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The life of John Knox, the
Scottish reformer

Sam. Miller.
LIFE

OF

J O H N K N O X,

THE

SCOTTISH REFORMER.

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ABRIDGED FROM McCRIE'S LIFE OF KNOX.

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THE LIFE
OF
JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX was born at a village in East Lothian, in the year 1505; or as the common tradition is, at Haddington, the principal town of the county. His parents were respectable, and in good circumstances, for they were able to give their son a liberal education. In his youth he was put to the grammar school of Haddington, and when he had acquired the rudiments of the Latin, he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, at that time the most celebrated seminary in the kingdom. The revival of learning in Italy and France, had not at this period reached Scotland, in any considerable degree: most of those who became learned, received their education in foreign countries. But the Latin was commonly taught in her schools to such an extent as to enable her priests to perform their public service in the church, but the Greek was

not taught in the schools, commonly, and the Hebrew was unknown, until after the commencement of the Reformation. Knox acquired a knowledge of the Greek language before he reached middle age; but he remained ignorant of the Hebrew, until he resided on the continent; when he had the opportunity of supplying that deficiency in his education.

Often the character and attainments of a pupil depend very much on the ability and skill of the teacher to whose tuition he is first committed. It was peculiarly favourable to the improvement of Knox, that, at this time John Mair, or Major, as he was called on the continent, was a professor of philosophy at St. Andrews. This man was considered an oracle in the sciences which he taught, and was the preceptor of Knox, and of the celebrated George Buchanan. Major, though a minister of the Catholic church, had imbibed many opinions, which were afterwards maintained by the Protestants. His sentiments were also favourable to civil liberty, and in opposition to the prescriptive right of kings. But, judging from his writings, this man was very little

capable of communicating much valuable information: most of the questions which he discussed are of the most trifling kind. It is not wonderful, therefore, that such minds as those of Knox and Buchanan, became disgusted with the studies to which their attention had been directed, and overleaping the boundaries prescribed by their timid conductor, engaged, each according to the bent of his genius, in exploring the extensive fields of literature. And while Buchanan ranged through the delightful fields of classical learning, and particularly poetry, Knox directed his chief attention to divine truth.

It must not be supposed, however, that Knox was able at once to free himself from the trammels of that scholastic theology, in which he was instructed: light did not burst upon his mind at once, but, for some time, he was held enchained in the mazy labyrinth of scholastic logic. After he was created Master of Arts, he taught philosophy in the university, as an assistant, or private lecturer; and he acquired so much celebrity in teaching, that he was considered to equal, if not excel his preceptor. In consequence of his rapid

progress and high attainments in the literature in vogue, he was admitted to priest's orders, before he had attained the canonical age.

His studies now received a new direction; for, not satisfied with mere excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of scholastic divines, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger. Among the fathers of the Christian Church, Jerome and Augustine, attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the Scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and was instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments, very opposite to those taught in the Romish church. From this time he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. This favourable change

of his sentiments and course of study, took place about the year 1535; but he did not avow himself a Protestant, until the year 1542.

It will be necessary, before proceeding further, to take a comprehensive survey of the state of religion in Scotland at this time; without some knowledge of which, the absolute necessity of a reformation, cannot be fully understood.

The corruptions by which Christianity was universally depraved, had grown to a greater height in Scotland, than in any other nation within the pale of the western church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of power and opulence; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the control of the whole body.

Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots, rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and maintained the precedence of them in honours. They were privy counsellors, and Lords of session, as well as of parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality, or petty kingdom; and it was obtained by similar acts, and not unfrequently taken possession of, by the same weapons. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice players, strolling bards, and the illegitimate children of bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and patrons kept benefices for favourites until they should be of a suitable age to enter on their possession; so that sometimes whole parishes were deprived of all the means of religious instruction and public worship for years together. There was no such thing known, as for a bishop to preach: indeed, in all the history of the Scottish Church, from the time of the establish-

ment of episcopacy to the reformation, no instance of the kind can be found. The practice was gone into disuse among all the secular clergy, and preaching was wholly devolved on the secular monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes. As might be expected, the lives of the clergy were far from being pure; but, corrupted by wealth and idleness, they were a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. Bishops, though under a vow of chastity, kept their mistresses, and provided their illegitimate sons with benefices in the church, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry.

Through the blind devotion of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and although they had universally degenerated, and had become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds. Swarms of monks, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the land, and filled the air with pestilential infection.

The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion, was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith; and that they had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. Under such pastors the people could not but perish for lack of knowledge. The book which was able to make them wise unto salvation was locked up from them, and the use of it in their own tongue prohibited, under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests themselves did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest pains were taken to keep the people in profound ignorance, by shutting up every avenue of Christian instruction. Of the doctrines of Christianity scarcely any thing remained but the name. The people, instead of being taught to offer up their adorations to God, were directed to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators, too, shared the honour of procuring the divine favour with the one

“ Mediator between God and man;” and more petitions were presented to the virgin Mary, than to Him “ whom the Father heareth always.” The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness for the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of that sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of the Saviour, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of the pure, spiritual worship enjoined in the Scriptures, the people were taught that if they repeated their Latin prayers, and abstained from flesh on Fridays, and punctually paid their tithes and other church dues, their salvation would be certainly secured. It is hardly possible to conceive how empty and ridiculous those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales, concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he wrought, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, and flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the

horrors of purgatory with the number released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fire-side scandal, formed the favourite topics of their preachers; and were served up to the people instead of the pure, solid, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.

The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the church. And claims for tithes, &c., were always ready to be laid in against the deceased, which if they were not quickly discharged, the thunders of ecclesiastical censures were brought to bear upon the superstitious fears of survivors. Divine service was neglected, and the churches deserted, except on a few festival days, and served chiefly as an asylum for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.

From this imperfect sketch of the state of religion in Scotland, we may see how false the representation is, which some persons would impose on us, as though popery were a system, erroneous indeed, but purely speculative; superstitious, but harmless; provided

it had not accidentally been accompanied with intolerance and cruelty. The very reverse is the truth. It may be safely said, that there is not one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or artfully accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse, to aggrandize the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanction their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations on the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.

To the revival of the primitive doctrines and institutions of Christianity, by the preaching and writing of the reformers, and to those controversies by which popish errors were confuted from Scripture, we are chiefly indebted for the overthrow of superstition, ignorance, and despotism; and for the blessings, political and religious, which we enjoy, we are indebted to the reformation from popery.

How grateful should we be to divine providence for this happy revolution! For those

persons do but "sport with their own imaginations," who flatter themselves that it must have taken place in the ordinary course of human affairs, and overlook the many convincing proofs of the superintending direction of superior wisdom, in the whole combination of circumstances which contributed to bring about the reformation in this country, as well as throughout Europe. How much are we indebted to those men, who under God, were the instruments in effecting it; who cheerfully jeopardied their lives, to achieve a design which involved the happiness of millions unborn; boldly attacked the system of error and corruption, fortified by popular credulity, custom, and laws, fenced with the most dreadful penalties, and having forced the strong hold of superstition, and penetrated into the recesses of its temple, tore away the veil which concealed the monstrous idol which the whole world had so long worshipped, and dissolving the magic spell by which the human mind was bound, and restored it to liberty! How criminal must they be, who, sitting at ease under their vines and figtrees, planted by the unwearied labours, and watered by the blood of

these patriots, disown or disesteem the invaluable privileges which they inherit; or manifest their ignorance of the expense at which they were purchased, by the most unworthy treatment of those to whom they owe them; misrepresent their actions, calumniate their motives, and cruelly lacerate their memories.

The reformed doctrine had made considerable progress in Scotland, before it was embraced by Knox. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble descent, obtained the honour, not conferred on many of his rank, of first announcing its glad tidings to his countrymen, and sealing them with his blood.

As early as the year 1526, a gleam of light was, by some unknown means, imparted to the mind of that noble youth, amidst the darkness which brooded around him. Guided by this, he directed his course to Wittemberg; and after conferring with the German reformers, went to prosecute the study of the Scriptures in the Protestant University of Marpurg, under the direction of Francis Lambert of Avignon. In that retreat, he was seized with such an irresistible desire to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge which he had

received, that he left Marpurg, contrary to the remonstrances of his acquaintance, and returned to Scotland. His freedom in exposing the reigning corruptions, soon drew upon him the jealousy of the popish clergy, who decoyed him to St. Andrews; where, on the last day of February, 1528, he obtained the crown of martyrdom, by the hands of Archbishop Beaton. The murder of Hamilton was afterwards avenged in the blood of the nephew and successor of his persecutor, and according to the young martyr's prediction, "the flames in which he expired, were, in the course of one generation to enlighten all Scotland; and to consume with avenging fury the Catholic superstition, the papal power, and the hierarchy itself."

The execution of Hamilton excited the attention of all classes of persons at St. Andrews, to inquire into his opinions; and the consequence was, the secret spreading of these opinions. And there were not wanting instruments within the university, who successfully instilled the evangelical doctrine into the minds of their pupils. Among these was Gawin Logie, rector of St. Leonard's college;

so that it became proverbial to say of one suspected of Lutheranism, that he had drunk of St. Leonard's well.

The clergy alarmed at the progress of the new opinions, were on the alert, and made diligent inquisition after heretics: and a number of excellent men suffered a cruel death between 1530 and 1540. Several persons, however, purchased their lives by a recantation. Numbers made their escape to England and the continent, among whom were Gawin Logie, Alexander Seatoun, Alexander Aless, John McBee, John Fife, John Macdowal, John Mackbray, George Buchanan, James Harrison, and Robert Richardson. These violent proceedings could not arrest the progress of truth. By merchants, by tracts, and by copies of Tindall's version of the Bible, the light continued to increase and spread, so that in the year 1540, the reformed doctrine could reckon among its converts, besides a multitude of common people, many persons of rank and respectability. From the year 1540 to 1542, the number of the reformed rapidly increased. Twice did the clergy attempt to cut them off by one desperate blow. They presented to

the king a list, containing the names of some hundreds, whom they denounced as heretics, and endeavoured to procure his consent to their condemnation, by flattering him with the prospect of the immense riches which would accrue to him from their forfeiture. The first time the proposal was made, James V. rejected it with strong marks of displeasure; but so violent at last, was the antipathy which he conceived against his nobility, and so much had he fallen under the influence of the clergy, that it is highly probable that he would have yielded to their solicitation had not the disaster happened which put an end to his unhappy life.



PERIOD II.

FROM HIS EMBRACING THE REFORMED RELIGION IN 1542, TO
HIS RELEASE FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS IN 1549.

KNOX's change of sentiments could not long be concealed; it was soon rendered manifest by the altered tone of his lectures, and by the freedom with which he denounced the cor-

ruptions and superstitions of the Romish Church.

It was impossible, therefore, for him to remain in safety, at St. Andrews, where Cardinal Beatoun had undisputed sway. He therefore, left the place, and retired to the South, where, in a short time, he avowed his full belief of the Protestant doctrine. The clergy, with the Cardinal at their head, were alarmed at Knox's open defection, and not only proceeded to degrade him from the priesthood, but employed assassins to way-lay him, by whose hands he must have fallen, had it not been for the protection of the laird of Langniddrie.

Thomas Williams, a friar of eminence, was very serviceable in leading Knox to a more perfect knowledge of evangelical truth, as was also, John Rough, a monk of Stirling, who had twice visited Rome, and had his eyes opened to see the incurable corruptions of that "mother of harlots," and had been led to reverence the Holy Scriptures, as the fountain of truth. But the person to whom our reformer was most indebted, was George Wishart, a young gentleman of good family,

who had been banished from the country by Cardinal Beaton, for teaching the Greek Testament. This young man, after his banishment, having resided some time at the university of Cambridge, returned to his native country, in the year 1544, in company with the commissioners, who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England.

Few persons mentioned in ecclesiastical history ever possessed more shining and useful qualities, than Wishart. Excelling the rest of his countrymen in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable life, courteous and affable in manners; he was moreover, animated by a spirit of fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, and these tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity. In his tour of preaching, through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people who flocked to hear him, were delighted with his discourses. To this eminent preacher, Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his sermons and private instructions. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal and talents of Knox, and

seems to have presaged his future usefulness; at the same time, he entertained a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom.

Knox, having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in that church which had invested him with clerical orders, had entered, in the capacity of tutor, into the family of Hugh Douglas, of Long Niddrie, a gentleman in East Lothian, who had embraced the reformed doctrine. He had also put under his instruction, the son of John Cockburn, of Ormiston, a neighbouring gentleman, of the same persuasion. These young men were instructed by him in the principles of religion, as well as in the learned languages. And he so conducted their religious instruction, that the family and neighbours might profit by the lessons given to his pupils; for at stated times he expounded to them a chapter in the Bible, and catechised them publicly in a chapel, at Long Niddrie; the memory of which is still preserved, and the ruins of the chapel still visible, which to this day is called *John Knox's Kirk*.

In the year 1546, a conspiracy having been formed against the life of that cruel and deter-

mined persecutor, Cardinal Beatoun, the castle of St. Andrews, in which he resided, was seized upon, by a small but determined band, a part of whom instigated by resentment for private injuries, and others, by a desire to revenge his cruelties; and the Cardinal was put to death.

The death of Beatoun, however, did not free Knox from danger, for his life was sought after by John Hamilton, who was nominated to the vacant bishopric, with as great eagerness as by his predecessor. He was, therefore, obliged to conceal himself, and to remove from place to place, to provide for his safety. Wearied with these persecutions, he came to the resolution to leave his native country; and his purpose was to visit Germany; but the fathers of his pupils were very reluctant to part with such a tutor, and persuaded him, with their sons, to take refuge in the castle of St. Andrews.

The enemies of Knox have taken occasion from this circumstance, to charge him as being among the conspirators who assassinated the Cardinal, which is contrary to all testimony. Others have accused him of joining them and

giving them his countenance, after the deed was perpetrated; but neither has this any foundation. The only thing which can be plausibly laid to his charge, in relation to this matter is, that in his writings he justified the act. He does, indeed, chiefly speak of it as a judgment of God, and an act of Providence for the safety of his servants; but it is true, that he vindicated the putting this cruel persecutor to death, as a righteous and praiseworthy deed, and well pleasing to God. He held the opinion, that persons, who by the commission of flagrant crimes had forfeited their lives, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, such as notorious murderers, and tyrants, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals; provided all redress, in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible; in consequence of the offender having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. The same opinion was defended by Buchanan, in his treatise "*De jure regni apud Scotos;*" and held by many eminent men of that age. It must be confessed, that however just it may appear to be in

theory, it is of dangerous application, extremely liable to abuse by the factious, fanatical, and desperate, as a pretext for the most nefarious deeds.

Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews, at the time of Easter, in the year 1547, and conducted the education of his pupils in his accustomed manner; expounding to them the Scriptures in order, and catechising them in the parish church, belonging to the city. A number of persons attended both these exercises. Among those who had taken refuge in the castle, were John Rough, Sir David Lindsay, and Henry Balnaves. These persons were so much pleased with Knox's doctrine and mode of instruction, that they urged him to preach publicly to the people, and to become colleague to Rough, who acted as chaplain to the garrison. • But he resisted all their solicitations, alleging that he did not consider himself as having a call to this employment. They, however, did not desist from their purpose; but consulted the brethren, came to a resolution, without his knowledge, that a call should be publicly given to him, in the name of the whole, to become one of their minis-

ters. Accordingly, on a day fixed for the purpose, Rough preached a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he declared the power which a congregation, however small, had over any one in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office; and how dangerous it was for any one to reject the call of those, who desired instruction. Sermon being ended, the preacher turned towards Knox, who was present, and addressed him in these words; "Brother, you will not be offended, although I speak unto you, that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this; In the name of God, and his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that now call you by my mouth, I charge you, that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, and the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you know, well enough, to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his grace unto you." Then addres-

sing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation? They all answered "It was, and we approve it." Abashed and overwhelmed by this unexpected and solemn charge, Knox was unable to speak, but burst into tears, retired from the assembly, and shut himself up in his chamber. "His countenance and behaviour from that day, until the day he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him; neither had he pleasure to accompany any man, for many days together."

In this transaction we see how the most eminent, in the beginning of the Reformation, felt the awful responsibility of the ministerial office, and with what difficulty they were induced to take upon them that sacred office, which they had long desired, and for which they had laboured to qualify themselves. The behaviour of Knox, on this occasion, reproves those who become preachers of their own accord: who from vague and enthusiastic desires of doing good, or a fond conceit of their own

gifts, trample upon good order, and thrust themselves into a sacred employment, without any regular call. The similarity of this case to that of John Calvin, at Geneva not long before, must strike every intelligent reader.

Knox's distress of mind, and his reluctance to comply with the call which he now received, did not proceed from any conviction of its invalidity, by reason of the defect of certain formalities which had been usual in the church, and which in ordinary cases might be observed with propriety in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These, as far as warranted by Scripture, or conducive to the preservation of decent order, he did not condemn; his judgment respecting these matters may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish Reformed Church, in the organization of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the necessity of episcopal ordination, as totally unauthorized by the laws of Christ: nor did he regard the imposition of the hands of Presbyters, as a rite essential to the validity of orders; or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the church. The papists,

indeed, did not fail to declaim on this topic, representing Knox, and other reformed ministers, as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the English Church, afterwards learn to talk; not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop, who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed churches, except their own: a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal and horrid consequences. Whether Knox paid any respect whatever, to his early ordination in the popish church, cannot now be determined; yet there can be little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews, as principally constituting his call to the ministry. The fathers of the English reformation entertained no such narrow views, as those referred to, as held by some of their successors. Knox's call to the ministry was never questioned, but his services readily accepted, when

he afterwards went to England. Archbishop Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI. and all the bishops, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, corresponded with, and cheerfully owned the foreign, reformed divines, as brethren and fellow labourers in the ministry of the Gospel. And in the year 1582, archbishop Grindall, by a formal deed, declared the validity of the orders of Mr. John Morison, who had been ordained by the Synod of Lothian; "according to the *laudable* form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland."

The true reason of Knox's distress of mind on receiving this call to undertake the work of the ministry, was, the awful importance of the sacred office, the weight of the care of immortal souls, of whom he knew he must give an account, and the difficulty of the duty of declaring "the whole counsel of God, and keeping nothing back," however ungrateful it might be to his hearers—of preaching "in season and out of season," and maintaining that exemplary holiness of life, and fortitude and patience under afflictions and persecutions, requisite in the ministers of the Gospel, at this period, when they were constantly exposed to

imprisonment, exile, and a violent death. At length, however, satisfied that he had the call of God to engage in this work, he composed his mind to a reliance on Him who had engaged to make his "strength perfect in the weakness" of his servants; and resolved, with the apostles "not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." Often did he afterwards reflect with lively emotion on this very interesting step of his life, and never, in the midst of his greatest sufferings, did he see reason to repent of the choice which he had so deliberately made.

John Rough, though sound in doctrine, and of exemplary behaviour, was not a man of much learning, the want of which he now sensibly felt; for some persons in the university and abbey, and among the rest, one Annan, made objections to the doctrine which he preached, and endeavoured to vex and entangle him with their sophisms and garbled quotations from the fathers. The value of his colleague was now also felt, for he, by his superior skill in logic, and his acquaintance with

the writings of the fathers, was able to detect Annan's fallacies, and confute his popish errors.

One day at a public disputation, in the parish church, in the presence of a great number of people, Annan being beat from all his defences, had recourse, as his last resort, to the infallibility of the church, which having condemned the tenets of the Lutherans as heretical, all farther disputation, he alleged, was unnecessary. Knox replied, that it was first requisite to ascertain the true church, by the marks given in Scripture, lest they should receive as their spiritual mother a harlot, instead of the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ; "For," said he, "as for your Roman church, as it is now corrupted, 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, to be *the man of sin*, of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church at Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day, farther degenerate, than even the church of the Jews, from the ordi-

nances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." This was a bold charge, but the minds of the people came prepared to listen to the proof. They exclaimed, that if this were true, they had been miserably deceived; and insisted, as they could not all read his writings, that he should ascend the pulpit and give them an opportunity of hearing the proof of what he had so confidently affirmed. The challenge was not retracted, and the request was reasonable; therefore, the following Sunday was fixed on for making good his promise.

On the day appointed, Knox appeared in the pulpit of the parish church, and gave out for his text, Dan. vii. 24, 25. After explaining the vision and showing that the four kingdoms of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, were emblematically represented by the four animals, seen in vision by David; he proceeded to show, that out of the ruins of the last of these empires arose the power described in the text, which could be no other than the degenerate church of Rome. He compared the parallel passages in the New Testament, and showed that the king mentioned in the

text was the person called *the man of sin*, the *antichrist*, the *Babylonian harlot*; and that this did not mean any single person, but a multitude or body under a wicked head, including a succession of persons occupying the same station. To show that the papal power was anti-christ, he described it under the three heads, of life, doctrine, and laws. The lives of the popes he depicted from ecclesiastical history, their doctrine he contrasted with that of the New Testament, and their laws with the institutions of Christ. He cited from the Canon law the blasphemous titles and prerogatives, ascribed to the pope, as the additional proof that he was described in the text. In conclusion, he invited any, who might think that his quotations produced from Scripture, history, or the writings of the fathers and doctors of the church, were unfairly made, to come to him, and in the presence of witnesses he would give them satisfaction. Among his auditors on this occasion, were John Mair, his old preceptor, the members of the university, the sub-prior of the abbey, and a great number of canons and friars of different orders.

This sermon, delivered with a good degree

of that fervid eloquence for which Knox was so distinguished, made a great noise, and excited much speculation among all classes. The former preachers of reformed doctrine, not excepting Wishart, had contented themselves with rejecting some of the grosser errors of the established religion; but Knox struck, at once, at the root of popery, boldly pronouncing the pope to be anti-christ, and the whole system erroneous and unscriptural.

It was impossible for such a sermon to escape animadversion. By the order of the Bishop of St. Andrews, Winram, the sub-prior, summoned Knox to appear before him; when nine articles drawn from his sermon were exhibited. Knox knew that in heart, Winram, the sub-prior, was favourable to the Reformation; he therefore appealed solemnly to him to declare, whether any thing which he had said was contrary to the Scriptures; and if he thought that the doctrine preached was true, it was his duty to give it the sanction of his authority. Winram answered with great caution, saying, that he did not come there as a judge, and would neither approve nor condemn; he wished for a free conference, and if

Knox pleased, -would reason with him a little. He then proceeded to state some objections to one of the propositions maintained by Knox, but soon devolved the dispute on a grey headed friar who was present; who, though he took it up with great confidence, was soon forced to yield with disgrace. For having rashly engaged to prove the institution of the popish ceremonies, and being pushed by his antagonist from the Gospels and Acts to the Epistles, and from one epistle to another; he was driven at last to affirm "That the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost, when they wrote the epistles, but that they afterwards received Him, and then ordained the ceremonies of the church." Here, the sub-prior interposed and said, "Father, what say you? God forbid that you say *that*; for then, farewell the ground of our faith. The friar, abashed and confounded, attempted to correct his error, but in vain. Knox could not afterwards bring him up to the argument upon any of the articles; but henceforth he resolved all into the authority of the church.

Instructed by the issue of this convention, the papists avoided, for the future, all dispu-

tation, which they found tended only to the injury of their cause. Had the castle of St. Andrews been in their power, they would soon have silenced these troublesome preachers; but as matters stood, more moderate and crafty measures were necessary. The plan which they adopted was, that all the learned men in the abbey and university should preach in their turn, and thus Knox and Rough would seldom have the opportunity of addressing the people in public; but they made it a rule, not to touch on any of the points in dispute. Knox said, that he only wished that they could be induced to be as industrious in their vocation through the week—but he declared, that he would rejoice that the gospel was preached, and that no opposition was given in their discourses to evangelical truth.

In the few months that Knox preached at St. Andrews, a great number of the inhabitants of the town, besides those in the castle, were induced to renounce popery, and make profession of the Protestant faith, by participating of the Lord's Supper, which he administered to them, in the form afterwards practised in the Reformed Church of Scotland.

But while he enjoyed the gratification arising from these first fruits of his ministry, he was troubled on account of the disorderly and licentious conduct of some of the soldiers under his charge. From the time that he was chosen to be their preacher he openly rebuked these disorders, and when he perceived that his admonitions failed of putting a stop to them, he did not conceal his apprehensions of the issue of the enterprize in which they were engaged.

