, robbery.

Retreat, to repudiate; to withdraw.

Rowping, crying hoarsely.

Ruse, boast.

Sark, shirt.

Scaill, scaling-ladder.

Schybald, mean fellow.

Scrimple, to shrivel.

Scrip, to mock.

Seinyiè, synod; consistory.

Skaill, to disperse; to spill.

Slanting, range of fire.

Slogan, battle-cry.

Sloken, to quench.

Snappers, stumbles.

Sned, to clip, as with shears.

Sparse, to spread abroad.

Speir, to inquire.

Splent, armour for the legs.

Spunk, spark.

Spurtle, porridge stick.

Stammer, to stagger.

Stark, strong.

Stay, impediment.

Stock, crop from which teind was drawn.

Stog, to stab.

Stog-sword, long small-sword.

Stool, pulpit.

Stoop, support.

Stout, staunch.

Stowth, theft.

Sturr, to make disturbance or trouble.

Suppostis, supporters.

Sweir, unwilling.

Tabernacle, a shrine for host consecrated at mass.

Targetting of tails, bordering of gowns with tassels.

Teind, tenth-part; tithe.

Tine, to lose; tint, lost.

Tinsel, loss.

To-look, prospect.

Tor, arm (of a chair).

Umquhile, late; deceased.

Upaland, at a distance from the sea; in the country.

Upfall, matter cast up; incident.

Vassalage, feats of valour.

Vilipended, slighted; undervalued.

Warsel, wrestle.

Whinger, hanger (kind of sword).

Wiss, to imagine.

Wodness, fury; madness.

Wolter, overturn.

Wyte, blame.

Yett, gate.

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Mismatched quotes are not fixed if it's not sufficiently clear where the missing quote should be placed.
Page 121: "taught in Edinburgh in a greater audience that ever before"--"that" has been replaced with "than".

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