In the end of June, 1547, a French fleet, with a considerable body of land forces, appeared before St. Andrews; and the besieged, disappointed in aid from England, capitulated on honourable terms. All that were in the castle were to be transported to France, and if they did not choose to enter the service of the French king, they were to be conveyed to any place to which they wished to go, except to Scotland. Rough had left the castle before it was taken; but Knox, although he foresaw that it could not long hold out against such a besieging force by sea, and land, yet would not forsake his charge. He was, accordingly, conveyed with the rest of the garrison on

board of the French fleet, which, in a few days, set sail for France; and going up the Seine, anchored at Rouen. At the request of the pope and the Scotch clergy, the capitulation was violated, and they were all detained prisoners of war. The principal gentlemen were incarcerated at Rouen, Cherburg, Brest, and Mont St. Michel; but Knox, with some others, was confined on board the galleys, bound with chains, and treated with all the indignity usually offered to heretics, in addition to the ordinary rigors of captivity.

From Rouen, they sailed to Nantes, and lay upon the Noire during the following winter. Solicitations, threatenings, and violence, were all employed to make the prisoners recant their religion, and countenance the popish worship. But so great was their abhorrence of idolatry, that not an individual could be induced to symbolize with idolatrous rites, in the smallest degree. While they lay in the Noire, they were often brought out on deck to witness the celebration of mass on shore, and were required to give the usual signs of reverence; but this they uniformly refused, and always covered their heads. One day, a

fine image of the Virgin Mary was brought into one of the galleys, and presented to a Scottish prisoner, to kiss. He desired the bearer to desist, for such images were accursed; and he would not touch it. The officer roughly declared that he should, and put it to his face, and thrust it into his hands. Upon this, he took hold of the image, and watching his opportunity, threw it into the river, saying, "*Lat our lady now save herself; she is lycht anoughe, lat hir leirne to swyme.*" After this, they were no more troubled in that way.

In the summer of 1548, the galleys returned to the coast of Scotland, and continued for some time, watching for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement; and he was seized with a fever, so that for a while, his life was despaired of: but even in this state, his fortitude remained unsubdued, and he comforted his fellow prisoners with the hopes of release. His uniform answer, when they inquired if he thought they would ever gain their liberty, was, "God will deliver us, even

in this life to his glory." While on the coast of Dundee, Mr. James Balfour asked him if he knew the land? Though very sick at the time, yet he replied, "Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." This striking reply, Sir James repeated before many witnesses, long before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words ever being verified. He was not, however, at all times free from painful conflicts, and depression of mind. But his constant resort was to prayer, the never failing refuge of the afflicted and oppressed, by which he was relieved from all his fears, and reposing on the promises and providence of God whom he served, attained "the confidence and rejoicing of hope." When free from fever, he relieved the tedium of his captivity in composing a confession of his faith, being the substance of what he had preached at St. Andrews, with a

particular account of the dispute in which he was engaged at St. Leonard's Yards. This paper he found means to convey to his friends in Scotland, which he accompanied with an earnest exhortation to them to be steadfast in their adherence to the truth.

At length, Knox, after enduring a severe imprisonment of nineteen months, obtained his liberty. This occurred in February 1549; but by what means his deliverance was effected cannot now be certainly ascertained. Some say, that the galley in which he was confined was taken in the channel, by the English. According to another account, he was liberated by the king of France; because, on examination it appeared, that he was not concerned in the murder of cardinal Beaton; nor accessory to other crimes committed by those who held the castle of St. Andrews. Others, again, say, that his friends purchased his liberty, induced by the hopes which they cherished of great things to be accomplished by him. It is not improbable, however, that he owed his liberty to the fact, that the French court had now accomplished their purpose, in regard to Scotland, having got the young queen into

their possession, and having married her to the Dauphin, so that they now felt less inclined to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy.

PERIOD III.

FROM HIS RELEASE FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS, 1549, TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND, 1554.

KNOX, as soon as he was at liberty, resorted to England, where the need of faithful, evangelical preachers was very great; and as his reputation as a powerful preacher was not unknown in that kingdom, he was immediately employed in the work in which above all others he delighted. As it was found impracticable to supply every parish with a capable and faithful pastor, Cranmer adopted the plan of sending able preachers to itinerate in the counties which were most destitute. Knox was therefore sent down from London to Berwick, a situation the more acceptable to him, because it afforded him, from its proximity to his native land, the opportunity of ascertaining the

state of religion there, and to correspond with his friends, and impart to them his advice. In the execution of his office he spared neither time nor bodily strength, and so fulfilled his duty, as to give great satisfaction to those who employed him. Regarding the worship of the popish church as grossly idolatrous, and its doctrine as damnable, he attacked both with the utmost fervour, and exerted himself to withdraw his hearers from them, with as much eagerness as he would to save their lives from a devouring fire or flood. Nor were his labours fruitless: during the two years that he continued in Berwick, numbers were, by his ministry, converted from error and ignorance, and a general reformation of manners became visible among the soldiers of the garrison, who had before been noted for turbulence and licentiousness.

Berwick was situated within the diocese of Tonsal, a time-serving prelate, who, though he concurred in the first steps taken in the English reformation; yet, afterwards, set himself against all further change. Knox's preaching and success could not but be very disagreeable to this man, and his clergy, who

were all bigotted papists: but as he had been sent there by Cranmer and the council, they dared not reject him, unless some ground of accusation could be found in the doctrines which he preached. To men predisposed to censure the pure doctrines of the reformation, the bold denunciations of popish error and superstition by Knox, soon furnished occasion for an accusation. A charge was exhibited against him, before the bishop, for teaching, "that the sacrifice of the mass was idolatrous;" and a day was assigned him to offer reasons in defence of this opinion. Accordingly, on on the 4th of April, 1550, a great assembly was convened at Newcastle, among whom were the members of the council residing in the north, the bishop of Durham, and the learned men of his cathedral. Knox delivered an ample defence of the doctrine against which complaints had been made. After an appropriate exordium, in which he endeavoured to obviate their prejudices, he proceeded to his vindication. As his audience was composed of the unlearned as well as the learned, he endeavoured to accommodate his discourse to them also. His arguments were proposed in

the syllogistic form, according to the custom of the age, but he illustrated them with a plainness, level to the meanest capacity. His defence was written, and the manuscript is still preserved, and the substance of it is given by Dr. McCrie, in the notes appended to his *Life of Knox*. The effect of this defence was to extend the fame of Knox through the north of England, while it completely silenced the bishop and his suffragans. He continued to preach at Berwick, through the remainder of the year: but in the following year, he had the sphere of his usefulness greatly enlarged, by being remanded to Newcastle. In December, 1551, the Privy Council conferred on him a special mark of their favour, by appointing him one of king Edward's chaplains, in ordinary.

In the course of the year, he was consulted respecting the liturgy, which was undergoing a review, and on this occasion, probably visited London. Although the persons who had the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs, did not think it expedient to introduce that thorough reform which he wished; yet he obtained some important alterations to be made, especially in the communion service, by

which the notion of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, was excluded, and the countenance given to the adoration of the elements by the custom of kneeling, was removed. Knox, in his "Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England," speaks of these alterations in the book of common prayer, with much satisfaction. And Dr. Weston, in his dispute with Latimer in Queen Mary's time, complains of the influence which he had in procuring these alterations, saying, "A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ, in the sacrament, by whose procurement, that heresy was put into the last communion book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time." In the following year, he was employed in revising the *articles of religion* previous to their ratification by parliament. While a resident at Berwick, Knox became acquainted with Miss Marjory Bowes, a young lady of an honourable family, to whom he paid his addresses, and meeting with a favourable reception, he entered into a solemn engagement to marry her; but owing to some obstruction, the connexion was not now form-

ed; but henceforth, he considered himself as sacredly bound, and always addressed Mrs. Bowes, in his letters by the name of mother.

Knox was eager to redeem time, and indefatigable in his labours while stationed in the North of England; for he seems to have had a presage, that this golden opportunity of usefulness would not be of long duration. In addition to his ordinary services on the Sabbath, he preached regularly on week days, and frequently on every day of the week. Besides the portion of time allotted to study, he was often employed in conversing with people who applied to him for advice on religious subjects. The Council were so sensible of the value of his services, that they wrote letters to the governors and principal inhabitants of the places where he preached, recommending him to their notice and protection; and secured him the regular payment of his salary, until such time as he should be provided with a benefice.

But far different was the feeling towards him, of the majority of the people in the country where he laboured. They were generally superstitious papists, who submitted impa-

tiently to the Protestant government of the country, and longed for the restoration of their ancient religion. And when Somerset, the protector was overthrown, their feelings of satisfaction could not be concealed. These things excited the ardent spirit of Knox, and about Christmas, 1552, he gave vent to his feelings, and lamenting the obstinacy of the papists, asserted, "that such were enemies to the Gospel then preached in England, were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth, and cared not who should reign over them, provided they got their idolatry erected again." This freedom of speech was immediately laid hold on by his enemies, and transmitted with many aggravations, to some great men about the court, who preferred a charge against him before the privy council for high offences. In taking this step they were not a little encouraged by the knowledge of the sentiments of the Duke of Northumberland, who had lately come down as Warden General of the northern marches. This ambitious and unprincipled nobleman had made use of the Reformation, merely as a stepping stone to the highest preferments in the state, which he had

recently secured by the fall of the Duke of Somerset, the protector of the kingdom. Knox had offended him by lamenting the fall of Somerset, as detrimental to the Reformation; nor could his freedom, in reproving from the pulpit, the vices of great and small, be otherwise than offensive to a man of Northumberland's character. He was solicitous, therefore, to have Knox removed from those parts, and had applied to the council for this purpose, before the occurrence just mentioned, alleging as a reason, the great influx of Scotchmen into the country.

In consequence of the charges brought against him, Knox was now cited to repair immediately to London, to answer for his conduct. In this emergency his courage did not forsake him, as appears by a letter to his sister immediately after receiving the summons. Upon reaching London, he found that his enemies had been uncommonly industrious in exciting prejudices against him, by transmitting the most false and calumnious information. But the council, after hearing his defence, were convinced of the malice of the accusation, and honourably acquitted him.

While in London he preached before the court, and gave great satisfaction, particularly to the young King, who contracted a liking to him, and was very desirous to have him promoted in the church. It was now determined by the council, that Knox, during the year 1553, should preach in London and the southern counties; but he was permitted to return to Newcastle for a short time, to settle his affairs, or as a public testimony of his innocence.

His health had been greatly impaired by his long confinement in the galleys, and also by his incessant labours in the north of England; so that in the year 1553, he was much afflicted with the gravel, which was accompanied by severe pains in the head and stomach. But although his bodily sufferings were great, his fortitude never failed, as appears by his letters, written while labouring under the severe pain of disease.

After his return from Newcastle to London, the council requested the archbishop to present him to the living of All-Hallows, in that city. This was done at the suggestion of the young King, who, as we have seen, entertained

great favour towards Knox. Against this measure, the Duke of Northumberland exerted all his influence; but it was unnecessary, for when the offer was made to Knox, he declined it, and assigned as a reason, that in the present state of the English Church, he could not accept a fixed charge. This answer gave no small offence, so that in consequence of it, he was again called before the Privy Council. At this meeting the archbishop and several of the bishops were present, as well as the Lord Chancellor and other noblemen, who were members of this body. He was asked why he had refused the benefice provided for him in London? He answered, that he was fully satisfied, that he could be more useful to the Church in another situation. Being further interrogated, whether it was his opinion, that no person could lawfully serve in ecclesiastical ministrations, according to the present laws of the realm? He frankly replied, "that there were many things which needed reformation, without which, ministers could not, in his opinion, discharge their office conscientiously in the sight of God; for according to the existing laws, no minister had power to prevent

the unworthy from partaking of the sacraments, which was a chief point of his office." He was asked, if kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent? He replied, "that Christ's action was most perfect, and in it no such posture was used; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was an addition and invention of men." On this point one of the council entered into a long dispute with him; and after long reasoning, he was informed that he had not been sent for with any bad design; but they were sorry to understand that he was of a contrary judgment to the common order. He said, that he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. They dismissed him with soft speeches, advising him to endeavour to bring his mind to communicate according to the established rites.

If honours and emoluments could have influenced the mind of our conscientious reformer, he would have conformed to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; for at the special request of Edward VI., and with the concurrence of the council, he received the offer of a bishopric; but the same reasons pre-

vented him from accepting this offer, which had influenced him to decline the living of All-Hallows. The fact is attested by Beza, who adds, that his refusal was accompanied with a censure of the Episcopal office, as destitute of divine authority, and not exercised in England according to the ecclesiastical canons. Knox himself, also speaks of the high promotions offered to him by Edward; and in a later period of his life we find him expressly asserting that he had refused a bishopric.

Here, it will not be irrelevant to observe, that the reformation in England, was conducted on very different principles from that of Scotland, and most of the reformed churches on the continent. The supremacy before possessed by the pope, was transferred to the king, the hierarchy being subjected to the civil power was suffered to remain, together with many of the forms of the ancient worship, after removing the grosser superstitions; but in Scotland all these were discarded as destitute of divine authority, unprofitable, burdensome, or savouring of popery; and the worship and government of the church were reduced to the primitive standard of Scriptural

simplicity. The influence of Knox, in modelling and regulating ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, is universally admitted; but it has been alleged, that while he officiated in the English church, he was entirely pleased with its order and institutions, and that his prejudice against it was imbibed during his residence at Geneva. This statement is inaccurate. It is true, his objections to the English liturgy were increased and strengthened by his residence on the continent; but it is certain, that they existed before that time. His judgment respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline, were nurtured during that period, but his radical sentiments on these heads, were formed long before he ever saw Calvin, or had any intercourse with foreign reformers.

As early as the year 1547, Knox taught at St. Andrew's, that no mortal man could be the head of the church, and that there were no true bishops, but such as preached personally without a substitute; that in religion, men are bound to regulate themselves by divine laws; and that the sacrament ought to be administered exactly according to the institution and example of Christ. And in a solemn disputa-

tion in that place, of which an account has been given, he maintained that the church has no authority to devise ceremonies and rites. The same position he also defended at Newcastle in 1550, and in his appearance before the council in London. It was impossible that the English Church in any of the shapes which it assumed, could stand the test of these principles. The ecclesiastical supremacy, the various orders and dependencies of the hierarchy, crossing in baptism, and kneeling in the eucharist, with other ceremonies; the theatrical dress, the mimical gestures, the vain repetitions used in religious service, were all cashiered and repudiated by the cardinal principle to which he adhered, that in the Church of Christ, and especially in the acts of worship, every thing ought to be arranged and conducted, not by the pleasure and appointment of men, but by the dictates of inspired wisdom and authority. Yet he rejoiced in the progress of the reformation in England, and especially in the liberty which was given to preach the pure word of God throughout that extensive realm; that idolatry and gross superstition were suppressed, and that the rulers were

disposed to support the reformation which had been commenced, and even to carry it further than had been done. And on account of the extreme paucity of evangelical preachers, when the harvest was so extensive, he willingly laboured under the direction of the council, and for the sake of assisting the men who were striving to suppress popery and to introduce the Reformation, he acquiesced in the authority exercised by the bishops, in the places where he was appointed to preach. But he never could be induced to contradict or conceal his decided sentiments; and he cautiously avoided coming under any engagements, by which he would have approved what he deemed unlawful, or injurious to the interests of religion. Upon these principles he never submitted to the unlimited use of the liturgy during his residence in England; declined to accept of a valuable living in London, and finally refused the offer of a bishopric. Among other things which he censured in the English ecclesiastical establishment, was the continuing to employ so many ignorant and incompetent priests, who had been accustomed to nothing but saying mass and singing the litany; the general

substitution of the reading of the homilies, the mumbling of prayers, or the chaunting of matins, and even-song in the place of preaching. He also objected to the formal celebration of the sacraments, unaccompanied with instructions to the people; the scandalous prevalence of pluralities, and the total want of ecclesiastical discipline. He was of opinion, that the clergy ought not to be entangled and diverted from the duties of their office by secular employments, and thought that the bishops ought to lay aside their civil titles and dignities; that the bishoprics should be divided, so that in every city or large town there might be placed a godly and learned man, with others joined with him for the management of ecclesiastical affairs; and that schools for the education of youth should be universally erected through the nation.

Nor did the principal persons, who were active in effecting the English reformation, differ widely from Knox in these sentiments, although they might not have the same conviction of their importance, and the expediency of reducing them to practice. It would be a great mistake to suppose that they

were men of the same principles and temper with many of their successors; or that they were satisfied with the extent to which they had carried the reformation of the English Church, or that they regarded her as a paragon and perfect pattern to other churches. They were strangers to those extravagant and illiberal notions which were afterwards adopted by the fond admirers of the hierarchy and liturgy. They would have laughed at the man who should have said, the ceremonies constituted "the beauties of holiness," or that the imposition of the hands of a bishop was essential to the validity of ordination. They would not have owned that man as a Protestant, who should have ventured to insinuate, that where this was wanting there was no Christian ministry, no ordinances, no church, and perhaps no salvation. Many things their successors have applauded, they only tolerated; and they would have rejoiced if the circumstances of their times would have permitted them to introduce alterations, which have since been cried down as puritanical innovations. There is sufficient evidence to authorize the assertion, that if the first English

reformers had been left to their own choice, they would have brought the government and worship of the Church of England nearly to the pattern of the other reformed churches. Such, in particular, was the earnest wish of Edward VI., a prince, who besides his other rare qualities, had an unfeigned reverence for the word of God, and a disposition to comply with its prescriptions, in preference to custom and established usages; who uniformly showed himself inclined to give relief to his conscientious subjects, and sincerely bent on promoting the union of all the friends of the reformed religion at home and abroad. Had his life been spared, there is every reason to think that he would have accomplished the rectification of the evils in the English Church, which the most steady and enlightened Protestants have lamented.

During the time that Knox was in London, he had full opportunity of observing the state of the court; and the observations which he made, filled his mind with the most anxious forebodings. Of the piety and sincerity of the young King, he entertained not the smallest doubt. Personal acquaintance heightened

the idea which he had formed of his character from report, and enabled him to add his testimony to the tribute of praise, which all who knew the prince have so cheerfully paid to his uncommon endowments and virtues. But the principal courtiers, by whom he was at that time surrounded, were persons of a very different description ; and gave proofs, too unequivocal to be mistaken, of indifference to all religion, and readiness to fall in with and forward the re-establishment of the ancient superstition, whenever a change of rulers might render such a course expedient. The royal chaplains, however, were men of a very different stamp from those who have usually occupied that office, in the courts of princes. They were no time-serving, supple, smooth-tongued parasites. They were not afraid of wounding the delicate ears of their royal and noble auditors, by denouncing the vices which they committed, and the judgments of heaven to which they exposed themselves. The freedom used by the venerable Latimer, is well known from his printed sermons, which, for their humility, honesty, artless simplicity, native humour, and genuine pictures of the

manners of the age, continue still to be read with interest.

Grindal, Lever, and Bradford, who were superior to him in learning, evinced the same fidelity and courage. They censured the ambition, avarice, luxury, oppression, and irreligion, which reigned in the court. As long as their sovereign was able to give personal attendance on their sermons, the preachers were treated with exterior decency, but after he was confined to his chamber, the resentment of the courtiers vented itself openly, in the most contumelious speeches, and insolent behaviour. From the character of Knox, no one can doubt, that he was not behind his brethren in the boldness of his discourses, and the sharpness of his rebukes. Indeed, we have convincing evidence of it in the last sermon which he preached in the presence of the court.

On the 6th of July, 1553, that event occurred — which the pious had for some time feared, and which, for a time, seemed to extinguish the lamp of truth in England. On that day, Edward the VI., breathed his last, to the unspeakable grief of all the lovers of learning,

virtue, and evangelical piety. A black cloud now spread over England, which, after hovering awhile, burst into a dreadful hurricane, and raged during five years with the most destructive fury!

Knox was at this time in London, and received the afflicting tidings with becoming fortitude and resignation to the sovereign will of heaven. The event did not come upon him unprepared; for a considerable time he had anticipated it, and foresaw its probable consequences. The prospect had produced the keenest anguish in his breast, and had often drawn tears from his eyes. He had frequently introduced the subject into his public discourses, and into his confidential conversations with his friends. He remained in London until the 9th of July, when Mary was proclaimed queen, only nine days after the same ceremony had been performed in that city, for the amiable and accomplished, but unfortunate, Jane Gray.

Knox felt strong indignation at the demonstrations of joy, given by the inhabitants of London, and could not refrain from publicly testifying his displeasure, in his sermons, and warning the people of the approaching cala-

mities. Very soon, however, he seems to have withdrawn from London, and to have retired to the north; being justly apprehensive of the measures which would be pursued by the new government.

To induce the Protestants to submit peaceably to her government, Mary amused them, for some time, with proclamations, in which she promised to do no violence to their consciences. The Protestant ministers thought it their duty to improve this favourable respite; and Knox was induced to return again to the south and resume his labours. While he itinerated through Buckinghamshire, his preaching was attended by large audiences, which his popularity, and the alarming crisis, drew together. And in no place was his preaching more eagerly heard, than at Amer-sham, a borough formerly noted for the general reception of the doctrines of Wickliffe, the precursor of the reformation in England, and from which the seed sown by his followers had never been altogether eradicated. Wherever he preached, he earnestly exhorted the people to repentance, under the threatening tokens of divine displeasure, and to a steady

adherence to the faith which they had embraced. After preaching for some time in Buckinghamshire and Kent, Knox returned to London, where he lodged in the houses of a Mr. Locke and a Mr. Hickman, two respectable merchants of his acquaintance. Thence he proceeded to Berwick, where was the residence of Miss Bowes, with whom it was judged proper now to consummate the union which had been long contemplated. But here he was subjected to a new trial. Strong opposition was made to the marriage by Mr. Bowes, the father of the young lady. This has commonly been attributed to family pride; but was probably influenced also by religious considerations. Still, however, the marriage took place; and Mrs. Bowes, for whom he entertained a high esteem, and his wife, were very anxious for him to settle in Berwick, or its vicinity, where it was thought he might be permitted to reside peaceably, though in a more private way, than formerly. But for this some pecuniary provision would be necessary, for since the accession of queen Mary, his allowance from the government had been stopped. Indeed

he had received no part of his salary for the last twelve months. His wife's relations were abundantly able to give him a sufficient establishment, but their dissatisfaction with the marriage rendered them averse. By the importunity of his mother-in-law, he was induced to solicit the patronage of Sir Robert Bowes, of London, who was the uncle of his wife, but in this application he was disappointed; for, as appears by a letter to his mother, giving an account of this matter, he says, "You shall understand, that this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes, on the matter you know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea, spiteful, words have so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment, is become not only a despiser, but a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him. Among other, his most displeasing words, while that I was about to declare my part in the whole matter, he said, 'away with your rhetorical reasons, for I will not be persuaded by them.' God knows, I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech,

but would have spoken the truth, and that in a most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause. But what he would not be content to hear of *me*, God shall declare unto him, one day, to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed, that all the matter comes by you and me. I pray God that your conscience were quiet and at peace, and I regard not what country consumes this my wicked carcass. And were it not that no man's unthankfulness shall move me, (God supporting my infirmity,) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be but few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those of whom not only I thought I might crave kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal, than they be thankful," &c.

We find, in another letter to the same person, the same indication of strong, indignant feeling, here manifested. These extracts show the mind of the writer, more clearly than the strongest description. We see here the quick sensibility of his temper, the keenness of his

feelings, and his pride and independence of spirit, struggling with affection to his relations, and a sense of duty.

About the end of November, he returned from the south to Newcastle. By this time, the parliament had repealed all the laws in favour of the Reformation, but indulgence was given to attend on Protestant worship, until December. After this time, they were thrown out of the protection of the law, and exposed to all the penalties decreed against heretics. Already many of the bishops and clergy were committed to prison; others escaped beyond sea. Knox, however, could not prevail on himself to flee, or to desist from preaching. Three days after the expiration of the time of indulgence, he writes to one, "I cannot answer your places of Scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the 6th Psalm, for every day of this week must I preach, if this wicked carcass will permit."

His enemies had now the most favourable opportunity of accomplishing their designs against him, as the government was as favourable to them as they could desire, and they were not backward in availing themselves of

the opportunity. At the close of December, 1553, or beginning of January 1554, his servant, whom he had sent to convey letters to his wife, and her mother, was seized and the letters taken from him, in the expectation of finding in them some ground of accusation, but they contained only pious exhortation, &c. He now set out with the view of visiting his friends at Berwick, accompanied by some of his wife's relations, who believing that he was in imminent danger, prevailed on him, but strongly against his own inclination, to defer going to Berwick, and seek a safe retreat on the coast. From this place he wrote to his wife and mother, informing them of the reasons of his absconding, and the little prospect, which he had at that time of seeing them.

“His brethren,” he said, “had partly by admonition, and partly by tears, compelled him to obey, somewhat contrary to his own mind, “for never could he die in a more honest quarrel, than by suffering as a witness for that truth of which God had made him a messenger.” Still he promised to yield to the voice of his brethren, and give place to the rage and fury of Satan, for a time.

Having ascertained that the apprehensions of his friends were too well founded, and that he could not elude the pursuit of his enemies, if he remained in England, he procured a vessel, which on the 28th of January landed him safely in Dieppe, a port of Normandy in France.



PERIOD IV.

FROM HIS DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND, TO HIS INVITATION TO SCOTLAND, BY THE PROTESTANT NOBILITY, IN 1557.

THE flight of Knox from the scene of danger and persecution, in England, though in conformity with the direction of Christ, to his disciples, “when they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another;” yet upon reflexion, was far from being satisfactory to his own mind; especially when he thought upon the case of his imprisoned and persecuted brethren, whom he had left to bear the violence of the bursting storm. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, he expresses his feelings in strong language, and mingled with evident regret for

the course which he, in compliance with the urgent importunity of his friends, had been induced to pursue. "Some will ask," says he in this letter, "why then did I flee? Assuredly, I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause hath been, to let me see with my corporal eyes, that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, that in the day of rest and peace, bare a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter; by God's grace I may come to battle before that all the conflict be ended. And, haste the time, O Lord! at thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may praise thy holy name before the congregation, if it were in the very hour of death."—"And albeit, that I have, in the beginning, appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier; yet my prayer is, that I may be restored to the battle again. And blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am not left so bare without comfort, but my hope is to attain such mercy, that if a short end be not made of all my miseries, by final death, which were to me no small advantage, that yet by him, who never despiseth

the sobs of the sore afflicted, I shall be so encouraged to fight, that England and Scotland shall both know, that I am ready to suffer more than either poverty or exile, for the possession of that doctrine, and that heavenly religion, whereof it has pleased his merciful providence, to make me, among others, a simple soldier, and witness-bearer, unto men."

During his retirement at Dieppe, he employed his time, in entering into a strict scrutiny and solemn examination of his past conduct, the result of which he has, with many expressions of humility and penitence, on account of his many deficiencies, recorded in his private papers. His deepest contrition seems to have been, on account of a want of sufficient diligence and fidelity in preaching the precious Gospel, which had been committed to him as a minister of Jesus Christ.

He was also occupied, during this leisure, in writing suitable advices and exhortations to his friends, whom he could no longer instruct by his sermons and conversation. Among these writings was an exposition of the 6th Psalm, which at the request of Mrs. Bowes, he had begun in England; and an "Address to

those in England among whom he had been employed as a preacher." The main object of this "address" was, to warn the people, who professed the reformed religion, against defection from the truth, and against giving countenance to the idolatrous worship now restored among them. The conclusion is a most impressive and eloquent exhortation, in which he appeals to their consciences, their hopes, their fears, their feelings, and in which he adjures them, by all that is sacred and dear to them, as men, as parents, and as Christians, not to draw back from their good profession, and plunge themselves and their posterity, into the gulf of ignorance and idolatry.

This letter cannot but appear remarkable, when the circumstances of the author are duly considered. He was a forlorn exile in a strange country, without a single acquaintance, and ignorant where he should find a place of abode, or the means of subsistence.

On the last day of February, 1554, Knox set out from Dieppe, like the Hebrew patriarch of old, not knowing whither he went; and, committing his way to God, travelled through France and came to Switzerland. A corres-

pondence had been kept up between some of the English Reformers, and some of the most noted divines of the Helvetic church. The latter had already heard, with the deepest sorrow, of the recent overthrow of the reformation in England. Upon making himself known to them, Knox, with whose character they were not unacquainted, was received in the most cordial manner, and treated with the kindest Christian hospitality.

After visiting the churches of Switzerland, and conferring with the learned Reformers of that country, about the state of affairs in England, he returned in the month of May to Dieppe, that he might receive intelligence from England; and these visits he frequently repeated, as long as he resided on the continent.

The effect produced on the susceptible mind of Knox, by the kind and hospitable treatment which he experienced from his Swiss brethren, and the sweet Christian communion which he held with them, after a season so forlorn and melancholy, as that which he went through, after leaving first his native country, will be best understood by a short extract from one

of his letters. For having discoursed to his afflicted brethren, to whom the letter was addressed, respecting the situation of the disciples during that day which their Lord lay in the grave, and the sudden transition which they experienced from the depth of sorrow to the summit of joy, upon the re-appearance of their Master, he adds, "The remembrance, thereof, is unto my heart great matter of consolation. For yet my good hope is, that, one day or other, Christ Jesus that now is crucified in England, shall rise again in despite of his enemies, and shall appear to his weak and sore troubled disciples; for yet some he hath in that wretched and miserable realm, to whom he shall say, 'Peace be unto you; it is I, be not afraid.'"

Knox was also greatly refreshed by hearing of the invincible constancy of his mother-in-law, in adhering to the Protestant faith and profession; notwithstanding all the urgent importunities of her husband, to induce her to comply with the Roman Catholic religion.

At this time, he entertained some thoughts of visiting Berwick; but he was dissuaded by his friends, as it could not have been done

without the imminent danger of his life, and no good for the suffering church could have been accomplished by such a visit.

On his return from Dieppe to Switzerland, Knox revisited Geneva, and for the first time became acquainted with Calvin; and they two being of perfectly congenial minds, and agreed in religious opinion, an intimate friendship between them soon sprung up. They were also nearly of the same age; and, in the prominent traits of their characters there was a striking resemblance. The Genevan reformer was highly pleased with the piety and talents of Knox, who, in his turn, entertained a higher esteem and veneration for Calvin, than for any other reformer. As Geneva furnished many advantages for study, Knox determined to make it the chief place of his residence during his exile; especially, as he approved highly of the religious order established there.

Still, however, his thoughts could not be weaned from his own afflicted country; therefore, in July, he made another journey to Dieppe, and there received the most distressing intelligence, of the increased severities of the government against all Protestants; and,

what wounded him more deeply, the apostasy of many who had been under his ministry. While under the painful impressions produced by this state of things, he composed his "*Admonition to England*," which was published about the end of this year. The exasperation of his ardent spirit, when he wrote this address, will account for the severity of the language, which has been so much used to his discredit, by his enemies. We undertake not to justify all the vehemence and bitterness which, on this occasion, our reformer poured forth against the civil persecutors of the unoffending children of God. But, it may be asked, is there no apology for his severity to be found in the characters of the persons against whom he wrote? and in the state of his own feelings, lacerated, not by personal sufferings, but by sympathy with his persecuted brethren, who were thrown into prisons by their inhuman countrymen, "as sheep for the slaughter," to be brought forth and barbarously immolated to appease the Roman Moloch? What terms could be too strong for stigmatizing the execrable system of persecution, coolly projected, by the dissembling, vindictive Gardiner, the

brutal barbarity of the bloody Bonner, and the unrelenting, insatiable cruelty of Mary?— who, having extinguished the feelings of humanity, and divested herself of the tenderness which characterizes her sex, issued orders for the murder of her subjects, until her own husband, bigotted and unfeeling as he was, turned with disgust from the spectacle; and who continued to urge to fresh severities, the willing instruments of her cruelty, after they were sated with blood.

Knox returned to Geneva, and applied himself to study with all the ardour of youth; although his age now bordered on fifty. It was during this period that he seems to have acquired a competent knowledge of the Hebrew language, of which he was before ignorant. No doubt his expenses, during his exile, were as small as frugality of living could make them; but still it may reasonably be inquired, how did he subsist? His mother-in-law, by reason of the stern opposition of her husband, had it in her power to afford him no assistance, and he had come away with very small funds, which his friends were able to put into his hands; and his independent spirit would not

permit him to be burdensome to strangers, who had kindly received him. It appears from his letters, that remittances were made to him from particular friends, in England and Scotland, during his residence on the continent.

The persecution having become very hot in England, many learned Protestants sought safety by retreating to the continent. It was computed that, towards the close of the year 1554, eight hundred learned and persecuted Englishmen had taken refuge in various cities, where they were, in general, received with Christian hospitality. The places to which the most of them resorted, and where they obtained a settlement, were Zurich, Basle, Geneva, Arrow, Embden, Wezel, Strasburg, Duysburg, and Frankfort.

Frankfort on the Maine, a rich imperial city, had early embraced the Reformation, and befriended Protestant refugees from all countries, as far as this could be done without coming to an open breach with the emperor, who watched their conduct with a jealous eye. Already there was a church of French Protestants there; and on the 14th of July, 1554, the

English exiles obtained from the magistrates the joint use of the place of worship allotted to the French, with liberty to perform worship in their own language. This was granted, upon condition that they should conform, in their public worship, as nearly as possible, to the forms of the French Church. The offer was gratefully accepted by the English, and it was agreed, among themselves, that in the use of the liturgy, they would omit the litany, the audible responses, the surplice, and other ceremonies; which, to the reformed churches of the continent, could not but appear strange. Having adopted their measures harmoniously, and elected temporary deacons, they elected also a pastor, and agreed upon some rules of discipline. They then wrote a circular letter to their brethren, scattered in different places, to come to Frankfort, and join them in their privileges, and unite their prayers for the afflicted Church of England. When the election of pastors took place, Knox was one of those chosen, who received information of his appointment, by a fraternal epistle, or call, in which they say, "Whereupon, we, assembled together in the Holy Ghost, (we hope,) have,

with one voice and consent, chosen you to be one of the ministers of our congregation here, to preach unto us the most lively word of God, according to the gift that God had given you; forasmuch as we have here, through the merciful goodness of God, a church to be congregated together in the name of Christ, and be all of one body, one nation, tongue, and country. And at this present having need of such a one as you, we do desire you, and also require you, in the name of God, not to deny us, nor to refuse this our request; but that you will aid, keep, and assist us, with your presence in this our good and godly enterprise, which we have taken in hand, to the glory of God, and profit of his congregation, and the poor sheep of Christ scattered abroad, who with your, and like presences, would come hither and be of one fold, whereas now they wander abroad as lost sheep, without any guide. We mistrust not that you will joyfully accept this call. Fare ye well. From Frankfort, this 24th of September." This call was subscribed by John Bale and twenty other persons.

Knox was averse to undertake this charge, either from an unwillingness to relinquish his

studies at Geneva, or, because he apprehended difficulties in the congregation at Frankfort. By the persuasion of Calvin, however, he was induced to comply with the call, and repairing to Frankfort in November, commenced his ministry with the universal consent and approbation of the congregation. But before he arrived the seeds of dissension were already sown in the congregation; for the exiles at Zurich, in answer to the circular received from Frankfort, signified that they would not come unless they received security that the worship of God should be conducted, exactly, according to the forms used in England, last set forth by King Edward. The brethren at Frankfort replied, that they had obtained liberty of a plan of worship, upon condition of conforming, as nearly as possible, to the service of the French church, and that there was a number of things in the English service book which would be offensive to the Protestants, among whom they resided, and which had been the occasion of scruple to conscientious men at home. Other things they alleged in regard to the unessential nature of the ceremonies laid aside; but their answer was not satisfactory to

the brethren at Zurich; and by letters to the exiles at Strasburg, they endeavoured to bring them to the same sentiments; and, moreover, they fomented divisions in the congregation at Frankfort.

Knox finding, on his arrival, that the congregation was divided into two parties, endeavoured to mediate between them, and to avoid every thing which tended to widen or continue the breach. Although the congregation had adopted the Genevan form of administering the sacraments, he would not proceed until he had consulted the brethren residing in other places; but, at the same time plainly signified, that he could not administer the Lord's Supper agreeably to the English liturgy. He requested, therefore, that if he might not be permitted to perform the service in a manner more consonant to Scripture, some other person might be employed in this duty, and he would willingly confine himself to preaching. But if neither of these could be granted, he besought them to release him altogether from his charge. To this they would by no means consent.

Knox and some others, having been ap-

pointed to draw up a summary of the book of Common Prayer, they sent it to Calvin for his opinion, and requesting his advice in the whole matter. Calvin wrote them a letter, dated January 20, 1555. He lamented their unseemly contentions; said, that he had always recommended moderation respecting ceremonies; censured those who would consent to no change of old customs. He said, that in the English liturgy he found many *tolerable fooleries*, (*tolerabiles ineptias*,) i. e. things which might be tolerated in the beginning of a reformation, but ought afterwards to be removed; and he thought, that the present condition of the English warranted them to attempt this, and to agree upon an order more conducive to edification; and that for his part he could not understand what those meant, who discovered such fondness for popish dregs.

This letter being read to the congregation, had the effect of repressing the keenest of those who urged the unlimited use of the liturgy; and a committee was appointed to draw up a form, which might accommodate all differences. They accordingly brought in a form, in which some things were taken from the Eng-

lish liturgy, and others added, which was to continue in force until the next April; and if, in the meantime, any dispute arose, it should be referred to five of the most celebrated foreign divines. This agreement was subscribed by the whole congregation, and thanks were offered to God for this amicable adjustment of their dissensions.

But this peace was of short duration; for on the 13th of March, Dr. Cox, who had been preceptor to Edward VI., arrived at Frankfort from England, with some others in his company. The very first time these persons attended public worship, they violated the agreement into which the congregation had entered, by answering aloud after the minister in the time of divine service. And when admonished by some, they answered, that they would do as they had done in England; and they would have the face of an English church. On the following Sabbath, one of them intruded himself into the pulpit, without the consent of the pastors or the congregation, and read the litany; Cox, and the other accomplices, echoing the responses.

Such an outrage on all decency and order,

and insult to the body, could not be passed over in silence. It was Knox's turn to officiate in the afternoon, and in the regular course of lecturing on Genesis, he had come to the behaviour of Ham to his father, Noah, as he lay exposed in the tent. Having taken occasion to speak of the infirmities of brethren which ought to be concealed, he observed that there were other things, which, as tending to the dishonour of God and the disturbance of his church, ought to be disclosed and publicly rebuked. He then adverted to the dissension which had existed, and which it had cost so much pains to reconcile, and spoke of the joy produced in all, by the happy agreement which had taken place, but which had that day, been flagrantly violated. This, he said, it became not the proudest of them to have attempted: that, nothing which was destitute of a divine warrant, ought to be obtruded upon any Christian church. In that book, for which some entertained such an overweening fondness, he would undertake to prove publicly, that there were things imperfect, impure, and superstitious; and if any would go about to burden a free congregation with such

things, he would not fail, as often as he occupied that place, (provided his text afforded occasion,) to oppose their design. He then observed, that he believed that slackness in reforming religion, when time and opportunity offered, was one cause of the divine displeasure against England; and adverted to the trouble which Hooper had suffered for refusing some of the ceremonies. He adverted also, to the want of discipline, and the shameful pluralities tolerated in the English Church.

This reproof, as might be supposed gave offence to the party of Cox, and a meeting of the congregation was called in consequence of it; but when the people came together, nothing was said about the sermon, but Cox and his friends demanded to be enrolled among the members of the congregation. This many objected to, but Knox showed his magnanimity and moderation, by advocating their motion, although he knew that they had nothing less in view, than to exclude him from the pulpit. But he trusted that the justice of his cause would certainly disappoint them, and on the occasion, addressed them in the following words: "I know that your earnest desire to

be received at this instant, within the number of the congregation, is, that by the multitude of your voices, ye may overthrow my cause; howbeit, the matter is so evident, ye shall not be able to do it. I fear not your judgment, and therefore do require, that ye might be admitted." But he was mistaken, for no sooner were they admitted, and had gained a majority of votes in the congregation, than they discharged him from preaching, and from all interference in the affairs of the congregation. This proceeding was received with indignation by the old congregation, and they made a representation of the case to the magistrates of Frankfort, who after attempting to bring about an accommodation in vain, issued an order, that the worship as used by the French Church, should hereafter be exactly conformed to, as nothing but confusion had ensued since this was relinquished. The Coxian party, pretended a cheerful submission to this order, while they clandestinely concerted means for its overthrow and the restoration of the whole English liturgy. But Knox's influence with the congregation still standing in their way, they determined on a scheme to get rid of

him, the baseness of which cannot be too strongly reprobated. Two of them, with the concurrence of the others, went privately to the magistrates, and accused him of *high treason* against the emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and queen Mary of England; putting into their hands a book upon which the charge was founded. This was no other than the book already mentioned, entitled "*Admonition to England*," and the passage on which the accusation was founded, was one, spoken by him at Amersham in Buckinghamshire, when he heard the rumour of the marriage of Mary, with Philip, the son and heir of Charles V. The words are, "O England, England, thou obstinately wilt return unto Egypt, that is, contract confederacy, league, or marriage with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, (who is no less an enemy to Christ, than ever was Nero) if for the pleasure of such princes, thou return to thy old abominations, before used under papistry, then, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by means of those whose favour thou seekest." The other passage related to the cruelties of queen Mary, of England.

Upon receiving this serious accusation, the magistrates sent for Whittingham, a respectable member of the English congregation, to learn the true character of Knox, who told them, that he was "a learned, grave, and godly man." They then took measures to obtain an exact Latin translation of the passages; and fearing, lest some report of the matter should come to the emperor's council at Augsburg, they first requested Knox to desist from preaching there, and then desired his friend Whittingham, to advise him privately to depart from Frankfort. At the same time, they did not conceal their abhorrence of the course pursued by his enemies.

On the 25th of March, Knox delivered a very consolatory discourse to about fifty members of the congregation, assembled in the evening, at his lodgings; and the next day, they accompanied him, some distance, on his way, as he departed from Frankfort, and with heavy hearts and many tears, committed him to God; and thus took their leave of their esteemed pastor.

Upon retiring from Frankfort, Knox directed his course to Geneva, where he was cordi-

ally welcomed back by Calvin. As Knox had accepted the call to Frankfort very much under the influence of his advice, he felt much hurt at the treatment which he had received; and in a letter to Dr. Cox, who had written an apologetic epistle to him, he could not conceal his opinion, that Knox had been used in an unbrotherly and unchristian manner.

In the event, it appeared that Knox had been removed from Frankfort, by Providence, to be employed in a more important field of usefulness. From the time of his leaving his native country, he still entertained the hope of being one day permitted to return thither to preach the Gospel. After the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews, and the banishment of the Protestants, who had taken refuge in it, an irrecoverable blow seemed to have been given to the Reformation in Scotland. The Romish clergy triumphed in their victory, and flattered themselves that they had stifled the voice of opposition. There were still many Protestants, scattered through the kingdom, but they satisfied themselves with retaining their sentiments, in secret, without exposing their lives to certain destruction, by

avowing them. An event which threatened the extinction of the Reformation in England, was the means of reviving it in Scotland; for several of those who fled from the persecution of Mary, took refuge in that country. Travelling from place to place, they disseminated the seeds of evangelical doctrine. Among these was *William Harlow* and *John Willock*, who afterwards became the chief coadjutor of Knox, in promoting the Reformation, who entertained the highest esteem and affection for him. Willock was not inferior to Knox in learning; and although he did not equal him in intrepidity and eloquence, surpassed him in affability, prudence, and address; by which means he was sometimes able to maintain his station and accomplish his purposes, when his colleague could not act with safety or success. He was a native of Scotland, but having at an early period embraced the Reformation, fled into England. He was afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, and on the accession of Mary, retired into Holland.

After Knox's return to Geneva, his anxiety to see his wife, and see how matters went in his

native country, induced him, in despite of all dangers, to sail from Dieppe, in August, 1555, and landed near the borders of England and Scotland. He repaired immediately to Berwick, and had the satisfaction of finding his wife and her mother in comfortable circumstances, and enjoying the comforts of religious society with several individuals in that city; who, like themselves, had not "bowed the knee to the established idolatry." Having remained there some time, he went to Edinburg, secretly to visit the Protestants, and after a short stay, to return again to Berwick. The friends of the Reformation were much gratified at seeing Knox, and were delighted with his evangelical discourses delivered in private houses, especially in that of Mr. James Syme, which was the common resort of the friends of the reformed doctrine. The number who wished to hear him so increased, that he was obliged to address them in successive companies, so, that he was almost unremittingly employed night and day. Among the leading Protestants then in Edinburg, besides Willock, who had returned to his native country, were John Erskine of Dun, and William Maitland. Knox, upon his

arrival in Scotland, found to his great dissatisfaction, that the friends of the Reformation continued to attend on the popish worship, and to be present at the mass. This course, indeed, was ingeniously defended by Maitland, at a meeting held for the discussion of the point; but Knox so clearly demonstrated the evil and unlawfulness of the practice, that all were convinced, and agreed henceforward to abstain from such temporizing conduct.

At the urgent request of John Erskine, Knox accompanied him to his seat of Dun in Angus, where, for a whole month, he remained preaching the Gospel to the hungry people every day. His sermons were attended by the principal people in the neighbourhood. When he returned to Edinburg he was attended by some of the chief nobility, as Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; Mr. Mar, afterwards Earl of Mar; James Stewart, natural son of James V., afterwards Earl of Murray; the two last of whom Knox lived to see regents of Scotland. These noblemen were highly pleased with the doctrine which he taught. He was conducted by some of his friends to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the

Scottish Lollards, where he found a number of adherents of the Reformed doctrine. He also preached and dispensed the Lord's Supper in several private houses in the town of Ayr. He was also sent for by the Earl of Glencairn, and preached and administered the Sacrament at his manor of Finlayston, to the Earl, his lady, two sons, and a few friends. Most of the gentlemen of Mearns were adherents of the reformed religion, and did now make a public profession by sitting down at the Lord's Supper; on which occasion they entered into a solemn bond or league, to renounce the popish religion, and to maintain the preaching of the Gospel as Providence should favour them with opportunities.

For a while these meetings were conducted with so much caution and concealment, that they were not known to the priests; but as the number of hearers increased, it became impracticable to prevent the knowledge of them from transpiring. Interest was made by the bishops for Knox's apprehension, but the Queen Regent discouraged the application. At length, however, the effects of his preaching were so manifest, and the clamour against him

so great, that he was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy in the church of Black Friars in Edinburg. He determined to attend, and with that view came, on the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun. The clergy had never dreamed of his attendance, and not being assured of the support of the Regent, they pretended some informality in the call, and deserted the diet. On the very day on which he had been summoned to appear, he preached in the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging, to a far greater audience than had before attended him in Edinburg. And during the ten following days he preached in the same place, forenoon and afternoon; none of the clergy making the smallest attempt to disturb him.

About this time the Earl Marishal, at the desire of the Earl of Glencairn, attended one of Knox's evening discourses, and was so much pleased, that he united with the Earl of Glencairn in urging him to write a letter to the Queen Regent, in the hope that she might be induced to protect the reformed preachers. This letter is characteristic of the man, and is preserved, exactly as written, in *McCrie's*

Life. But she received it carelessly, and after glancing over it, put it into the hands of the archbishop of Glasgow with some expression of contempt.

While Knox was thus employed in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, stating, that they had made choice of him as one of their pastors, and urging him to come and take the inspection of them. With this call he thought it his duty to comply, and began immediately to prepare for the journey. His wife and mother-in-law had by this time joined him in Edinburg; and the latter, now a widow, resolved to accompany her daughter to Geneva. Knox after sending them before to Dieppe, once more went round and visited his friends at his several preaching places; and then, in the month of July, 1556, left Scotland, and arriving at Dieppe proceeded with his family to Geneva, where he had Goodman for his colleague.

No sooner had Knox left Scotland, than his dastardly enemies renewed their summons, which they had deserted during his presence; and, upon his non-appearance, passed sentence against him, adjudging his body to the flames,

and his soul to damnation. As his person was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be ignominiously burnt, at the cross of Edinburg. Against this sentence, he drew up what he called his "*Appellation*," which he afterwards published, with a supplication and exhortation, addressed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland.

The doctrines on which he dwelt, in his preaching in Scotland, on this occasion, were, "That there was no other name by which man could be saved but the name of Christ Jesus; that he having, by his own sacrifice, sanctified and reconciled to God, those who should inherit the promised kingdom, all other sacrifices, which men pretended to offer for sin, were blasphemous; that all men ought to hate sin, which was so odious in the sight of God, that no other sacrifice could satisfy for it except the death of his Son; that they ought to magnify their heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his glory, but gave him up to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross, for us; and that those who were washed from their former sins were bound to a new life, fighting against the lusts of the

flesh, and studying to glorify God by good works; that Christ would deny and be ashamed of those, who should deny and be ashamed of him and his works, before a wicked generation; that it was incumbent on those who hoped for everlasting life, to avoid idolatry, superstition, and all vain religion; in short, all worship destitute of the authority of God's word," &c. These were the doctrines which were by his enemies pronounced heretical, and damnable; and, on account of which, they had denounced against him the sentence of death, from which sentence he had appealed to a general council, to be held agreeably to ancient laws and canons; humbly requesting the nobility and commons of Scotland, until such time as their controversies were decided, to take him and others accused and persecuted, under their protection.

This visit, of our reformer, to his native land, was of unspeakable importance. On this occasion, he laid the foundations of that noble edifice, which he was afterwards instrumental in rearing. Some may blame him for leaving such an interesting field of labour; but he was guided by a wisdom superior to that of man. His absence was now no less conducive to the

preservation of the cause, than his presence and personal labour, had recently been. Matters were not yet ripe for a general reformation in Scotland; and the clergy would never have suffered so zealous and able a champion of the new doctrines to live in the country. By seasonably retiring, he not only preserved his own life, but averted the storm of persecution from the heads of his brethren. Deprived of their leaders, their enemies became less jealous of them, and they were permitted to carry on their private meetings without observation; by which means they were able to edify and confirm one another in the truth which they had embraced. Before taking his leave, Knox was careful to leave particular instructions for the brethren, which he not only communicated orally, but left in writing, in the form of a letter; in which he warmly recommended the exercises of worship and religious instruction to be kept up in every family. And he advised, that those of different families, in the same vicinity, should get together, if possible, once a week; that in these meetings, they should begin with the confession of sin, and invocation of the divine blessing; that a portion of

Scripture should be read, after which liberty might be given, if any brother had a word of exhortation, interpretation, or query, to speak; but this ought to be done with modesty, and a desire to edify, or be edified; multiplication of words perplexed interpretation, and wilfulness in reasoning, to be carefully avoided. He advised that such difficulties as they were unable to solve, they should write down, and submit them to the judgment of the learned. He signified his own readiness to give them advice, and recommended that all their meetings should be closed, as well as opened, with prayer. These directions, there is reason to believe, were punctually complied with. This letter, therefore, may be considered as an important document, in the history of the Reformation in Scotland; and may be read entire in the appendix to M'Crie's History of John Knox.

Knox reached Geneva before the end of harvest, and took upon him the charge of the English congregation, residing in that city; among whom he laboured the two following years. This was undoubtedly the most quiet period of his life. In the bosom of his own

family, he experienced that soothing care to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and which his frequent bodily ailment required. And he had the happiness of administering to a flock who had the strongest affection for him, and the greatest cordiality among themselves. With his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he lived as a brother, and was favoured with the friendship of Calvin, and the other pastors of Geneva.

So much was Knox pleased with the purity of religion as established in that city, that he warmly recommended it to his religious acquaintances in England, as the best Christian asylum to which they could flee. In a letter to his friend Locke, in London, he writes, "In my heart I could wish, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God, to guide and conduct you to this place, where, I am neither afraid nor ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was upon earth, since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place."

But neither the enjoyment of personal ac-

commodations, the pleasures of Christian and literary society, nor the endearments of domestic happiness, could subdue our reformer's ruling passion, or change his determination to return to Scotland as soon as an opportunity should offer, for advancing the reformation among his countrymen. In a letter written March 16, 1557, we find him expressing himself thus: "My own motion and daily prayer is, not only that I may visit you, but also that I may with joy, end my battle among you. And assure yourself of this, that whenever greater numbers among you shall call upon me, than now hath bound me to serve them, by his grace it shall not be fear of punishment, nor of temporal death, that shall impede my coming to you." A certain heroical confidence and assurance of ultimate success, have often been displayed by those whom Providence has raised up to achieve great revolutions in the world; by which they have been borne up under discouragements which would have overwhelmed men of ordinary spirits, and emboldened them to face dangers, from which others would have shrunk appalled. This enthusiastic heroism, often blazed forth in the

conduct of the great German reformer. Knox possessed no inconsiderable degree of the same spirit. "Satan, I confess," says he, in one of his letters, "rageth, but potent is he that promised to be with us in all such enterprises, as we take in hand, at his commandment, for the glory of his name and the maintenance of the true religion. And, therefore, the less fear we any contrary power; yea, in the boldness of our God, we altogether contemn them, be they kings, emperors, men, angels, or devils. For they shall be never able to prevail against the simple truth of God, which we openly profess. By the permission of God, they may appear to prevail against our bodies, but our spirits shall triumph, in despite of Satan."

Soon after Knox had written the letter, last quoted but one, James Syme, who had been his host, at Edinburg, and James Barron, arrived at Geneva, with a letter from the earl of Glencairn, and lords Lorn, Erskine, and James Stewart, informing him, that those who had professed the Reformed doctrine, remained steadfast; that his adversaries were daily losing credit in the nation, and that those who possessed the supreme authority, although

they had not yet declared themselves friendly, still refrained from persecution; and inviting him in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to spend their lives and fortunes in advancing the cause which they had espoused.

PERIOD V.

FROM HIS INVITATION INTO SCOTLAND, 1557, TO HIS SETTLEMENT AS MINISTER OF EDINBURG, UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION, IN 1560.

AFTER consultation with Calvin, and laying the whole matter before his congregation, and obtaining their consent to part with him, Knox set off for Dieppe, on his way to Scotland; but when he arrived at that place, he received other letters of rather a discouraging nature, informing him that after forwarding the invitation which he had received, some of his friends seemed rather to repent, and that the greater part appeared irresolute and faint-hearted. This intelligence greatly disconcerted him, for he had left his family in Geneva,

unprovided for, and had resigned his pastoral charge into the hands of another. He immediately wrote a letter to the noblemen of Scotland, by whom he had been invited, in which he expostulated with them, in strong and pathetic language, representing to them, the shame and reproach which must necessarily be the consequence of his abandoning his journey, and returning after having advised with the learned and good, and after having so publicly and solemnly taken leave of his friends in Geneva. After forwarding his letters to Scotland, he determined to spend some time in the interior of France, hoping to receive more favourable accounts from Scotland. The reformed religion had already been introduced into the kingdom of France, and had already been watered with the blood of many martyrs; but all the violence which had been exercised, had not been able to extirpate it, or prevent it from spreading among all ranks. At this very time, the Protestants of Paris were suffering under the effects of one of those massacres, which so often disgraced the Roman Catholic religion in that country; and not contented with pursuing them in their peaceable

meetings for retired worship, and treating them with great barbarity, in imitation of the Pagan persecutors of the primitive Christians, they invented the foulest calumnies against them: against which the Protestants published a vindication, or apology, which Knox translated into English, and wrote a preface to accompany it.

As he passed through France, he preached in several places to the Protestants having acquired the French language so perfectly as to be able to preach in it.

Having received no intelligence, of a favourable kind, from Scotland, Knox judged it expedient to relinquish his journey for the present. This resolution does not accord with the usual firmness of the man; for the invitation of the nobles had not been withdrawn; but we are not possessed of all the reasons and motives which influenced him on this occasion. It appears, however, that the apprehension of the turmoil and civil discord, which must necessarily attend the enterprize of attempting to introduce the Reformation into Scotland, did, at this time, produce an undue influence on his mind; and for his want of

resolution and perseverance on this occasion, he afterwards bitterly censured himself. But whatever blame he felt that he deserved, nothing is more evident, than that his course was now wisely directed by divine Providence, so that impediments were thrown in his way from without, and unwonted discouragement was permitted to affect his mind, in order that his return might be protracted to a period before which it might have been injurious. And thus his arrival in Scotland, was ordered to take place, when it was calculated to be in the highest degree useful to the great cause which he had at heart.

After having made up his mind to return to Geneva, he transmitted two long letters to Scotland; the one addressed to the Protestants in general, and the other to the nobles; both dated in December, 1557. In these letters he made no mention of his recent disappointment, but gave them his advice respecting many points, and also conveyed to them in this way, the opinions of the learned divines with whom he was conversant, respecting difficult cases on which they wished for counsel. He also exhorted them to constancy and per-

severance, in the good cause which they had undertaken. Besides, he strongly inculcated purity of morals, and warned all who professed the reformed religion against those irregularities of life which so much tended to bring reproach upon their profession. And he particularly warned them against the new sect of Anabaptists, who gave so much trouble to the reformers in Germany and Switzerland, and who were now creeping into Scotland. The radical error of this sect, at this period, when they had thrown off some of the grosser errors which first marked their course, was a fond conceit of a certain ideal perfection and spirituality which belonged to Christians and the Christian Church, by which they differed essentially, and *toto cælo* from the Jewish Church, which they looked upon as a carnal and worldly society. This led them to slight the Old Testament, and confine themselves almost exclusively to the New. They were also generally infected with Arian and Pelagian errors, and were great enemies to the doctrines of predestination and grace, as held by the reformers. They also held some peculiar opinions respecting the flesh of Christ, as

not having been derived from his mother, but brought from Heaven, and also respecting civil magistrates.

His letter to the Protestant Lords breathes a spirit of ardent and noble piety. He endeavoured to purify their minds from selfish and worldly principles; to raise, sanctify, and Christianize their motives, by exhibiting and recommending to them the spirit and conduct of the princes and heroes, celebrated, not in profane, but sacred story. He taught them that the glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the salvation of themselves and their brethren, and the emancipation of their country from spiritual and civil thralldom, and not their own honour and aggrandizement, ought to be the objects aimed at by them. He also discussed, in this letter, the delicate question of the right in certain circumstances, of resistance to supreme rulers. It seems that they had consulted him on this point, and requested him to obtain also the judgment of the learned on the continent, which he had done, and now communicated their common judgment. The opinion which he delivered to them, was, that there was

a point beyond which obedience to earthly rulers was no longer obligatory, and when resistance became a duty; but he warned them against a factious and rebellious spirit, to which the Scottish nation had been too much inclined. He exhorted them to yield a dutiful and cheerful obedience to all lawful commands; and by humble and repeated requests, to endeavour to recommend themselves to the supreme authority, and to procure its favour in promoting, at least not persecuting, the cause in which they were embarked. But if all their efforts should prove ineffectual, and the Regent refused to consent to a public reformation, they ought to provide, that the Gospel should be preached and the sacraments administered to themselves and their brethren; and if attempts were made to crush them by tyrannical force, it was lawful for them, nay it was a duty incumbent on them in their high station, to stand up in defence of their brethren.

Knox returned to Geneva at the close of the year 1557. During the following year he was engaged with some other learned men in translating the Holy Scriptures into English, which version, from the place where it was made,

obtained the name of "The Geneva Bible." It was at this time also, that he published his "Appellation" and his "Exhortation," and also his "letter to the Queen Regent." These several publications were widely circulated and had a powerful effect in promoting the Reformation. But the most singular treatise which Knox published this year, and that which made the greatest noise, was entitled "*The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of Women;*" in which he attacked with great vehemence, the practice of admitting females to the government of nations. It is probable that these sentiments had occupied his mind from the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England; and this was probably one of the points on which he consulted the Swiss divines in 1554. It is certain, from a letter written in 1556, that his opinions were then fixed and decided. He continued, however, to keep them to himself, and for a considerable time refrained from publishing them out of deference to the opinions of others. His arguments need not now be detailed; and they were not peculiar to Knox. He could appeal not only to the free

states of antiquity, but also to the established law of France, by which females are excluded from the throne. And it is said, that Edward VI., shortly before his decease, proposed to the Privy Council to have this law introduced into England. This publication, whatever may be said of its theoretical principles, not only failed to produce any effect, but exposed the author to the resentment of two Queens, during whose reign it was his lot to live; the one his native Princess, and the other exercising a sway in Scotland scarcely inferior to that of any of its monarchs. And what rendered the publication more unfortunate, was, that Mary, against whom it was particularly directed, died soon after it saw the light, and was succeeded by Elizabeth, a Protestant. As might have been expected, a great outcry was raised against the work, and it gave offence to many of the zealous friends of the Reformation. John Fox wrote a letter to the author, in which he expostulated with him in a very friendly manner on account of the impropriety of the publication, and especially the severity of its language. Knox, in his reply, did not attempt to excuse the harsh expressions which

he had used, but still insisted on the correctness of his opinions. It was his original intention to have given three blasts of the trumpet, and to have prefixed his name to the last; but when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, wishing rather to strengthen than invalidate her authority, he relinquished his purpose. He retained his sentiments, however, to the last, although he thought it expedient to make no further publication of them. The question has lost all its interest in modern times, and seems more fitly to be a question for politicians than theologians. It may be proper, however, to remark before dismissing the subject, that a defence of the right of females to rule, was written by Aylmer, entitled "Harborowe for faithful subjects." This was intended as an answer to Knox, and was written with much care; whereas Knox's treatise was evidently written in haste, and the copies commonly published with his history are very inaccurate.

Knox's letter to the Protestant lords in Scotland, produced its intended effect, in reanimating their drooping courage. At a meeting held in Edinburg, in December,

1557, they unanimously resolved to adhere to one another, and exert themselves for the advancement of the Reformation. Having subscribed a solemn bond of mutual assurance, they renewed their invitation to Knox; and, afraid that he might hesitate, in consequence of their former irresolution, they wrote to Calvin, to employ his influence to induce him to comply. These letters did not reach Geneva until November, 1558. By the same conveyance, Knox received from Scotland letters of a later date, communicating the most favourable intelligence respecting the progress the Reformation had made, and the flourishing appearance which it continued to wear. In consequence of Knox's labours in 1556, and in pursuance of his advice, many small congregations were formed, in various places, who met together weekly for mutual instruction and encouragement. Having no ordained ministers, they could not have the sacraments administered among them, but they appointed some of their most grave and intelligent men to read the Scriptures, exhort, and offer up suitable prayers, in their assemblies. Wishing, however, to have their congregations to proceed in an

orderly manner, and to maintain discipline, they proceeded to appoint ruling elders, to exercise a supervision over them, to whom they promised subjection in the Lord. They also appointed deacons, for the collection and distribution of alms for the assistance of the poor. Edinburg was the first place in which this order was established; but Dundee was the first place, in Scotland, in which a reformed church was completely organized, by being provided with a regular minister, and the administration of the sacraments.

When the violence of the persecution had been suspended, by reason of the war in which England was engaged, many who had fled to the continent returned; among these were William Harlow, John Douglass, Paul Methven, and John Willock, who had taken refuge in Embden, but now returned to Scotland. These now resumed their evangelical labours. The popish clergy, however, were not wanting in zeal and activity to obstruct their progress, and applied to the Queen Regent, to summon the Protestant preachers; but by the interposition of the gentlemen of the west country, the prosecution against them was relinquished.

At length the clergy resolved to renew the cruel measures which had been suspended, since 1550, and, accordingly, a beginning was made, by the archbishop of St. Andrews committing to the flames an aged priest, by the name of Walter Milne, a man of the most inoffensive manners; and others were summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy at Edinburg. The barbarous and illegal execution of Milne, excited the horror of the nation to an incredible pitch; and, as it was believed that the regent was not accessory to the deed, the public indignation was directed entirely against the clergy.

The people attached to the Protestant cause, who had before held their meetings in secret, now, laying aside all fear, assembled publicly, and avowed their attachment to the reformed religion. They also, in a respectful and formal manner, laid their complaint before the Regent, and earnestly petitioned that she would, by the exercise of her authority and in concurrence with the parliament, restrain the tyrannical proceedings of the clergy; correct the flagrant and intolerable abuses which prevailed in the church, and grant to them and their

brethren, the liberty of religious instruction and worship; at least, according to a restricted plan which they laid before her, and to which they were willing to submit, until their grievances were deliberately examined and redressed. The reply of the Regent was as favourable as they could expect; for she assured them of her protection, as soon as it should be in her power to grant it.

Knox was not long in coming to a conclusion to comply with the pressing invitation he had received to return to his native country; but the affairs of the congregation which he had served in Geneva, required his attention for some time. In the meanwhile intelligence was received of the death of queen Mary, and the exiles prepared to return home. By them Knox sent letters to some of his former acquaintances, who were now in the court of Elizabeth, requesting permission to travel through England, on his way to Scotland.

In the month of January, 1559, he left Geneva for the last time. When about to leave the city, the republic, as a testimony of their respect, conferred on him the freedom of their city. He thought it prudent not to take his

wife and family with him, but to go alone, that he might make preparation for them, if no obstacle stood in the way of their return.

To his surprise and mortification, when he arrived at Dieppe, he received intelligence that the government of the new Queen had absolutely refused him a passage through England; and so fierce was the opposition to him, that with difficulty they who presented the request escaped imprisonment. This was entirely owing to some of the exiles, who had not forgotten the old quarrel at Frankfort, and who accused of disloyalty, not only Knox, but all who had been under his charge at Geneva; and they availed themselves, especially, of what he had published respecting female government. Though Knox's book had been written without the least reference to Elizabeth, yet, as its principles applied as much to her as to her sister, it was not difficult to prejudice her mind strongly against Knox and all his congregation. This refusal, and the harsh treatment of his flock, touched to the quick the irritable mind of our reformer, and it caused him a severe struggle to suppress a desire to renew the controversy, which he

had resolved to abandon. But happily his mind was occupied with matters of a nobler kind. His object, in wishing to visit England, was not of a selfish, nor, indeed, of a personal kind; for although he desired to see his old acquaintances, yet his chief motive was to gain accurate information, before he went to Scotland, of the real disposition of the Queen Regent of that country. He had been led to entertain strong suspicions, that her professions of favour to the Protestants were not sincere; and these suspicions were greatly confirmed by what he heard in his journey through France. By conversing with some persons acquainted with the secret plans of the court, he learned that the princes of Lorraine, brothers of the Queen Regent, had nothing less in view than to set up a claim to the crown of England, in favour of the young queen of Scots; to attack Elizabeth, and expel her from the throne as an illegitimate child and as a heretic; and, as Scotland was the only avenue through which they could successfully attack England, it was a part of their plan to begin by suppressing the Reformation, and establishing their power in that country. Knox was alarmed at this informa-

tion, for he was convinced that the reformers of Scotland were wholly unable to resist the power of France, if it should be directed against them; and, as it was the duty and interest of the English court to afford them effectual support, he was anxious to call the attention of the court to this subject, in season, to thwart the deep laid scheme of ruin, which had been contrived against the government of that country. And, in fact, the very policy which he wished to suggest to the English court, was wisely pursued by Elizabeth in the assistance which she afforded to the Scottish Protestants, in 1559 and 1560.

Knox having already received two repulses to his application to visit England, yet was so impressed with the importance of the intelligence which he wished to communicate, that he ventured to make a third application, by writing a letter to secretary Cecil, in which he took pains to exculpate his Geneva friends from all participation in the sentiments of his offensive book. He acknowledged that he was its author, but solemnly averred that he entertained no unfriendly feelings towards Elizabeth, but the contrary; and that he had

no desire to visit the court, nor to remain long in the country ; but that he was desirous to communicate to him, or some other trusty person, matters of importance, which it was not prudent to commit to writing, nor to entrust to an ordinary messenger. That if his request was refused, it would turn out to the disadvantage of England. This letter he found it difficult to get a messenger to carry, so strong was the prejudice in the English court against him. Whether despairing of success in his application, or influenced by intelligence from Scotland, he sailed from Dieppe and landed at Leith, in the beginning of May, 1559.

Upon his arrival in Scotland, he found matters in the most critical state. The Queen Regent had thrown aside the disguise, which she had so long worn with the most consummate duplicity. As long as it was for her purpose, she listened to all the plans of reform, and by flattering the leaders, and promising them protection and support, she had been able to govern them, according to her wishes. But now, disguise being no longer necessary, she threw off the mask, and told

them, "that they should all be banished from Scotland; although they preached as truly as ever Paul did." And when they reminded her of her repeated promises of protection, she unblushingly replied, "that it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, further than they pleased to keep them." The Protestant leaders spoke plainly to her, and alleged, that if the engagements of rulers were not binding on them, of course the subject ought to be considered, as released from his allegiance. They also warned her of the consequence which would ensue, if she persisted in the course now adopted. Upon which she used milder language, and engaged to prevent the trial of the preachers, who were under civil process. But upon hearing that the reformed religion had been introduced into Perth, she renewed the process, and summoned them all to appear at Stirling, on the tenth of May, to undergo a trial.

Knox on finding the state of affairs, although prejudged, and sentence already pronounced against him, yet determined to appear at Stirling, on the day appointed for the trial. Having rested only a single day at Edin-

burg, he hurried to Dundee, where he found the principal Protestants of Angus and Mearns already assembled, determined to attend the ministers to the place of trial, and to avow their adherence to the doctrines for which they were accused. The providential arrival of such an able champion of the cause, at this crisis, must have been very encouraging to the assembly; and the liberty of accompanying them which he requested, was readily granted.

Lest the unexpected approach of such a multitude, though unarmed, should alarm or offend the Regent, the *congregation* (for so the Protestants at this time began to be called) agreed to stop at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling, to acquaint her with the peaceable object and manner of their coming. Apprehensive that their presence would disconcert her measures, she again had recourse to dissimulation. She persuaded Erskine to write to his brethren to desist from their journey, and authorized him to say in her name, that she would put a stop to the trial. The congregation signified their pacific intentions by a cheerful compliance with this

request, and the greater part, confiding in the royal promise, returned home. But when the day of trial came, the summons was called by order of the Queen, the accused were outlawed for not appearing, and all were prohibited, under pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them.

Escaping from Stirling, Erskine brought to Perth the account of this disgraceful transaction; which could not fail to incense the Protestants. On the very day on which the intelligence arrived, Knox preached a sermon at Perth, against the idolatry of the mass, and of image worship. Sermon being ended, and the audience dismissed, a few idle persons still loitered in the church, when an imprudent priest, either to try the disposition of the people, or in contempt of the doctrine which had been preached, uncovered a rich altar-piece, decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy, having expressed some words of disapprobation, was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the altar, broke one of the images. This operated as a signal to the people present, who had taken part with

the boy; and in a few minutes, the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church, were torn down and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob, who finding no employment in the church, by a sudden and irresistible influence, flew upon the monasteries; nor could they be restrained by the authority of the magistrates, nor the persuasion of the preachers (who assembled as soon as they heard of the riot) until the houses of the grey and black friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins. None of the gentleman, or sober part of the congregation were concerned in this unpremeditated tumult. It was wholly confined to the baser inhabitants; or as Knox calls them, "the rascall multitude."

As might be expected, this riot was very unfavourable to the Reformation; and nothing could have happened more opportunely for the Queen Regent; for it enabled her to turn the indignation from herself, and direct it against the congregation. And she did not fail to improve it with her usual address. Having assembled the nobility, she magnified the accidental tumult into a dangerous and

designed rebellion. To the Catholics she dwelt upon the sacrilegious overthrow of those venerable structures which their ancestors had dedicated to the service of God. To the Protestants, who had not joined the congregation at Perth; she complained of the destruction of the royal charter house; protested that she had no intention of offering violence to their consciences, and promised them protection, if they would assist her in punishing those who had been guilty of this violation of public order. Having inflamed the minds of all against them, she advanced to Perth with an army, threatening to lay waste the town with fire and sword, and to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been instrumental in producing this riot. The Protestants of the north, finding that they could only evade the danger of a general massacre by a bold resistance, prepared themselves promptly to defend the tower to the utmost. The Queen Regent deemed it imprudent to attack them, and proposed overtures of accommodation, to which they readily acceded. While the armies were before Perth, and negotiations were going on, Knox obtained an interview with his old

friends the Duke of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, who were now adhering to the Regent. He solemnly and faithfully dealt with them, for their violation of the engagements into which they had entered in support of the Reformation. They assured him that they held their engagement sacred; that the Regent had requested them to exert their influence to bring the present differences to an amicable termination; if, however, she violated the present treaty, they promised that they would no longer adhere to her, but would openly take part with the rest of the congregation. The Queen was not long in affording them the opportunity of verifying this promise.

All attempts to bring about a reformation of gross abuses, by the Regent or the clergy, to both of whom the most earnest supplications for this purpose had been presented, the lords of the congregation now resolved to introduce a reformation in those places to which their authority extended; and where the greater part of the inhabitants were friendly, by abolishing the popish superstition, and setting up the Protestant worship. St. Andrews was the place fixed on for beginning these operations.

With this view the Lord James Stewart, who was the prior of the abbey of St. Andrews, and the Earl of Argyle, made an appointment with Knox to meet them on a certain day in that city. Knox, travelling along the coast of Fife, preached at Anstruther and Crail, and on the 9th of June came to St. Andrews. The archbishop apprized of his design, to preach in the Cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent information to him, that if he appeared in the pulpit he would give orders to the soldiers to fire upon him. The noblemen having met to consult what was best to be done, were of opinion, that Knox should desist from his design of preaching at that time. Their retinue was very slender; they had not yet ascertained the disposition of the town; the Queen, with her army, lay at a small distance ready to come to the bishop's assistance; and his appearance in the pulpit might lead to the sacrifice of his own life and the lives of those who were determined to defend him from violence.

There are times, when the best course to evade danger is to meet it, and when the ordinary rules of prudence may wisely be disregarded. In the opinion of Knox, such an

occasion had now occurred. Had the reformers now suffered themselves to be intimidated by the threats of their enemies, after announcing their intentions, their cause would at the very outset have received a blow from which it would not soon have recovered. But Knox, by his firmness and intrepidity, prevented the evil. Fired with the recollection of the part which he had formerly acted on that spot, and with the near prospect of realizing the sanguine hopes which he had cherished in his breast for many years, he replied to the solicitations of his brethren, "that he could take God to witness that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting any earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day, unless forcibly hindered, he could not in conscience agree. In that town and in that church, had God first raised him to the dignity of a preacher, and from it he had been *reft* by French tyranny, at the instigation of the Scottish bishops. The length of his imprisonment and the tortures which he had endured," he said, "he would not recite at present; but one thing he could not conceal, that in the hearing of many yet

alive, he had expressed his confident hope of preaching again in St. Andrews. Now, therefore, when Providence, beyond all men's expectations, had brought him to that place, he besought them not to hinder him." "As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience, which, if it be denied unto me here at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

This intrepid reply silenced all further remonstrance; and the next day Knox appeared in the pulpit and preached to a numerous assembly, without meeting with the slightest opposition or interruption. The subject of his discourse was our Saviour's expelling the profane traffickers from the temple; from which he took occasion to expose the enormous corruptions which had been introduced into the church under the papacy, and to point out what was incumbent on Christians, in their different spheres, for removing them. On the three following days he preached in the same place; and, such was the influence of his doc-

trine, that the provost, baillies, and inhabitants, harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town. The church was stripped of images and pictures and the monasteries pulled down. The example of St. Andrews was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and, in the course of a few weeks, at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, and at Edinburg, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments which had been used to foster idolatry and image-worship, were destroyed.

Great complaints have been made against Knox, even by Protestant writers, for the destruction of so many elegant models, of gothic architecture; but there were interests at stake far more valuable than the preservation of those monuments of the fine arts, which had been consecrated to idolatry. It was a piece of good policy, and contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland, and the prevention of its re-establishment. It was chiefly by the magnificence of temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the popish church fascinated the senses and imaginations of the people.

There could not, therefore, be a more successful method of attacking it than by demolishing these. There is more wisdom in the saying of Knox, than many seem to perceive, "That the best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to destroy their nests." In demolishing or rendering uninhabitable all those buildings which had served for the maintenance of the ancient superstitions—except such as were requisite for Protestant worship—the reformers only acted on the principles of a prudent general, who razes the castles and fortifications which he is unable to keep, and which might afterwards be seized and employed against him by the enemy. Had they been allowed to remain, the popish clergy would not have ceased to indulge hopes, and to make efforts to be restored to them. Occasions would have been taken to tamper with the credulous, and inflame the minds of the superstitious, and the reformers might have soon found reason to repent their ill judged forbearance. Besides, we know that under the Old Testament, all the instruments and monuments of idolatry were expressly commanded to be destroyed; and that the practice was sanctioned by the example of the

early Christians. Still, however, much might be said against making war on inanimate buildings; and, perhaps, the justification of Knox and his friends will not be complete without taking into view, the fact, that the manners of the nation were, at this time, far from that refinement which in more modern times has been attained. Knox was eminently suited to the rough work which he was called by providence to execute, as was also Luther. It is always unjust to judge of the conduct and manners of a man of one age, by those of another, exceedingly different. †

Our reformer continued at St. Andrews till the end of June, when he came to Edinburg, from which the Regent and her forces had retired. The Protestants in that city had fixed their eyes upon him, and chose him immediately for their minister. He, accordingly, entered upon that charge; but the *congregation* having, by a treaty with the Regent, delivered up Edinburg unto her, it was judged by them unsafe for Knox to remain in a place under the authority of the papists, whose hostility to him knew no bounds. Willock was, therefore, substituted in his place for that city;

and this was ordered in providence for his greater usefulness, for he now undertook a preaching tour through the kingdom, which had great influence in extending the Reformation. The wide field which was before him, the interesting situation in which he was placed, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the hopes which he cherished, increased the ardour of his zeal, and stimulated him to extraordinary exertions, both of body and mind. Within less than two months he travelled over the greater part of Scotland. He visited Kelso, and Jedburgh, and Dumfries, and Ayr, and Stirling, and Perth, and Brechin, and Montrose, and Dundee, and then returned again to St. Andrews. The attention of the nation was aroused, their eyes were opened to the errors by which they had been deluded, and they panted for the word of life when they had once tasted its sweetness. From his letters, written at this time, it appears that his success was far beyond his expectations, and that, though he had to struggle with ill-health, yet his labours were incessant, so that he scarcely found time to take his necessary food and rest. But his spiritual comforts

appear to have abounded in proportion to his labours.

Immediately after his arrival in Scotland, Knox wrote to Geneva, for his wife and family. When they arrived at Paris, they applied to the English ambassador for a safe conduct to pass through England, on their way to Scotland; who not only granted it, but wrote to the Queen, begging her to pardon the offence of Knox, as he believed him capable of rendering important service to her interests, by promoting the reformation in Scotland; where already a great change had taken place through his instrumentality. Accordingly, Mrs. Knox came into England, and being conveyed to the borders by the directions of the court, reached her husband in safety, on the 20th of September. Her mother, after remaining a short time in England, followed her to Scotland, where she remained until her death. The pleasure of meeting his family once more, was increased to our reformer by the arrival with them of Christopher Goodman, his late colleague at Geneva, for whom he had written to come to his assistance, in the most pressing manner. Goodman became minister.

of St. Andrews. The settlement of Protestant ministers, in various places, occurred sooner than is stated in the common histories of those times. As early as September, 1559, eight towns were provided with reformed pastors; while many remained destitute, on account of the paucity of ministers.

It became every day more evident, that the *congregation* would not be able, without foreign aid, to maintain the struggle in which they were engaged; since they had to contend, not only against their domestic foes, but the power of France. Knox, therefore, renewed his exertions to obtain assistance from England. The letters written, on this occasion, were favourably received, and the continuance of correspondence encouraged by the English court. But Knox, anxious to conciliate the Queen, wrote to secretary Cecil, and inclosed an apologetic epistle to her majesty; but there was nothing at which he was more awkward than making apologies; and this letter, had it been delivered, which it probably was not, would only have served to increase the offence. Cecil himself was favourable to the plan of aiding the Scots, and endeavoured to

bring the Queen and her council to adopt measures for this end. But the British court acted with much caution and hesitation in the business. Their answer to the letters before mentioned were of such a character, as to discourage the council; and it was only in consequence of Knox's importunity, that they permitted him to write to England again in his own name, which he did with so much urgency, that a speedy reply was received, desiring them to send a confidential messenger to Berwick, who would receive a sum of money to assist them in carrying on the war. About the same time, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Berwick as an accredited, but secret agent; and the correspondence was afterwards carried on through him and Sir James Croft, until the English auxiliary army entered Scotland.

Knox had no desire to meddle in political affairs, but civil and ecclesiastical matters were so mingled, at this time, and there was so little learning among the nobility, that he was under the necessity of managing their correspondence, in connexion with Balnaves. This he did, out of a sense of duty and regard to the common cause, but when the younger

Maitland joined their party, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of being relieved from this burden. Indeed, both from disposition and habit, Knox was poorly fitted for the intrigues of politics; and several circumstances occurred, sorely to vex his spirit. The correspondence between the English court and the congregation was by no means entirely harmonious. The former wished from the latter a more prompt and vigorous action in opposition to the Queen Regent before the French troops arrived; and the latter desired not merely aid in money, but a military force to enable them to resist their enemies with success. Knox, in a letter to Croft, insisted on the employment of an armed force to enable the Protestants to carry on the siege of Leith. His impetuosity was checked by the answer of Croft, who alleged, that this would be a violation of the existing treaty with France. To which Knox replied, that this was not contrary to the common practice of courts, in such matters, and of the French court in a recent instance. The reformer has been very much censured for the proposal of such measures; and it is the only instance

in the life of Knox, in which he recommended any thing like dissimulation, which was a thing exceedingly contrary to his disposition. His own opinion was, that the English ought to have done at first, what at last they were obliged to do; that is, they should have openly declared their purpose to aid the congregation.

The very active and decided part which Knox took in the affairs of the congregation, exposed him to the deadly enmity of the Queen Regent. A reward was publicly offered to the person who should seize or kill him; and numbers, actuated by malice or avarice, lay in wait for his apprehension. But this did not deter him from travelling through the country in the discharge of his duty. His exertions, at this period, were exceedingly great. By day he was employed in preaching, and by night in writing letters on public affairs. He was the soul of the congregation; was always present at the post of danger; and by his presence, his public discourses, and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and disunite them.

The congregation were now called upon to act in a very delicate and difficult case. Hitherto they had acknowledged the authority of the Queen Régent, and continued to prefer their petitions to her for the redress of grievances; but now it began to be a matter of discussion, whether she had not forfeited all right to rule over the nation, by bringing in foreign troops to destroy the liberties of the people; and whether, as she had been created Régent by the parliament, the same power could not take away her power. A regular meeting of parliament, it was true, could not be now had, but the people and nobility who were the constituents of parliament, and from whom all power emanated, might meet and act on this important subject. After much deliberation, a numerous assembly of barons, nobles, and representatives of boroughs met at Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, to bring the matter to a solemn issue. To this assembly Knox and Willock were called, and were required to deliver their opinions, as to the lawfulness of the measure. Willock, who officiated as minister of Edinburg, first spoke, and said, that in his judgment, founded

on reason and Scripture, the power of rulers was limited; and that they might be deprived of it on valid grounds, and that the Queen Regent having by the fortification of Leith and the introduction of foreign troops, evinced a fixed determination to oppress and enslave the people, might justly be deprived of her authority, by the nobles and barons, and the native counsellors of the realm, whose petitions and remonstrances, she had repeatedly rejected. Knox assented to the opinion of his brother, and added, that the assembly might with safe consciences act upon it, provided, they attended to the three following things: first, that they did not suffer their opposition to the Regent, to alienate their affections and allegiance from their lawful sovereigns, Francis and Mary; second, that in this measure, they were not actuated by private hatred to the Regent, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth; and third, that any sentence which they might pronounce, should not preclude the re-admission of the Regent, if she afterwards discovered sorrow for her conduct, and a disposition to submit to the advice of the counsellors of the realm. The whole as-

sembly now delivered their opinions, in conformity with those of the ministers, and then proceeded, by a solemn deed, to suspend the Queen Dowager, from her authority as Regent of the kingdom, until the meeting of a free parliament; and, in the interval, elected a council for the management of public affairs.

The preachers have been blamed for interposing their advice on this great political question; but there are critical periods in the history of nations, in which every man should be ready to give his advice and aid; and ministers have as deep a stake in the welfare of the commonwealth as others, and by accepting the sacred office do not disfranchise themselves, or divest themselves of the obligation to perform the duties of good citizens. Moreover, the question now to be decided, was not merely political but involved a great moral principle, touching the duty of subjects to their rulers; and therefore, a fit question to be discussed and decided by the official interpreters of the law of God.

While popery held undisputed dominion in Europe, every vestige of civil liberty was extinct. The ideas of the power of the pope

were such, that kings and all civil authorities were considered as subject to his power; and this power was, in a number of instances, exercised over the haughtiest monarchs. The first dawn of deliverance from this spiritual tyranny arose out of the controversy between the popes and general councils; but by the revival of letters in the west of Europe, new ideas of liberty were produced from an acquaintance with the Grecian and Roman republics; but these sentiments were confined to comparatively few. The spirit infused by philosophy and literature is too feeble and contracted to produce a radical reform of established abuses. It is to the religious spirit excited, during the sixteenth century, which spread rapidly through Europe and diffused itself among all classes of men, that we are chiefly indebted for the propagation of the genuine principles of rational liberty, and the consequent amelioration of government. In effecting that memorable revolution, which terminated in favour of religious and political liberty, in so many nations of Europe, the public teachers of the Protestant doctrine had a principal influence. By their instructions

and exhortations, they roused the people to consider their rights and exert their power. They stimulated timid and wary politicians; encouraged and animated princes, nobles, and confederated states, with their armies, against the most formidable opposition, and under the most overwhelming difficulties, until their exertions were crowned with the most signal success. These facts are now admitted, and this honour at last, through the force of truth, awarded to the religious leaders of the Protestant Reformation, by philosophical writers,* who had so long branded them as ignorant and fanatical.

Our reformer had caught a large portion of the spirit of civil liberty. We have already adverted to circumstances which early directed his attention to some of its principles. His subsequent studies introduced him to an acquaintance with the maxims and modes of government of the free states of antiquity; and it is reasonable to suppose that his intercourse with the republics of Switzerland and Geneva, had some influence on his political creed. Having formed his sentiments independently of the

* See Viller's Essay.

prejudices arising from established laws, long usage, and commonly received opinions, his zeal and intrepidity prompted him to avow and propagate them, when others less sanguine and resolute, would have been restrained by fear, or despair of success. Extensive observation had made him aware of the glaring perversion of government, in most of the European kingdoms. But his principles led him to desire their reform not their subversion. He was perfectly sensible of the necessity of regular government to the maintenance of justice and order among mankind, and aware of the danger of setting them free from its salutary restraints. He uniformly inculcated a conscientious obedience to the lawful commands of rulers, and respect to their persons as well as their authority; even when they were chargeable with various mismanagements; as long as they did not break through all the restraints of law and justice, and cease to perform the essential duties of their office. But he held, that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good; that obedience was not due to them in any thing contrary to the divine

law; that in every free and well constituted government, the law of the land was superior to the will of the prince; and that inferior magistrates and subjects might restrain the supreme magistrate from particular illegal acts, without throwing off their allegiance, or being guilty of rebellion; that no class of men have an original, inherent, and indefeasible right to rule over a people independently of their will and consent; and that a nation have a right to provide and require, that they be ruled by laws agreeing with the divine law, and calculated to promote their welfare. That there is a mutual compact, tacit and implied, if not formal and explicit, between rulers and their subjects; and if the former shall flagrantly violate this, employ that power for the destruction of a commonwealth which was committed to them for its preservation and benefit; in one word, if they shall become habitual tyrants and notorious oppressors, that the people are absolved from allegiance, have a right to resist them, and to elect others in their room.

Such, in substance, were the political sentiments of our reformer. These principles were strenuously inculcated by him, and acted upon

in Scotland in more than one instance while he lived. That they should have exposed those who held them to the charge of treason, from the despotic rulers of that day; and that they should have been regarded with suspicion by some of the learned, is not to be wondered at. But it must excite both surprise and indignation, to find writers in the present enlightened age, and under the sunshine of British liberty, expressing their abhorrence of these sentiments, and exhausting upon their authors all the invective and virulence of the former advocates of passive obedience.

[Whatever may be thought of these principles now, in Great Britain they are precisely such as are universally entertained in the United States of America; and on these all our constitutions and laws are founded. Indeed, they were all involved and carried out in the revolution, by which these States became free and independent; and to prevent all collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, it is a principle undisputed and sacred among us, that civil government has nothing to do with religion except to protect its professors in the full exercise of their opinions and wor-

ship, provided they do not directly militate with the welfare and good order of civil society. Perhaps, even Knox himself, would not have gone to this length in the assertion of civil and religious liberty; but undoubtedly his principles, fairly carried out, lead to all that is received and adopted on this subject in these United States.]

Those who judge of the propriety of any measure by its success, will be disposed to condemn the suspension of the Queen Regent. Soon after this step was taken, the affairs of the congregation began to wear a gloomy appearance. The messenger, sent to Berwick to receive a remittance from the English court, was intercepted on his return and rifled of the treasure: their soldiers mutinied for want of pay; they were repulsed in a premature assault on the fortifications of Leith, and worsted in a skirmish with the French troops. The secret emissaries of the Regent were also too successful among them; their numbers daily decreased; and the remainder disunited, dispirited, and dismayed, came to the resolution of abandoning Edinburg on the 5th of November, and retreated with precipitation and dis-

grace to Stirling. Amidst the universal dejection produced by these disasters, the spirit of Knox, alone, remained unsubdued. On the day after their arrival at Stirling, he mounted the pulpit and delivered a discourse which had a wonderful effect in rekindling the zeal and courage of the congregation. In this discourse he took pains to guard them against the opinion, that this discomfiture had overtaken them as a judgment of God, for taking up arms to defend their rights and liberties; and then pointed out what he considered blameable in all classes; and after exhorting all to amendment of life, prayers, and charity, he concluded with an animating address. "God," he said, "often suffered the wicked to triumph for a while, exposed his chosen congregation to mockery and apparent destruction, in order to abase their self-confidence, and induce them to look to him for deliverance and victory. If they turned unfeignedly to the Eternal, he no more doubted, that their present distress would be converted into joy, and followed with success, than he doubted that Israel was victorious at last over the Benjamites; though at first they were repulsed with ignominy.

The cause in which they were engaged, would, in spite of all opposition, prevail in Scotland. It was the eternal truth of the Eternal God which they maintained; it might be oppressed for a time, but would ultimately triumph." The audience who had entered the church in deep despondency, left it with renovated courage.

In the afternoon the council met, and after prayer by Knox, unanimously agreed to dispatch Maitland to London to supplicate more effectual assistance from Elizabeth. In the mean time, as they were unable to keep the field, they resolved to divide, and that the one half of the council should remain at Glasgow, and the other at St. Andrews. Knox was appointed to attend the latter.

According to Knox's public declaration in his sermon at Stirling, their discomfiture at Edinburg and consequent flight, did turn out to the advantage of their cause. It obliged the English court to abandon the line of cautious policy which they had hitherto pursued. On the 27th of February, 1560, they concluded a formal treaty with the lords of the congregation; and in the beginning of April the

English army entered Scotland. The French troops retired within the fortifications of Leith, and were invested by land and sea. The Queen Regent died in the castle of Edinburg during the siege, and the ambassadors of France were forced to agree to a treaty, by which it was provided, that the French troops should be removed from Scotland; an amnesty granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the measures of the Regent; their principal grievances redressed; and a free parliament called to settle the affairs of the kingdom. This treaty which put an end to hostilities, made no settlement respecting religious differences; but on that very account it was fatal to popery. The power was left in the hands of the Protestants. The Roman Catholic worship was almost universally suppressed through the kingdom; except in those places which had been occupied by the Regent and her foreign auxiliaries. During the war the Protestant preachers were active and zealous in preaching, and met with little opposition from the priests, who placed their sole reliance on the aid of the French. The firm hold which the superstitions of popery had on

the minds of the people, was completely loosed, and they were now supported by force alone; so that at the moment when the French troops left Scotland, the fabric which had stood for ages, fell to the ground. The feeble and discouraged priesthood ceased, of their own accord, from the celebration of its rites; and the reformed service was peaceably set up wherever ministers could be found to perform it. When the parliament met, it had little else to do respecting religion, than to sanction what the nation had previously adopted.

Thus did the reformed religion advance in Scotland, from small beginnings, and amidst great opposition, until it attained a legal establishment. Besides, the secret benediction which accompanied the labours of the preachers and confessors of the truth, the serious and inquisitive reader will trace the hand of providence in that concatenation of events, which contributed to its rise, preservation, and increase, in the overruling of the caprice, the ambition, avarice, and interested policy of princes and cabinets, many of whom had nothing less in view, than to favour that cause, which they were instrumental in promoting.

The breach of Henry VIII., of England, with the Romish See, awakened the attention of the northern inhabitants of the island, to a controversy which had been hitherto carried on at too great a distance to interest them, and led not a few to desire a reformation more perfect, than the model which he held out to them.

The premature death of James V., of Scotland, was favourable to these views; and during the short period in which they received the countenance of the civil authority, at the commencement of Arran's regency, the seeds of the reformed doctrine were widely spread, and had taken such deep root as to be able to resist the violent measures which the Regent, after his recantation, employed to extirpate them. Those who were driven from the country, found an asylum in England under the decidedly Protestant government of Edward VI. After his death, the alliance of England with Spain, and of Scotland with France, the two great contending powers on the continent, prevented any contest between the two courts which might have proved fatal to the Protestant religion in Britain. While

the cruelties of the English Queen drove evangelical preachers into Scotland, the political schemes of the Queen Regent, also, induced her to favour the Protestants and connive at the propagation of their opinions. At the critical moment, when she had accomplished her favourite designs, and was preparing to crush the reformation, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, who, from motives of policy, no less than religion, was induced to support the Scottish reformers. The princes of Lorraine, who, by the accession of Frances II., had obtained the sole direction of the French court, were resolutely bent on their suppression; and being at peace with Spain, seemed to have it in their power to turn the whole force of the empire against them. But at this very time arose those dissensions, which continued so long to desolate France, and forced them to accede to that treaty which put an end to the French influence and Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.

PERIOD VI.

FROM HIS SETTLEMENT AS A MINISTER AT EDINBURG, TO HIS ACQUITTAL FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON, BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1563.

IMMEDIATELY after the proclamation of peace, Knox resumed his station as minister of Edinburg. During the month of August, he was employed in composing the Protestant "Confession of Faith," which was presented to the parliament who ratified it, and abolished the papal jurisdiction of worship. The organization of the reformed church was, however, not yet complete. Hitherto, the "Book of Common Prayer," agreed upon by the English Church at Geneva, had been chiefly followed as a directory for worship and government. But this having been compiled for a single congregation, composed chiefly of men of learning, was found inadequate for an extensive church, consisting of a multitude of confederated congregations. Sensible of the great importance of ecclesiastical polity, for the maintenance of order, the preservation of purity of doctrine and morals, and the general

prosperity of religion, our reformer, at an early period, called the attention of the Protestants to this subject, and urged its speedy settlement. In consequence of this, the lords of the Privy Council appointed him and five other ministers, to draw out a plan, such as they should judge to be agreeable to Scripture and conducive to the advancement of religion. They met accordingly, and, with great pains and much unanimity, formed the book, which was afterwards called "*The First Book of Discipline.*"

As Knox had a chief hand in the compilation of this book, some brief account of the form and order of the Church of Scotland, at the first establishment of the Reformation, will not be out of place here. The ordinary and permanent officers of the church were of four kinds: the minister or pastor to whom the preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments belonged; the doctor, or teacher, whose province it was to interpret Scripture; the ruling elder, who assisted the minister in exercising ecclesiastical discipline; and the deacon who had the especial oversight of the revenues of the church, and the poor. But,

besides these, it was found necessary, at that time, to employ some persons in extraordinary and temporary charges.

As the ministers were too few to supply all the vacant churches, serious persons were appointed to read the Scriptures, and the common prayers: These were called, *readers*. If they improved in knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations, to the reading of the Scriptures. In this case, they were called *exhorters*. But they did not enter on those duties, at discretion, but were first examined and approved. The aforesaid state of things gave rise also to another expedient, for the supply of destitute places. Instead of fixing all ministers in particular charges, it was judged proper, after supplying some of the principal towns, to assign to the rest the superintendence of a large district, over which they were appointed regularly to itinerate, for the purpose of preaching, planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. These were called, *superintendents*. The number originally proposed, was ten; but owing to the scarcity of suitable persons, or rather the want

of funds, there were never more than six appointed. The deficiency was supplied by *commissioners*, or *visitors*, appointed by the General Assembly. The mode of admission to all these offices was, by the election of the people, examination of the candidate, and public recognition, accompanied with prayer and exhortation. The affairs of each congregation were managed by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the *session*, which met once a week, or oftener. In every principal town, there was a meeting held, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and learned men in the vicinity, for expounding the Scriptures. As this was held weekly, it was called the *weekly exercise*. This was afterwards converted into the *Presbytery* or *classical assembly*. The superintendents met with the ministers and delegated elders, of his district, twice a year, in the *provincial Synod*, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, within its bounds. And the *General Assembly*, which was composed of ministers and elders, commissioned from the different parts of the kingdom, met twice, sometimes thrice, in the year; and attended to the interests of the

whole national church. Public worship was conducted, according to the book of Common Order, with a few variations. The compilers of the first Book of Discipline, paid particular attention to the education of the people. They required that a school be erected in every parish, for the instruction of the youth, in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. They proposed, that a college should be erected in every notable town, in which logic and rhetoric should be taught along with the learned languages. They seem to have had it in their eye, to revive the system, adopted by some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were considered the property of the state, rather than of their parents, by obliging the nobility and gentry to educate their children, and providing at the public expense, for the education of the poor who discovered talents for learning. Their regulations for the three national universities, discovered an enlightened regard to the interests of literature, which deserve attention in the present age. That they were not carried into effect was not the fault of the reformed ministers, but of those persons, who, through avarice,

defeated the execution of their plans. But under all discouragements, learning made great progress in Scotland, to the close of the century. Very false notions are entertained by many, of the rudeness and ignorance of these times, as though there was very little learning, even among the clergy. Let such consider a single fact. In the house of Mr. John Rowe, minister of Perth, the conversation in the family, and among the pupils, was usually carried on in French; and at family worship, the Bible was read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, by the boys. Many of the nobility and gentry, placed their sons in the family of this excellent minister, that they might be instructed in Greek and Hebrew. When the Book of Discipline was presented to the Privy Council, it was coldly received, and its formal ratification evaded. Not that they differed in opinion from the ministers, respecting ecclesiastical government; but partly from aversion to the strictness of discipline against vice, here inculcated; and, partly, from reluctance to comply with its requisition, for the appropriation of the revenues of the popish church to the support of the

new religious, and literary establishment. However, it was subscribed by the majority of the members of council, and carried into effect, through the nation, in all its principal ecclesiastical regulations.

The first *General Assembly* of the Reformed church of Scotland met in Edinburg, on the 20th of December, 1560. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers. Knox was one of these; and he continued to sit in most of its meetings, until the time of his death. It is a singular circumstance, that there were seven different meetings of the Assembly, without a president, or moderator. But as the number of members increased, and business became more complicated, a moderator was resolved to be chosen, at every meeting. He was invested with authority to maintain order; and regulations were enacted, concerning the constituent members of the court, the kind of cases which should come before them, and the order of procedure.

In the close of this year, our reformer suffered a heavy domestic loss, by the death of his valuable wife; who, after sharing in the

hardships of her husband's exile, was removed from him when he had obtained a comfortable settlement for his family. He was left with the charge of two young children, in addition to his other cares. His mother-in-law, however, was still with him, but although he found pleasure in her religious conversation, yet the dejection of mind to which she was subject, and which all his efforts could never completely relieve, rather increased than lightened his burden. His acute feelings were severely wounded by this stroke; but he endeavoured to moderate his grief by the consolations which he administered to others, and by assiduous application to public duties. He had the satisfaction of receiving on the occasion, a letter from his much respected friend, Calvin, in which expressions of great esteem for his deceased partner, were mingled with condolence for his loss. And here it may be proper to remark, that Knox, with the consent of his brethren, consulted the Genevan reformer on several difficult questions which occurred respecting the settlement of the Scottish Reformation, and that a number of letters passed between them on this subject.

Although the Reformation had gone on as successfully as he could reasonably have hoped, yet Knox saw that affairs were still in a critical situation. There was a large body of people in the country, who were strongly opposed to all that had been done, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to endeavour to overthrow the Reformation. The treaty by which peace had been obtained, Mary and her husband, the King of France, refused to ratify, and dismissed the deputy sent by the parliament, with marks of the highest displeasure, on account of the innovations which they had introduced. A new army was preparing in France, for the invasion of Scotland in the spring. Emissaries were sent into the country to encourage and unite the Roman Catholics. And it was doubtful whether the Queen of England would subject herself to new expense and odium, by protecting them against a second attack. The watchful mind of Knox perceived the threatening danger, and endeavoured to prepare the people for the contest; especially, exciting them speedily to complete the settlement of religion throughout the kingdom, which he was persuaded would prove

the principal bulwark against the assaults of their adversaries. And many now listened to his admonitions who formerly treated them with indifference.

The threatened storm, however, blew over in consequence of the death of the French King. This led necessarily to a measure which involved the Scottish Protestants in a new struggle; for now the Protestant nobility gave an invitation to their young Queen to come over, which she did on the 19th of August, and assumed the reins of government into her own hands.

The education which Mary had received in France, whatever embellishments it added to her person and manners, was the very worst which can be conceived, for fitting her to rule in her native country, in the present juncture. Of a temper, naturally violent, and accustomed as she was to flattery, she was incapable of bearing contradiction. Habituated to the splendour and gallantry of the most luxurious court in Europe, she could not submit to those restraints which the severe manners of her subjects imposed. And while the freedom of her manners gave offence to them, she could

not conceal the antipathy and disgust which she felt at theirs. Full of high notions of royal prerogative, she regarded the late proceedings in Scotland, as a course of rebellion against her authority. Every means had been used before she left France, to strengthen her attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, in which she had been educated from her infancy, and to inspire her with aversion to the religion which had been embraced by her subjects. She was taught that it would be the greatest glory of her reign, to reduce her kingdom to obedience to the Romish See, and cooperate with the popish princes on the continent in extirpating heresy. If she forsook the religion in which she had been educated, she would forfeit their powerful favour; but if she persevered in it, she might depend on their assistance to enable her to chastise her rebellious subjects, and prosecute her claims to the crown of England against a heretical usurper.

With these fixed prepossessions Mary came into Scotland: and she adhered to them, with singular pertinacity, to the end of her life. As, however, the Protestants were in power, she found it expedient to temporize; but she

resolved to withhold her ratification of the late proceedings, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity to overturn them and to establish the ancient system. Her reception was flattering; but an event soon occurred to damp her joy, and which prognosticated future jealousies and confusion. Resolved to let her subjects know her determination to adhere to the Roman Catholic religion, she directed preparations to be made for the celebration of mass in the chapel of Holyrood-house, on the first Sunday after her arrival. The first rumour of this spread such horror and alarm among the people, that it was with the greatest exertion that the Protestant leaders and ministers were able to prevent a public tumult and riot. Knox exerted his influence on the occasion to prevent disorder, but he was not less alarmed at the precedent than his brethren, and on the very next Sabbath exposed the evil of idolatry.

At this day the alarm and intolerant feelings of the Protestants may appear strange and unreasonable; but they knew too well the cruelty and persecuting spirit of the Romish Church at that time, to be in any doubt what the con-

sequences would be, if that religion should gain the predominance again in Scotland. In using every exertion, therefore, to oppose its ascendancy, was no more than taking necessary measures for their own preservation. They had fresh in their memory, the cruelties practised by Mary of England, against the Protestants; and they had also before their eyes, the severities against the Protestants in every country on the continent, where the government was under the influence of the Roman Catholic religion. To expect a spirit of toleration in such circumstances, is an unreasonable thing. It is therefore unnecessary to apologize for the restrictions which the reformers were desirous of imposing on Queen Mary, in regard to the public exercise of the popish religion. Besides his fears for the common cause, Knox had good reason to apprehend danger to his own life. The Queen was peculiarly incensed against him, on account of the active hand which he had in the revolution. The popish clergy who had left the kingdom, represented him as the ring-leader of her factious subjects; and she had, before she left France, signified her determi-

nation that he should be punished. His book against female rulers, was also remembered against him by the Queen, as it had been by Elizabeth. But although Knox knew that he would probably be obnoxious to the displeasure of the Queen, yet he said not a word to prevent her being invited into Scotland; on the contrary, he concurred with his brethren in this measure, and in defeating a scheme of the Duke of Castleherault, under the direction of the archbishop of St. Andrews, for excluding her from the government. And contrary to the opinion of some, Knox was willing that the Queen should have the liberty of having mass celebrated in her own private chapel.

Soon after her arrival, Mary sent for Knox, to the palace, and held a long conversation with him, in the presence of her brother, the prior of St. Andrews. She seems to have expected to awe him into submission by her authority, if not to confound him by her arguments. But the bold freedom with which he replied to all her charges, and vindicated his own conduct, convinced her that the one expectation was not more vain than the other; and the impression which she wished to make

on him, was left on her own mind. She accused him of exciting her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed, when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by magical arts.

To these heavy charges, Knox replied, that if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, to rebuke idolatry, and to teach the people to worship God according to his word, were to excite subjects to rise against their princes, then he stood convicted of the charge; for it had pleased God to employ him, among others, to disclose unto that realm the vanity of the papistical religion, with the deceits, pride, and tyranny of the Roman antichrist. But if the true knowledge of God, and his right worship, were the most powerful inducements to subjects cordially to obey their princes, (as they certainly were,) then, he was innocent. Her grace, he was persuaded, had at present, as unfeigned obedience from the Protestants of Scotland, as ever her father, or any of her ancestors had from those called bishops. With respect to what had been reported to her ma-

jesty, of the fruits of his preaching, in England, he was glad that his enemies laid nothing to his charge, but what the world would know to be false. If any of them could prove that, in any of the places where he had resided, there was either sedition or mutiny, he would confess himself to be a malefactor. So far from this being the case, he was not ashamed to say, that in Berwick, where bloodshed among the soldiers had been common, God so blessed his weak labours, that there was as great quietness, during the time he resided there, as there was at present in Edinburg. The slander of practising magic, (an art which he had condemned wherever he preached,) he could more easily bear, when he recollected that his Master, the Lord Jesus, had been defamed as being in league with Beelzebub. As to the book, which seemed so highly to offend her majesty, he owned that he wrote it, and was willing that all the world should judge of it. He understood that an Englishman had written an answer, but he had not read it. If he had sufficiently confuted his arguments, and established the contrary propositions, he would confess his error; but to that hour he consi-

dered himself alone more able to sustain the things affirmed in that book, than any ten in Europe were to confute them.

“You think I have no authority,” said the Queen. “Please your majesty,” replied he, “learned men, in all ages, have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgments of the world. Such also have they published with pen and tongue; notwithstanding they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of the “Commonwealth,” in which he condemned many things that were then maintained in the world, and required many things to be reformed; and yet he lived under such policies as were then universally received, without further troubling the state. Even so, madam, am I content to do in uprightness of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience.” He added, that his sentiments, on that subject, should be confined to his own breast; and that, if she refrained from persecution, her authority would not be hurt by him, or his

book, "which was written most especially against the wicked Jezebel of England." "But you speak of women in general," said the Queen. "Most true it is, madam, it appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your grace never to raise trouble from that which to this day has never troubled your majesty, neither in person nor authority; for of late, many things which before were 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 quotation was at any time made, either in public or in secret. Now, madam, if I had intended to trouble your estate, because you are a woman, I would have chosen a thing more convenient for that purpose, than I can now do, when your presence is within the realm."

Changing the subject, she charged him with having taught the people to receive a religion different from that followed by their princes; and asked him if this was not contrary to the divine command, that subjects should obey their rulers? He replied, that true religion derived not its authority from princes, but

from the eternal God; that princes were often most ignorant of the true religion; and that subjects were not bound to frame their religion according to the arbitrary will of their rulers, else the Israelites would have been bound to adopt the religion of Pharaoh; Daniel and his associates that of Nebuchadnezzar, and Darius; and the primitive Christians that of the Roman emperors. "Yea," replied the Queen, "but none of these men raised the sword against princes." "Yet you cannot deny," said he, "that they resisted, for those who obey not the commandments given them, do in some sort resist." "But they resisted not with the sword," rejoined the Queen, pressing home the argument. "God had not given unto them the power and the means." "Think you," said the Queen, "that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?" "If princes, madam, exceed their bounds, no doubt they may be resisted, by power. For no greater honour, and no greater obedience is to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be seized with a phrenzy, in which he would slay his children. Now,

madam, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, and take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till the phrenzy be over, think you, madam, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madam, is it with princes that would murder the children of God, that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad phrenzy; therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God."

The Queen, who had hitherto maintained her courage in reasoning, appeared to be confounded and overpowered by this bold answer; and for a while continued silent. At length she said, "Well then, I perceive, that my subjects shall obey you and not me, and will do what they please and not what I command, and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." "God forbid," answered Knox, that I can take it upon me, to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever they please; but my meaning is, that both princes and subjects should obey

God. And think not, madam, that wrong is done you, when you are required to be subject to God; for it is He, who subjects people unto princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them. He demands of kings that they be as *foster fathers* to his Church, and commands queens, to be nurses to his people. And this subjection unto God, madam, is the best thing that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall raise them to everlasting glory.” “But you are not the church,” said the Queen, “that I will nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for it is, I think, the true church of God.” “Your *will*, Madam, is no reason; neither doth your *thought* make the Roman harlot to be 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 kinds of spiritual fornication.” He added, that he was ready to prove, that the Romish Church had departed farther from the purity of religion, taught by the apostles, than the Jewish Church had degenerated from the ordinances which God gave them by Moses and Aaron, at the time when they denied and crucified the Son

of God. "My conscience is not so," said the Queen. "Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; and I fear, that right knowledge you have none." She said, she had both heard and read. "So, madam, did the Jews, who crucified Christ. They read the law and the prophets, and heard them interpreted, after their manner. Have you heard any teach, but such as the pope and the cardinals allowed? And you may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate." "You interpret the Scriptures, one way," said the Queen, warmly, "and they in another, whom shall I believe and who will judge?" "You should believe God, who speaketh plainly in his word" replied the reformer. "And further, the word teacheth you, that you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself, and if there is any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost who is never contrary to himself, explains it more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as are obstinately ignorant." As an example he referred to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to show that the mass was destitute of all foundation.

But the Queen, who was determined to avoid all discussion of the articles of her faith, interrupted him, saying that she was unable to contend with him, in argument, but if she had some of those present whom she had heard, they would answer him. “Madam, replied the reformer, “would to God that the learnedest papist in Europe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument, and that you would wait patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end, for I then doubt not you would hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath in the word of God. “Well” said she, “you may perchance, get that sooner than you believe.” “Assuredly, if I can get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason; and the learned and crafty papist will never come in your presence, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. When you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point.”

The hour of dinner afforded the occasion of breaking off this singular conversation. The papists were alarmed when they heard of this

long interview with Knox, lest his eloquence should have shaken the faith of the Queen; and the Protestants, on the contrary, were disposed to indulge favourable anticipations of the result. But Knox himself, saw clearly that the Queen was deeply fixed in her errors, and was not likely to be moved by any thing which might be said in her hearing. And his determination was, to watch her motions; and to find out her plans of opposition to the Reformation; so that he might have it in his power to give seasonable warning of them to the friends of the Reformation.

The sermons of Knox were very powerful, though delivered in what, to many, appeared harsh language. He was not ignorant that some of his friends thought him too severe; nor was he disposed to vindicate every expression which he used; but he was of opinion that the times required great plainness of speech, and that under the smoothness and sweetness of manner, recommended by some, that snares lurked. The abatement of zeal in many, through the influence of the court, became more and more manifest every day, and extended to some of the Protestant leaders.

The Queen was greatly opposed to the General Assembly, and at the first meeting, after her arrival, the courtiers, through her influence, absented themselves; and when challenged for their delinquency, began to dispute the propriety of such conventions without her Majesty's pleasure.

Knox was exceedingly indignant when he heard of the management of the court, in regard to settling a provision for the ministers. Hitherto they had been supported by the voluntary contributions of the people; but some of them were almost left to starve. The Privy Council, in consequence of repeated complaints on this subject, took up the matter and agreed to divide the ecclesiastical revenues into three parts, two of which were allotted to the popish clergy, and the remaining third to be divided between the court and the Protestant ministers. The portion allowed to the ministers being at the disposal of the Queen's officers, was as badly paid as it was paltry in amount. Knox was open mouthed and vehement against this ungenerous management. "If," said he, "this order, pretended to be for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy in

the issue, my judgment fails me. I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third may be divided betwixt God and the devil. Who would have thought that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren should have travellit, (suffered,) for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks unto their families?" "O happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life, there were not hell and heaven." He did not complain with any reference to his own case, for in comparison with others, he was well provided for, having settled on him a salary of two hundred pounds per annum, besides house-rent free, and liberal presents from the people.

In the beginning of the year 1562, our reformer went to Angus, to preside at the election and admission of his old friend John Erskine, of Dun, as superintendent of Angus and Mearns. This pious and respectable baron was one, whom the General Assembly had declared "apt and able to minister," and having already contributed much aid to advance the Reformation, he now devoted himself to the service of the Church, in a laborious employment, at a time when she stood eminently

in need of the assistance of all the learned and pious. He had before this presided at the installation of John Spottiswood to the same office in Lothian.

The influence which Knox had over all classes of persons is evident, from the fact of his having been frequently applied to, to settle differences of a civil kind, among the leaders of the Reformation.

In May, 1562, Knox was again called to appear before the Queen, for a sermon, in which he had spoken with severity against the Duke of Guise, for attacking a Protestant congregation in France, while at worship, and murdering a number of the defenceless people. When the news of this reached the Queen, she gave a splendid ball to her foreign servants, at which the dancing was prolonged to a late hour. Knox took occasion to speak of the vices of princes, and animadverted severely on the cruelty of the French princes, of which an exaggerated account was conveyed to the Queen.

He appeared in her presence, without the least dismay, and told her that, if she had heard the discourse, he was persuaded she

could not have found fault with what was said, and undertook to repeat to her, as nearly as he could, the very words spoken, which, she admitted, were very different from those reported to her. He told her, at this time, that he could wish that she would be pleased to come in person and hear what he preached; or if that was reckoned unsuitable, if she would appoint him a time, he would take pleasure in communicating to her the substance of the doctrine which he preached. When he was leaving the room, some of the popish courtiers said in his hearing, "He is not afraid;" "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure."

At this time, there was but one church in Edinburg, St. Giles's, where Knox preached, sometimes, to three thousand persons; and he laboured here with no other assistance than that of John Cairns, who acted as a reader. His custom was to preach twice every Sabbath, and three times during the week. He met his session once every week, and also attended the meetings for weekly exercise in studying

the Scriptures. He attended, besides, the meetings of the Provincial Synod and General Assembly; at almost every meeting of which, he received an appointment to preach in some distant part of the country. These labours must have been oppressive to a constitution already impaired; and his sermons were not mere extemporaneous effusions, but the fruit of regular study, for he devoted a part of every day to his books. His congregation became sensible that his labours were too heavy for his shoulders; and, therefore, in April, 1562, the town council came to a unanimous resolution to solicit John Craig, the minister of Holyrood House, to undertake the half of the charge. The ensuing General Assembly approved of the council's proposal, and translated Craig to Edinburg. This, however, did not take place until June, 1563, owing to some difficulty in settling the stipend for his support.

The activity and energy of Knox, in confirming the minds of the Protestants in the west, whither the General Assembly had sent him, on occasion of the rising of the papists, under Huntly, in the north, were attended

with the happiest effects, in composing the minds of the people.

His dispute with Quintin Kennedy, respecting the mass, is entertaining, and is very particularly related by Dr. M'Crie, but is too long for our purpose. Indeed, Knox himself published an account of the controversy, taken from the notaries who took down what was spoken on one side and the other. It is the substance of this pamphlet which Dr. M'Crie has inserted in his "Life of Knox." The brevity which we study in this compend, also renders it necessary to omit several other transactions in which Knox bore a conspicuous part, but which cannot be narrated, without going further into the Scottish history of those times than would be suitable for our work.

The first parliament which met after the arrival of the Queen in Scotland, although they confirmed some of the acts of the former parliament, yet they omitted to sanction the treaty which had been entered into with the French; and, indeed, passed some laws which implied that that instrument was destitute of validity.

Knox, upon being informed of these things,

was thunderstruck, and could scarcely give credit to the report. He immediately procured an interview with some of the principal members of parliament, to whom he represented the danger of allowing that meeting to dissolve, without obtaining a ratification of the acts of the preceding parliament; or at least those acts which established the Reformation. They alleged that the Queen would never have consented to call this meeting, if they had persisted in these demands; but there was a prospect of her speedy marriage, and then they would obtain all their wishes. In vain he reminded them, that poets and painters had represented *occasion* bald behind; in vain he urged, that the event to which they looked forward would be attended with difficulties of its own, which would require all their skill and circumspection. Their determination was fixed. He now perceived the full extent of the Queen's dissimulation, and the selfishness and servility of the Protestant leaders affected him deeply. So hot was the altercation between him and the Earl of Murray on this subject, that an open rupture ensued. He had long looked upon that nobleman, as one of the

most steady and sincere adherents of the reformed cause, and therefore felt the greater disappointment at his conduct. After parting with Murray, Knox wrote him a letter, in which, after recounting various circumstances, he solemnly renounced friendship with a man who preferred his own interest, and the pleasure of his sister, the Queen, to the advancement of religion. He left him henceforward to the guidance of the new counsellors whom he had chosen, and exonerated himself from all future concern in his affairs. This variance, which lasted for two years, was very gratifying to the Queen, who disliked their former familiarity, and failed not, as Knox says, "to cast oil on the flame, until God did quench it by the water of affliction."

Before the dissolution of the parliament, Knox found an opportunity of disburdening his mind in the presence of a large number of the members who attended on his preaching. In his sermon, he addressed himself particularly to the nobility; and praised God, that he had an opportunity of pouring out the sorrows of his heart in their presence, who could attest the truth of all which he said. He appealed

to their consciences, whether he had not, in their greatest extremities exhorted them to depend on God; and assured them of preservation and victory if they preferred his glory to their own lives and secular interests. "I have," said he, "been with you in your most desperate temptations, and in your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St. Johnston, Cupar-Moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart; yea, the dark and dolorous night wherein, all ye, my lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; and God forbid that I ever forget it! What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth? Ye, yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom death and destruction was threatened, that has perished; and 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 you have it in your hands to establish it as you please?" He saw nothing, he said, but a cowardly desertion of Christ's standard. Some had even the effrontery to say,

that they had neither law nor parliament for their religion. They had the authority of God for their religion, the truth of which was independent of human laws; but it was also accepted in this realm, in public parliament; and that parliament, he would maintain, had been as lawful as any ever held in the kingdom. In the conclusion of his discourse, he adverted to the marriage of the Queen, and predicted the consequences to be dreaded if the nobility consented that their sovereign should marry a papist.

Protestants, as well as papists, were offended with the freedom of this discourse; and the Queen was greatly incensed to think, after surmounting so many obstacles, and subduing the spirit of the barons, there should be one man of obscure condition, who ventured to condemn her proceedings; and as she could not tame his stubbornness, she determined to punish his temerity. Knox was ordered instantly to appear before her. Lord Ochiltree and several gentlemen accompanied him to the palace, but Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus, was alone permitted to go with him into the royal presence.

When he was last in her presence at Lochlevin, she had treated him with great civility, and even familiarity; but now her manner was entirely changed. After he entered, her first words were, "Never had any prince been handled as she was." And then spoke of his severe censures of her and her uncles; saying, that she had sought his favour by all means, and had offered unto him an audience, whenever he pleased to admonish her. "And yet," said she, "I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I shall be once revenged." On pronouncing these words, she burst into a flood of tears, which interrupted her speech. As soon as she had composed herself, Knox proceeded to make his defence. He remarked, that although they had had frequent controversies, he had never before perceived that she was offended with him. He said, if she could only be freed from those errors in which she had been educated, he trusted that her majesty would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. Out of the pulpit, he thought few had occasion to be offended with him; but *there* he was not his own master, but bound to obey *Him* who commanded him to speak plainly,

and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth. "But," said she, "what have you to do with my marriage? Or what are *you* in this commonwealth?" "A subject, born within the same, madam," replied the reformer; "and although I am neither, earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me, (how abject soever in your eyes,) a profitable member of the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience require plainness of me. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say, that which I spake in a 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 lies, to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end, do small comfort to yourself." At these words, the Queen began again to weep and sob with great bitterness. The superintendent, who was of a mild and gentle spirit, tried to mitigate her grief and resentment. He praised her beauty and accomplishments, and told her that there was not a prince in Europe who

would not reckon himself happy in having her hand. During this scene, the severe and inflexible mind of the reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the Queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that he never took delight in the distress of any creature; it was with great difficulty he could see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults, far less could he rejoice in her Majesty's tears; but since he had given her no just reason of offence, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears rather than hurt his own conscience, and betray the commonwealth through his silence. This apology inflamed the Queen still more, who ordered him immediately to leave her presence, and wait the signification of her pleasure in an adjoining room. There he stood as "one whom men had never seen;" all his friends, Lord Ochiltree excepted, being afraid to show him the smallest countenance. In this situation he addressed himself to the court ladies, who were present: "O ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and that in the end you might pass into heaven

with all this gay gear." Thus he engaged them in conversation until Erskine came and informed him, that he was allowed to go home until her Majesty had taken further advice.

The Queen insisted to know of the lords of Articles, whether the words uttered in the sermon were not actionable; but they persuaded her to desist from a prosecution. The laconic remark of Knox was, "and so that storm was quieted in appearance, but never in heart."

Nothing can exceed the severity of censure, which has been passed on Knox for his insensibility and inhumanity, in remaining unmoved, "while youth, beauty, and royal dignity," were dissolved in tears before him. But while it may be admitted, that the sensibilities of our reformer were not of the most delicate kind, yet who that knows the weakness of most men, in such circumstances, can withhold admiration and even veneration from the man, whose stern integrity, not even the tears of a young and beautiful Queen could cause to swerve from the path of duty?

The Queen sought every opportunity now to be revenged on Knox, and her sycophants were not backward in seconding her malicious

design to injure the reformer. At first, a base calumny against the purity of his moral character was circulated, by a certain woman in Edinburg; but when a committee of the General Assembly called her before them, she utterly denied that she had ever vented any such slander. The truth of her having done so, was proved by many witnesses. This having failed to injure his reputation, an occurrence took place, which laid the foundation of a serious accusation against him. Some Protestants being under accusation for a riotous entrance into the royal chapel, while mass was celebrated, Knox was requested to write a circular letter to the principal Protestant gentlemen, to request their attendance, at the trial. This letter came into the hands of Sinclair, bishop of Ross, who sent it to the Queen at Stirling. She communicated it to the Privy Council, who, to her great satisfaction, pronounced it treasonable; but to give greater solemnity to the proceedings, it was resolved, that an extraordinary meeting of the counselors and other noblemen, should be held at Edinburg, in the end of December, to try the

cause. Before this convention the reformer was summoned to appear.

Previous to the day of trial, great pains were taken to intimidate him, and to induce him to acknowledge his fault, and throw himself upon the Queen's mercy. This he peremptorily refused to do. The master of Maxwell, afterwards lord Herries, with whom he had long been intimate, threatened him with the loss of his friendship, and told him that he would repent of it, if he did not submit to the Queen, for men could not bear with him as they had heretofore done. He replied, that he did not understand such language. He had never opposed her majesty, except in the article of religion, and surely it was not meant that he should bow to her in that matter. If God stood by him, which he was sure he would do as long as he confided in him, and preferred his glory to his own life, he regarded little how men should behave towards him; nor did he know wherein they had borne with him, unless in hearing the word of God from his mouth, which if they would reject, he would mourn for them, but the danger should be their own.

The Earl of Murray and Secretary Maitland, also laboured with him to the same end. They represented the pains which they had taken to mitigate the Queen's resentment; and that nothing could save him, but a timely submission. He gave them the same answer, that he would never confess a fault when he was conscious of none. That he had not learned to call every thing treason, which was so called by the multitude, nor to fear what they feared. The wily secretary endeavoured to involve him in a dispute, that he might elicit the nature of the defence which he meant to set up; but Knox was too discerning to be thus caught, and told him plainly, that it would be foolish to entrust with his defence one who had already prejudged his cause.

On the day of trial, the public anxiety was greatly excited, and all the avenues to the palace were crowded with people who waited to learn the result. The accused was conducted to the chamber, where the lords were assembled. When the Queen had taken her seat, and perceived Knox standing unmoved at the foot of the table, she burst into a loud fit of laughter. "That man," she said, "had

made her weep, and shed never a tear himself. She would now see if she could make him weep." The secretary opened the proceedings, and a copy of the circular was produced, to say whether he acknowledged that to be his hand-writing. He looked at it, and said that it was; and though he had subscribed a number of blanks, he had such confidence in the fidelity of the scribe, that he was ready to acknowledge both the subscription and contents. The Queen took upon herself very much the conducting of the trial, assisted by her secretary Maitland. Every effort was made, to bring the accused to a confession of some fault, but he stood firm and unmoved, and defended himself against all their charges, with calmness and dignity. The fact was, that the circular contained nothing, having the semblance of treason. The only word in it which furnished the least pretext for such an accusation, was, in the following sentence, "This fearful summons is directed against them (the two persons indicted) to make no doubt a preparative on a few, to open a door to execute *cruelty* on a greater multitude." But Knox defended his attributing cruelty to the papists,

so strongly, that the lords spoke out in confirmation of what he said. When the vote was taken, all voted that the accused had violated no law of that realm, except only the immediate dependents of the Queen.

The secretary, who had assured the Queen of his condemnation, was excessively chagrined and mortified upon hearing the sentence of acquittal, and again brought her majesty into the court, and proceeded to call the votes a second time in her presence. This attempt to overawe them, incensed the nobility. What said they, "shall the laird of Lethington have power to control us? Or shall the presence of a woman, cause us to offend, and condemn an innocent man against our consciences?" With this they repeated their votes, absolving him from all offence, and praising his modest demeanour, and judicious defence.

Mary was unable to conceal her mortification and displeasure, at this unexpected acquittal. And nothing affected her more than to observe that the Bishop of Ross, who had been the informer, voted with the majority. She could not refrain from reproaching him for his conduct. The Bishop replied, that she could not

but know that it was not partiality to the accused, which influenced his vote.

Thus ended this malign, but impotent prosecution, to the increased honour of the reformer, and to the disgrace and confusion of his enemies.



PERIOD VII.

FROM HIS ACQUITTAL FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON, BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL, IN THE YEAR 1563, TO HIS BEING STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY, 1570.

THE indignation of the Queen, on account of the acquittal of Knox, was not easily appeased, and she caused her displeasure to be felt by those who had taken any part in this business. Murray and Maitland made another effort to induce the reformer to make some kind of submission to her, which might tend to pacify her; but this he again positively refused. Disappointed in this, they circulated rumours to his disadvantage, as that he had written the circular, before-mentioned, without being requested to do so; and that he was endeavouring to lord it over the Scottish Church, by

exercising a kind of papal authority over his brethren. No charge could have been more groundless; for there never was, perhaps, any one, who had so much influence, that was more careful of assuming authority, or acting by his own authority in matters of public and common concern. He, therefore, when the General Assembly met, took no part in the discussions of that body; but, when other matters were disposed of, he asked liberty to make a statement which concerned himself; when he gave a particular account of all that he had done, and requested their judgment in the case. The courtiers opposed its being taken up, but the Assembly determined to consider it; and, after a full examination, gave it as their opinion, that Knox had been commissioned to act as he did, and that he had not, in any respect, gone beyond the bounds of his commission.

Knox had now been a widower for three years, when, in March 1564, he contracted a second marriage with Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman of amiable disposition; and who had adhered to our reformer when he was forsaken by his other friends. She continued to discharge

the duties of a wife to him until the time of his death.

During the year 1564, things remained at peace in the country; but the jealousies between the court and the Protestant Church continued. The Queen's prejudices against the reformed religion were unabated, and she maintained a correspondence with its sworn enemies, on the continent, which did not altogether escape the vigilance of her Protestant subjects. The preachers, on their side, did not relax in their zealous warnings against popery. The court was uneasy under their reproaches, and endeavoured to restrain the license of the pulpit, and, by their persuasions, gained over to their views some of the more moderate. Having so far succeeded, they ventured to propose the matter more publicly, and to request the sanction of the leading members of the Assembly. This matter was discussed in conference with them, and a long debate ensued between Maitland and Knox, on the principal points of his doctrine, which gave offence to the court. This controversy has been recorded at large by Knox, in his *History of the Reformation*, an abstract of

which is given by Dr. M'Crie, in his "Life of Knox." It will be sufficient for our purpose, to remark, that the objections made to him, related both to his prayers and preaching. In the former, Maitland said, that he prayed for the Queen's conversion conditionally, and spoke of her as under the bondage of Satan. The offence given by his preaching, related to Knox's doctrine respecting the limited authority of princes. This controversy, however, answered no valuable end; the sentiments of the members being divided, they broke up without coming to any determinate resolution.

In the month of August, Knox went, by the appointment of the General Assembly, as visiter of the churches in Aberdeen, and the north, where he remained six or seven weeks. The subsequent Assembly gave him a similar appointment for Fife and Perthshire.

Our reformer's predictions, at the last meeting of parliament, were now fully verified. Another parliament was held in 1564, but nothing was done for the securing the free exercise of the Protestant religion. The Queen's marriage approached, and the lords demanded this, on the condition of their con-

sent; but she artfully evaded the demand, and accomplished her object. She sent for the superintendents of Lothian, Glasgow, and Fife, and amused them with fair words. She was not yet persuaded, she said, of the truth of their religion, but she was willing to hear conference and reasoning on the subject. She was even content to attend the public sermons of some of them; and above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, for he was a mild and sweet natured man, with true honesty and uprightness, Sir John Erskine of Dun. But as soon as her marriage with Lord Darnley was over, she told them, in very plain and determined language, "her majesty neither will nor may leave the religion wherein she has been nourished and brought up." And no more was heard about conference or hearing sermons.

In the beginning of the year 1565, the friendship between the earl of Murray and Knox was renewed. The latter was placed in very delicate circumstances by the insurrection, under the former and the other lords who opposed the Queen's marriage. His father-in-law was one of the number. They

professed that the security of the Protestant religion was one of the principal grounds of their taking arms; and they came to Edinburg to collect men for their standard. But whatever favour our reformer might entertain for them, he kept himself clear of all engagements. If he had taken any part in this unsuccessful revolt, no doubt the Queen would have brought him to punishment, when all his principal friends were obliged to flee the kingdom. Indeed upon a far lighter charge she proceeded against him; for one day when the King attended his ministry, at St. Giles' church, the preacher happened in his discourse to cite that passage, "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them; children are their oppressors, and women rule over them." And in the same discourse he mentioned, that God punished Ahab because he did not correct his idolatrous wife, Jezebel. Though no particular application was made by the preacher, the King applied these passages to the Queen and himself; and returning to the palace in great wrath, refused to eat his dinner. The papists who attended him, were not wanting in their efforts

to inflame his resentment, and that of the Queen, by their representations. That very afternoon, Knox was taken from his bed, and carried before the Privy Council. Some respectable persons accompanied him to the palace. He was told that he had offended the King, and must desist from preaching, as long as their majestics were in Edinburg. He replied, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him to preach or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him. The report of this inhibition, laid upon the reformer, created great agitation in the city. His colleague, who was appointed to supply his place during the suspension, threatened to desist entirely from preaching. The town council met, and appointed a deputation to wait on their Majesties, and request the removal of the inhibition; and in a second meeting, on the same day, they came to a unanimous resolution, that "they would in no manner of way, consent, or grant that his mouth be closed; but that he should be desired, at his pleasure, and as God should move his heart to proceed forward to true doctrine,

as before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end." This suspension, however, was short, for the king and queen left Edinburg before the next Sabbath. Upon their return, it is probable the court judged it unadvisable to enforce an order which had already created much discontent, and might alienate the minds of the people still further from the present administration. And so he went on in the exercise of his ministry, as before.

Christopher Goodman, who was minister of St. Andrews, was induced by the solicitation of his friends in England, to return, about this time, to his native country. The commissioners from St. Andrews were instructed to petition the General Assembly, which met in December of this year, that Knox should be translated from Edinburg to their city. They claimed a right to him, as he had commenced his ministry among them; and they supposed that the dissensions between him and the court would induce him to prefer a more retired situation. But their petition did not meet with success; for the Assembly would not consent that he should leave Edin-

burg, where the attachment to his ministry was exceedingly strong, and where his influence was most necessary to the Protestant cause.

The General Assembly commissioned him, this year, to visit the south of Scotland; and he was directed to write a kind of pastoral letter, exhorting the ministers, exhorters, and readers, throughout the kingdom, to persevere in the discharge of their functions, which many of them were threatening to throw up, on account of the non-payment of their stipends; and to excite the people to relieve their ministers. Knox was also appointed to draw up "The form of Excommunication," and "Public Repentance;" and also a treatise on "Fasting." He and his colleagues were also intrusted with drawing up a statement relative to a general fast to be kept through the kingdom, in consideration of the troubles of the country, and the dangers which threatened the whole Protestant interest. This paper was intended to explain the nature of the duty, and the reasons which, at this time, called for its solemn exercise, and to be a directory to the ministers, in every part of the country

This treatise is extant, and does credit to the compilers, both as to matter and form.

Strong as their apprehensions were, the danger was nearer than they imagined. The most powerful and zealous Protestants being exiled, the Queen determined to carry into execution, the design which she had never lost sight of; and while she amused the nation with proclamations against altering the received religion, and tantalized the clergy with promises of more adequate support, she was preparing for the immediate restoration of the Roman Catholic worship. The King openly professed himself a papist, and great efforts were made to bring over the nobility. And their success was alarming; for the Earls of Lenox, Cassilis, and Caithness, with Lords Montgomery and Seton, already declared themselves in favour of the Roman Catholic religion. The friars, to gain the favour of the populace, began to imitate the manner of the Protestant preachers; and some of them were appointed to officiate, in this service, at Holyrood House.

In the month of February, 1566, a message arrived from the Cardinal of Lorraine, with a

copy of the league for the general extirpation of the Protestants, and instructions to obtain the Queen's subscription to the same, and her consent to proceed to extremities against the exiled nobles. Mary scrupled not to set her hand to this league; and the exiled noblemen were summoned to appear before the parliament on the 12th of March. The lords of the Articles were chosen, according to the Queen's pleasure; the popish ecclesiastics were restored to their place in parliament; and the altars to be erected in St. Giles's for the Roman Catholic worship, were prepared. But these measures were blasted, when ripe for execution, by a secret engagement entered into by the King, with the Protestant nobles. The first effect of this engagement was, the assassination of Rizio, an unworthy favourite of the Queen, who was the principal instigator of the measures against the Protestant religion and the banished lords; and had incurred the jealousy of the King, the contempt of the nobility, and the hatred of the people. The removal of this minion from the counsels and favour of the Queen, would have been a meritorious act; but the manner in which it was accomplished,

was marked with the barbarous manners of the age, and cannot be justified.

A complete change now took place in the court. The popish counsellors fled from the palace; the banished lords returned from England, and the parliament was prorogued, without accomplishing any of the objects for which it was convened. But the Queen soon persuaded the weak and uxorious King to desert the noblemen, and disown, by a proclamation, his consent to the late attempt, and to retire with her to Dunbar, by which he exposed himself to the contempt of the nation, without regaining her affections. Having collected an army, she returned to Edinburg, threatening vengeance to all who had been accessory to the murder of her secretary, and the indignity shown to her person. She found herself unable, however, to carry on her scheme for the alteration of the public religion; and was forced, from policy, to pardon Murray and the other lords, who had opposed her marriage.

When the Queen came to Edinburg, Knox left the place and went to Kyle. There is no reason for supposing, that he had any know-

ledge of the conspiracy, which proved fatal to Rizio. But it is not improbable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which signally contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators. However this might be, he was, on other grounds, sufficiently obnoxious to the displeasure of the Queen; so that it was deemed prudent for him to withdraw. The Queen now determined that he should not return; and resisted all the importunities of the town council and his people, to obtain his restoration. She aimed, indeed, at banishing him from the kingdom, and wrote to a nobleman in the west, where he lodged, to banish him from his house. And it does not appear that he returned again to Edinburg, until the Queen was deprived of her government. Being thus banished from his flock, he thought it would be a favourable opportunity of visiting England, to which he was strongly induced by parental affection; for his two sons had been sent into that kingdom, to obtain their education, in some of the English seminaries. He obtained a safe conduct, and a recommendation from the General Assem-

bly, who gave their consent to his journey, on condition that he should return before their next meeting, in June. He was charged with a letter from the Assembly, to the bishops and ministers of England, interceding for lenity to such of their brethren as scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress, enjoined by the laws. At this time, the controversy on this subject was very warm among the English clergy. Knox himself, was the writer of this letter, and it is probable that the measure was suggested by himself; for he knew how to sympathize with conscientious men who were suffering on this account; for he could not have forgotten the trouble which he himself had suffered, on a similar ground. This interposition did not obtain for them any relief. Even if the superior clergy had been willing to relax, in this particular, Elizabeth was inflexible, and would listen neither to the supplications of her bishops, nor the advice of her counsellors. Knox's good opinion of the English Queen was not improved, by his visit.

Before setting off on his journey to England, the Queen had, on the 23d of December, granted a commission to the archbishop of St.

Andrews, under the privy seal, restoring him to his ancient jurisdiction, which had been abolished in 1560, by act of parliament. The Protestants could not but be alarmed at this bold measure, evidently intended to be preparatory to the restoration of the popish religion; and to facilitate another dark design, which was soon afterwards disclosed. The reformer, upon hearing of this, moved as well by his own zeal, as the advice of his brethren, addressed a circular letter to the principal Protestants, in the kingdom; requesting their immediate advice, on the measures proper to be adopted, on this occasion, and inclosing a copy of a supplication proposed to be presented to the Queen. This letter discovers all the ardour of the writer's spirit, called forth by this alarming occurrence. The supplication of the General Assembly to the lords of the privy council, also bears the marks of the reformer's pen.

Whilst Knox was in England, that tragedy, so well known in Scottish history, was transacted, which led to a complete revolution in the government of the kingdom, and contrary to the designs of the actors, threw the power

into the hands of the Protestants. Mary's affection for her husband, which had cooled soon after their marriage, after the death of Rizio, was converted into a deadly hatred, which she was at little pains to conceal. And in proportion as her mind was alienated from the King, the unprincipled earl of Bothwell grew in her favour. He engrossed the whole management of public affairs, and was treated by her majesty with every mark of regard and affection. In these circumstances, the neglected unhappy King, was decoyed to Edinburg, lodged in a solitary building, at the extremity of the city, and murdered on the night of February 9, 1567: the house in which he lay being blown up with gunpowder. The dispute, respecting the real perpetrators of the deed, is not yet settled; and it would be foreign to our purpose to enter into it. But that Bothwell was the contriver of it, cannot admit of a doubt, with any impartial and reasonable inquirer. And that the Queen was in some way accessory to the deed, needs no other proof, than the indecent haste with which she admitted the murderer of her husband to her bed. To which many other

proofs from letters and depositions, sufficient to satisfy any candid mind, might be added.

Knox being absent from Edinburg, his colleague was required to publish the bands of matrimony between the Queen and Bothwell; on which occasion, he gave an illustrious example of his courage and integrity. For after taking the advice of his session, he protested from the pulpit, on three several days, that the marriage was unlawful; and took heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous; and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the Queen from taking a step, which would cover her with infamy. Being called before the council, and accused of having exceeded the bounds of his commission, he boldly replied, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason, to all of which the proposed marriage was contrary. And Bothwell being present, he charged him with the crime of adultery, and with the murder of the king. This conduct of John Craig was worthy of the intrepidity of Knox himself and is a lasting monument to the honour of

this distinguished man; for, when he thus boldly denounced the guilty in high places, almost every other tongue was silent, through fear.

Knox returned, at the time prescribed, and was present at the General Assembly, which met in June 1567, and was commissioned to go into the west, to endeavour to bring over the Hamiltons and others, to join with the lords of the convention, and to attend a convention of the delegates of the churches, to be held in July. He was unsuccessful in his mission, but the convention was held, and the nobles, barons, and other commissioners who were present, signed articles, with relation to religion, and the state of the nation.

On the 29th of July, Knox preached the sermon at the coronation of James VI., in the parish church of Stirling: but he objected to the ceremony of *unction*, and therefore this ceremony was performed by the bishop of Orkney. After the coronation, Knox and some others requested authentic extracts of the proceedings.

What ought to be done with the Queen, now confined by the lords, in the castle of

Lochlevin, was a matter concerning which, there were various opinions; for while some proposed that she should leave the kingdom; some that she should be imprisoned for life; others insisted, that she ought to suffer capital punishment. Of this last opinion was Knox, with almost all the ministers, and the great body of the people. This opinion was grounded on the belief, that she was really guilty of murder and adultery, to both which the punishment of death was affixed by the law of God, and of nations. From this penalty persons of rank could plead no exemption. Knox scrupled not publicly to maintain, that the estates of the kingdom ought to bring Mary to a trial, and if she was found guilty of the murder of her husband, and an adulterous connexion with Bothwell, that she ought to be put to death.

The earl of Murray being now established in the regency, directed his attention, at an early period to the settlement of religion, and redressing the principal grievances of which the church had complained. At the meeting of the parliament, in December, he nominated certain barons, and commissioners of boroughs,

to digest such overtures as were proper to be laid before the parliament. With them, he joined Knox, and four other ministers. This committee met in December, and sat until the opening of the parliament. The record of their proceedings is preserved, both as to civil and ecclesiastical affairs; but as many of their propositions were not adopted by parliament, the document is only useful as showing the views entertained by a number of the most serious and zealous men of that time.

On the 15th of December, Knox preached at the opening of the parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion, in which case they would find better success with their other business. This parliament ratified all the acts which had been passed in 1560, in favour of the Protestant religion and against popery; and added new statutes of a similar kind. In these it was provided, that no prince should hereafter be admitted to the exercise of authority in the kingdom, without taking an oath to maintain the Protestant religion; and that none but Protestants should be admitted to any office, not hereditary, nor held for life. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the

different assemblies of the Church, was formally ratified, and commissioners appointed to define more exactly, the causes which properly came within the sphere of their judgment. Provision was also made for the more punctual payment of the stipends of the ministers, and funds appropriated for the maintenance of poor scholars.

Knox was appointed one of the commissioners for ascertaining and defining the exact limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He was also appointed by the General Assembly, with others, to consult with the Regent and council, on such ecclesiastical matters as might require attention after the dissolution of the Assembly. He was also appointed to assist the superintendent of Lothian in his visitation; and afterwards to visit the churches of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham.

During the regency of Murray, there was no collision between Church and State, nor any complaints to the General Assembly, as there had been before, and which were afterwards renewed. It is true, that all the grievances of which they complained, were not redressed; and the provision for such an ec-

clesiastical establishment as the nation required, was far from being adequate; but the Régent paid a gracious attention to the petitions presented to him, and discovered a disposition to grant their requests, as far as was in his power. And if the parliament had always seconded his efforts and adopted his plans, a sufficient provision would have been made, both for the support of religion and learning.

It must have afforded unspeakable satisfaction to the mind of this man of God, to see matters in Scotland placed in that situation which he desired, and for which he had indefatigably laboured and patiently suffered for so many years. Superstition and ignorance were happily overthrown and dispelled; true religion was established; the supreme government of the nation was in the hands of one in whose wisdom and integrity he had the greatest confidence. The Church was freed from many of those grievances under which she had hitherto groaned, and enjoyed the prospect of obtaining the redress of such as still remained. The work on which his heart had been so ardently set for so long a period, and for the success of which he had so often trembled, had

prospered beyond his most sanguine expectation. He now congratulated himself on being released from all burden of public affairs, and spending the remainder of his days in religious meditation, and in preparation for that event of which his increasing infirmities admonished him. He even secretly cherished the wish of resigning his charge in Edinburg, and retiring to that privacy, from which he had been drawn at the commencement of the Scottish Reformation.

But these halcyon days were not to be of long continuance. New trials of a public nature awaited him. He was yet to see the security of the reformed religion endangered, and the country involved in another civil war, even more distressing than the former, inasmuch as the principal persons on each side were Protestants by profession.

From the time that the government was transferred from Mary to her infant son, and the Earl of Murray appointed Regent, a number of the nobility, with the house of Hamilton at their head, stood aloof and refused to acknowledge his authority. Upon the escape of the Queen from imprisonment, they rallied

around her standard, and avowed the design of restoring her to the full exercise of the royal authority. In consequence of the defeat at Langside, Mary was driven from the kingdom, and her party broken; and the Regent reduced the whole kingdom to a state of obedience to the King's authority. His enemies, despairing of accomplishing their object while he lived, resolved to cut him off by private means. During the year 1568, two persons were employed to assassinate the Regent; but the design was discovered. This did not prevent new machinations. Hamilton, nephew of the bishop of St. Andrews, undertook to perpetrate the deed. This man may be held up to view as an extraordinary instance of ingratitude. He was among the prisoners taken at the battle of Langside, and after being arraigned, condemned, and brought out to execution, his life was given to him by the Regent; and some time after he was set at liberty with the other prisoners. It is said, that he was actuated by revenge for a supposed injury which he had received, by detaining one of his forfeited estates. Whether this was really the case, or was afterwards circulated to

diminish the odium of his crime, cannot now be certainly known. But there is no evidence that he ever suffered any thing from the Regent, which could in any measure cancel the debt of gratitude which he owed him. Having concerted his plan with some of the leading men of his party, he followed the Regent in his progress to Stirling, Glasgow, and Linlithgow; and finding an opportunity, in the last of these places, he shot him through the body with a musket-ball. The wound proved mortal, and the Regent died the same evening. While some of his friends who stood around his bed, and lamented the excessive lenity which he had shown to his enemies, and in particular to his murderer, he replied, with a truly noble and Christian spirit, "that nothing should make him repent an act of clemency."

The distress occasioned by the fall of this excellent man was deep and almost universal. Many of those who envied or hated him during his life, were now forward to do justice to his virtues. The common people who had experienced the beneficial effects of his short administration, to a degree altogether unprecedented in the country, felt as if each had lost a

father, and loudly demanded vengeance against the authors of the parricide. And even those who at first rejoiced at the intelligence of his death, became ashamed of the exultation which they had indecently expressed. The Hamiltons took pains to clear themselves from any participation in a murder so universally detested. The murderer was dismissed by them, and was glad to conceal his ignominy and avoid the vengeance of an incensed nation, by condemning himself to perpetual banishment. And the only crime for which his uncle, the archbishop of St. Andrews, expressed any contrition before his execution, was his being accessory to the murder of the Regent. Nor were these feelings of grief confined to Scotland; the sensation was general throughout England; and the expressions of sorrow and condolence from that kingdom evinced the uncommon esteem in which he was held by all ranks.

It was the happiness of the Regent, that in his early years, he fell into the hands of men who cultivated his vigorous intellect, and gave a right direction to his activity, and instilled into his mind the principles of religion and

virtue. His early adoption of the reformed religion, and his steady adherence to it in the most trying times, as well as the uniform correctness of his morals, his integrity, sagacity, and enterprising but cool courage, place him in the first rank among the friends of the reformation of religion, and of civil and religious liberty. Accordingly his worth was duly appreciated by all who took a lead in this glorious work, and secured to him their cordial and unbounded confidence. Though often placed in situations which would have tempted the ambition of others, he never took any steps to obtain for himself the supreme authority. When he accepted the Regency, it was in compliance with the decided and uncorrupted voice of the majority of the nation, pointing him out as the fittest person to occupy that high station. And his conduct in this most delicate and embarrassing situation, showed that his countrymen were not mistaken in their choice. He united, in no ordinary degree, those qualities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which make up the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he

reduced the country to universal obedience to the King's authority by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprizes, he never tarnished the laurels of victory by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. His uncommon liberality to his friends, to the learned, to his servants, and his unostentatious charity to the poor, have been celebrated by the distinguished Scottish historian and poet, Buchanan, who had the best opportunities of being acquainted with him. As to his exemplary piety, it shone forth with uniform, consistent, and brilliant rays. His family was so regulated as to resemble a church rather than a court. Besides the ordinary exercise of devotion, a chapter of the Bible was always read at dinner, and another at supper; and it was his custom on such occasions, to require his chaplain or some other learned man to expound the passage read for his own instruction and that of his family. "A man truly good," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "and worthy to be ranked among the best governors that this kingdom hath en-

joyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of '*the good Regent.*' "

A very different character has been given of this distinguished man by more than one of our modern historians. All that I have attempted is, to sketch the most prominent features of his character. That he was without faults is not pretended; but the principal charges brought against him are false, irrelevant, or greatly exaggerated.

The Regent died on the evening of Saturday, and the intelligence reached Edinburg early next morning. It is impossible to describe the anguish which Knox felt on the occasion. A long and intimate friendship had long subsisted between them. Of all the Scottish nobility, he placed the greatest confidence in Murray's attachment to religion; and his conduct after his elevation to the Regency had served to heighten the good opinion which he had formerly entertained of him. He looked upon his death as the greatest calamity which could befall the nation, and the precursor of other evils. After the tumult of his feelings had in a measure subsided, the first thought which rushed into his mind was, that he him-

self had been the instrument of obtaining from his clemency a pardon for the man who had become his murderer; which, however, produced a very different impression on his mind from what it did on the dying regent. In his sermon that day, he introduced this subject; and after saying, that God in his great mercy raised up godly rulers, and took them away in his displeasure on account of the sins of a nation, he thus poured out the sorrows of his heart in an address to God. "O Lord in what misery and confusion found he this realm! To what rest and quietness now, by his labours he suddenly brought the same, all estates, but especially the poor can witness. Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abide it; and so to punish our sins and our ingratitude, who did not rightly esteem this precious gift, thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest, O Lord, we are left in extreme misery."

Soon after the death of the Regent, in order to lessen the odium which had devolved on

his enemies, an account of a pretended conference between him and certain leading noblemen, was circulated. In which they were represented as advising him to set aside the young King, and place the crown on his own head. This paper was ingeniously contrived, for the peculiar modes of speech of each individual were artfully imitated, and gave it a greater air of probability. But it was universally regarded as a forgery, at once gross and impudent. The author was Thomas Maitland, a young man of talents, and brother of the Secretary, by whom, doubtless, he was corrupted; for he was strongly suspected of having a deep hand in the plot for cutting off the Regent. This young man, also, at the next meeting for weekly conference in Edinburgh, handed up to the pulpit a note containing these words, "Take up now the man whom you accounted as a God, and consider the end to which his ambition has brought him." Knox read the paper, supposing that it was a request for prayer to be offered in behalf of some person; but when he saw what it was, he laid it aside; but when he had nearly finished his sermon, he deplored the loss which

the Church had sustained, and also the commonwealth, and declared that the account of a pretended conference which had been circulated, was false and calumnious. Then he proceeded to remark, "that there were persons who rejoiced at the treasonable murder, and scrupled not to make it the subject of their merriment. Particularly," he said, "there was one present, who had thrown in a writing exulting over an event which was the cause of grief to all good men." "That wicked man," said he, "whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where there shall be none to lament him." Maitland, when he returned home, said to his sister, that the preacher was raving to speak in such a manner of one whom he knew not; but she understanding that he had written the line, reproved him, saying with tears, "that none of that man's denunciations were wont to prove idle." Spottiswood, who had this information from the mouth of the lady herself, says, "that Maitland died in Italy, having no known persons to attend him."

On Tuesday the 14th of February, 1569 the Regent's corpse was brought from the palace of Holyrood-house, and interred in the

south aisle of the collegiate church of St. Giles. Knox preached a sermon on the occasion, on the words, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." Three thousand persons were dissolved in tears before him, while he described the Regent's virtues and bewailed his loss.

Buchanan paid his tribute to the memory of the deceased by writing the inscription placed on his monument, with that expressive simplicity and brevity, which are dictated by genuine grief. This inscription, engraved on brass, is yet to be seen. A convention of the nobility was held, after the funeral, in which it was resolved to avenge his death; but there was a difference of opinion, as to the best method of doing this. And the common people complained loudly of the remissness with which the resolution was carried into execution.

The General Assembly, at their first meeting, after this event, testified their detestation of the crime, by ordering the assassin to be publicly excommunicated in all the chief towns of the kingdom; and ordered the same to be done towards all who should be convicted of being accessory to the conspiracy.

Knox received a number of letters from

England, expressive of the high regard which was entertained for the character of the Regent, and their sorrow at so grievous a loss. One of his correspondents, Dr. Laurence Humphrey, urged him to write a memoir of the deceased. But the state of the Reformer's health rendered it impracticable for him to perform this service.

The grief which preyed on the feeling mind of Knox in consequence of this mournful event, and the confusion which followed it, preyed on his spirit and injured his health. And in the month of October, he had a stroke of apoplexy, 'or paralysis, which affected his speech considerably. Upon this occasion his enemies exulted, and circulated the most exaggerated stories.

PERIOD VIII.

FROM HIS PARALYTIC STROKE IN 1570, TO HIS DEATH IN 1572.

THOSE who flattered themselves that the reformer's disorder was mortal were disappointed, for he convalesced, recovered the use of his speech, and was able to resume preaching,

at least on the Sabbath ; he never, however, recovered from the debility which was produced by the stroke.

Great confusion ensued upon the death of the Regent. The country was divided into two factions, one of which adhered to the Queen, and the other, to which the Protestants generally belonged, adhered to the interests of the young King. Knox had about this time a violent quarrel with Kircaldy of Grange, the governor of the castle of Edinburg, who had been a warm friend of the reformation, but now took part with the queen. Knox offended this nobleman by some remarks in a sermon respecting a riot which his servants had excited, and which Grange considered as bearing hard upon him. One of his servants had been imprisoned on the charge of murder, and he sent and had the prison broken open, and the prisoner rescued ; on which occasion Knox made the remarks which gave offence. And afterwards Grange, who had not been in his church for a year, came with a number of his friends to hear Knox ; who understanding it to be a kind of bravado, and intended to intimidate him, went on to remark with severity

on the sin of forgetting God's benefits, and warned his hearers against confiding in the divine mercy while they were knowingly transgressing any of his commandments, or proudly defending their transgressions. Grange considering these remarks as pointed at himself, was much incensed, and in speaking of the preacher, made use of very threatening language. The report of this spread far through the country, and the governor received letters from noblemen of the west, warning him not to do any thing to the injury of a man, whom God had made the first planter and chief waterer of the church among them; and protested that his life was as dear to them as their own. Knox was not to be intimidated from doing what he believed to be his duty, and continued to warn his hearers against all persons who supported the Queen's pretensions, or prevented the punishment of evil doers. When the General Assembly met in 1571, many anonymous and threatening libels were thrown into the house, directed against him, which his friends wished him not to notice; but he took them into the pulpit, and distinctly answered every charge

which they contained. The Assembly noticed the matter also, by intimating, that if any had charges to bring against him, they would come forward and accuse him, but none ventured to appear; still the anonymous libels were continued. One of the principal things of which he was accused was, that in his sermons he charged the Queen with horrible crimes, and had railed against her. As to the railing he denied it, but admitted that he had charged the Queen with the crimes which she had committed; that he had learned plainly and boldly to call wickedness by its own terms, "a fig, a fig, and a spade a spade." He had never called her a reprobate, nor said that her repentance was impossible; but he had said, that pride and repentance could not remain long together in one heart. He had prayed, he said, that God would oppose his power to her pride, and confound her and her assistants in their impiety. This prayer, let them call it imprecation or execration, let them call it what they pleased, had stricken, and would strike whoever supported her. To the charge of not praying for her, he answered, "I am not bound to pray for her in this place, for sovereign to me

she is not, and I let them understand that I am not a man of law, that has my tongue to sell for silver, or favour of the world. What title she now had, or ever had he would not dispute: the estates deprived her of it, and it belonged to them to answer for this. As for himself he had hitherto lived in obedience to all lawful authority within this kingdom.”

After this, his enemies returned to the old theme of his *Blast*, as the most vulnerable point in his character, and accused him of inconsistency in denying the right of females to rule, and yet praying as he did, for Queen Elizabeth. He took up this matter also in the pulpit, and defended himself with great spirit.

The conduct of Knox, about this time, furnishes striking evidence of the unextinguishable ardour of his mind. He was so debilitated in body, that he never went abroad, except to preach in the forenoon. He had given up attendance on church courts. He withdrew his attention also, from public affairs. But whenever he saw the welfare of the Church and Commonwealth threatened, he forgot his resolutions and infirmities, and entered into the cause with all the vigour and keenness of his

younger days. Or, whenever his own conduct was attacked, he convinced his enemies that they could not accomplish their designs without opposition, as long as he was able to move a tongue. His situation in Edinburg became very critical when Grange received the Hamiltons into the castle of Edinburg; for their inveteracy against him was so great, that his friends were obliged to watch his house during the night. They wished also to form a guard for him when he went out, but the governor of the castle forbade this. Intimations were often given of designs against his life; and one evening as he sat in his house, a musket ball was fired in at the window, and lodged in the ceiling of the room. It happened that he was sitting at this time in a different part of the room from that which he usually occupied, or the ball would have struck him. His friends, on this, urged him to retire from Edinburg, but he refused to yield to them, apprehending that his enemies wished to intimidate him into flight, that they might accuse him of cowardice. But at length they had recourse to an argument which prevailed. They told him that they were determined to

defend him to the last, but that if blood were shed, he must be answerable for it, as nothing but his obstinacy rendered it necessary. On this he consented, "sore against his will," to leave the city. He chose St. Andrews, as the place of his retreat; and his pulpit was supplied by Alexander Gordon, who, though he preached and prayed in such a manner as to give no offence to the Queen's party, was despised by the people for his weakness, and for supplanting their favourite pastor. The church of Edinburg was for a time dissolved. A great number of the most respectable inhabitants were driven away, or left in dissatisfaction. Even the celebration of the Lord's Supper was suspended. The adherents of the Queen manifested their dislike to the reformer, in every way which they could. They impiously baptized one of the cannon on St. Giles' steeple by the name of Knox, which they were so fond of firing, that it burst, killed two of the party, and wounded others.

Although free from personal danger at St. Andrews, he did not find it as comfortable a retreat as he had expected. His enemies had a considerable party here, who were thorns in

his side, and made his situation uneasy, as long as he resided among them. He continued to denounce the murderers of the late King and Regent, and thus gave great offence to some of their friends who resided at St. Andrews. And they knowing his popularity dared not attack him in public, but privately circulated reports to his disadvantage; which, however, being ridiculously false, were not credited. And he did not refuse to appear before the professors of the university to give an account of his conduct; still reserving to himself the right to vindicate himself in the pulpit. But Knox was not only annoyed by the persecution of the adherents of the Queen, but the course pursued by the courtiers among the Protestants respecting the revenues of the Church, gave him great dissatisfaction. The judgment of the Church had uniformly been that these revenues should be applied to the support of learning and religion, to which objects they were originally consecrated; but the courtiers formed the design of getting them into their own hands. But as the immediate secularization of them was deemed too bold a step, they had incumbents selected, who be-

fore their appointment agreed to make over the principal part of the revenue to such noblemen as had obtained the patronage of them, from the court. But as some of these benefices were attached to the office of Archbishop and Bishop, it was resolved, at a meeting of certain ministers and courtiers, held at Leith in January, 1572, that qualified persons among the ministers should be advanced to these offices, during the minority of the King; but that no greater power should be given to them, than to the superintendents, and that they should be equally subject to the assemblies of the Church. Such was the nature and origin of that species of episcopacy, which was introduced into the Reformed Church of Scotland, in the minority of James VI. It does not appear to have proceeded in any measure, from a predilection for hierarchical government; but from the desire which the courtiers had to secure to themselves the revenues of the Church. These bishops, thus created, received the appellation of the *Tulchan Bishops*; a tulchan is a calf-skin stuffed with straw, to make the cow give her milk.

It has been insinuated, that Knox gave his

assent to the resolutions of the convention at Leith, to restore the episcopal office: and the articles sent by him to the General Assembly, August 1572, have been appealed to as a proof of this. But all that can be determined from these articles is, that he desired the limitations and restrictions agreed upon at this convention to be strictly observed in the election of bishops; in opposition to the appointment of laymen, which in one case had been done. If one of his propositions to the Assembly had been enforced, the revenues would have been retained for the church, which was a thing he had much at heart; but the nobles were able to find in the ministry a sufficient number of pliant, needy, and cautious ministers, to be the partners or the dupes of their avarice.

There is not the least reason to suppose that Knox, had changed his opinion, on the subject of episcopacy, which he had heretofore, so strenuously opposed. This very year, he received a letter from Beza, expressing his satisfaction, that they had banished the order of bishops from the Scottish Church. And in the General Assembly which met this year at St. Andrews, he set himself directly in oppo-

sition to the making of bishops. And when old Mr. Douglas, the provost of the university was appointed archbishop of St. Andrews, he disapproved of the thing greatly, and refused to take any part in the ceremonies of his inauguration; and pronounced an anathema against the donor and the receiver.

While he was engaged in these contests, his bodily strength was every day sensibly decaying; yet he continued to preach although he was unable to walk to the pulpit without assistance. And when he became warmed with his subject, he forgot his weakness, and electrified his audience with his eloquence. James Melville, then a student at St. Andrews, says, that he considered, that one of the richest benefits which he acquired by coming to the university was, the hearing that most notable prophet and apostle of our nation, John Knox. I attended him with my note book and pen. In the opening up of his text, he was moderate, the space of half an hour; but when he came to the application he made me so thrill and tremble, I could not hold a pen to write. He was very weak. I saw him every day, go slowly and warily, with a

fur about his neck, a staff in one hand, and good, godly Richard Ballanden, holding up the other, from the abbey to the parish kirk: and the said Richard Ballanden, and another servant lifted him up to the pulpit, where he behooved to lean at his first entrance; but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous that he was likely to beat the pulpit in pieces, and fly out of it.”

During his stay at St. Andrews, he published a vindication of the reformed religion, against a certain Jesuit, named Tyrie. He had written it in 1568, but now sent it forth to the public, with additions, as a farewell address to the world, and a dying testimony to the truth which he had so long taught and defended. He published also one of the religious letters which he had written to Mrs. Bowes, who had lately departed this life, when he acquainted the public with the principal cause of that intimate Christian friendship which had subsisted between them.

From this time all his letters and writings are full of ardent breathings after the heavenly state. He professes himself weary of the world, and desires to leave it; yet to the last,

his concern for the church continued undiminished; and he put up earnest prayers, that the light of the Gospel might continue with it.

The General Assembly having appointed to meet at Perth, in August, he took leave of them in a letter, along with which he communicated certain articles and questions, which he recommended to their consideration, to which the Assembly returned an answer, expressing their approbation of his propositions, and praying for his preservation and comfort.

The last public service which he performed was examining and approving a sermon which had been lately preached by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. His subscription to this sermon was characteristic of the man, and striking, as was all that he uttered about this time. It is "John Knox, with my *dead hand*, but *glad heart*, praising God, that of his mercy, he leaves such light to his kirk in this desolation."

When, in consequence of a cessation of arms agreed upon between the Regent and the adherents of the Queen, and the city of Edinburgh was abandoned by the latter, and the banished citizens returned, an urgent message

was sent for him to return to his people, which he said he would willingly do, provided they would permit him to speak his mind freely, respecting the traitorous conduct of the party who had held the castle. Accordingly, on the 17th of August, he left St. Andrews, with his family, accompanied by a number of his brethren and acquaintances. Being obliged to travel slowly, it was the 23d of the month before he reached Leith, whence, after resting a day or two he came to Edinburg. The inhabitants enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing him again in the pulpit, but his voice was so enfeebled, that he could not be heard by more than one half of the congregation. No one was more sensible of this than himself, he therefore requested the session to provide him with a smaller house, in which he could be heard if it were only by a hundred persons; for his voice even in his best time, was not able to extend over the multitude which assembled in the large church. This was done according to his wishes.

During his absence a separation had taken place between the congregation and his colleague, John Craig, whom they blamed for

temporizing during the time the Queen's faction retained possession of the castle. He being now gone to another part of the kingdom, Knox was exceedingly desirous to see them supplied with a suitable minister, as a successor; and the General Assembly having given them permission to select a minister for Edinburg from any place in the kingdom, Perth and Dundee excepted, they chose Mr. James Lawson, sub-principal of the college of Aberdeen. This choice was entirely agreeable to the mind of Knox, who wrote an earnest letter to him urging him to accept the call.

About this time intelligence arrived in Scotland of the horrible massacre of the Protestants in Paris, when the pious Admiral Coligni, and about seventy thousand other persons, were murdered in cold blood, by a preconcerted plan, by Charles IX. and his courtiers. This event produced a shock in every Protestant country; though at Rome, a solemn thanksgiving was offered up by order of the Pope. It inflicted a deep wound on the feelings of the reformer, not only on account of the public loss to the Church, but a number of those massacred were his own personal ac-

quaintances. On the ensuing Sabbath he entered the pulpit, and thundered the vengeance of heaven against that cruel murderer, the King of France; and desired his minister, Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master, that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the divine vengeance would never depart from him, nor from his house, if repentance did not ensue. The ambassador complained to the Regent of the indignity offered, and required the preacher to be silenced; and when this was refused, he left Scotland.

Lawson having arrived, and preached to the universal satisfaction of the people, Knox presided at his installation. The sermon was preached by him in Tolbooth church, which had been fitted up for his use. When the sermon was ended, they removed to the large church, where the remainder of the service was performed. On this occasion he appeared to be raised above his infirmities, for on no former occasion did he give more universal satisfaction to his hearers. 'This was his last public service. After proposing the appointed questions to his colleague and successor, he concluded with a most tender and solemn ex-

hortation. He protested in the presence of him before whom he soon expected to appear, that he had walked among them with a good conscience, preaching the gospel of Christ with all sincerity, not studying to please men, nor to gratify his own feelings. He praised God, that he had been pleased to give them a pastor in his room, when he was now unable to lead. He fervently prayed, that any gifts which had been conferred on himself, might be augmented a thousand fold in his successor. And then in a most serious and impressive manner, he exhorted and charged all present to adhere steadfastly to the faith which they had professed. Having finished the service and pronounced the blessing, he came down from the pulpit, and leaning on his staff, crept down the street, which was lined with the audience; who, as if wishing to take the last look of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house, from which he never came out again alive.

On the following Tuesday, he was seized with a severe cough, which greatly affected his breathing. When his friends proposed to send for physicians, he readily acquiesced,

saying that he would not neglect the ordinary means of health, though he was persuaded, that the Lord would soon put an end to all his troubles.

It was his ordinary custom to read some chapters in the Old and New Testaments, and also several Psalms, the whole of which he regularly read over once a month. On Thursday, he was too sick to pursue his usual course of reading; but he directed his wife, and Richard Bannatyne, his secretary, to read to him every day, the xvii. Chapter of John, the liii. of Isaiah, and a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This was punctually complied with during the whole time of his sickness. He also selected certain Psalms, and some of Calvin's French Sermons on Ephesians; and when asked whether he heard, he would answer, "I hear, and I praise God I understand far better." These words he uttered, for the last time, about four hours before his death.

The same day that he was seized, he directed his wife to pay the servants their wages, except one to whom he gave twenty shillings above his due; and then gave suitable exhortations to them all.

On the 14th of the month, he arose from bed earlier than usual, and thinking that it was the Sabbath, said, that he meant to go to church, and preach on the resurrection of Christ, upon which he had meditated through the whole night. This was the subject on which he would have preached, in his ordinary course. But he was so weak, that it required two men to support him to a chair. Next day, at noon, John Durie and Archibald Steward came to see him, not knowing that he was sick; he prevailed on them to stay to dinner, and he sat for the last time at the table. He ordered a hogshead of wine which was in his cellar to be pierced; and with a hilarity which he delighted to indulge, among his friends, desired Archibald Steward to send for some of it, as long as it lasted; for he would not tarry until it was all drunk.

He was very anxious to meet once more with his session, that he might leave them a dying charge, and bid them a last farewell. Accordingly, on Monday the 17th, he had them, together with his colleague and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, in his room. When he addressed them in a manner so sol-

emn, that it left a deep impression on their minds. He spoke to them in the following strain: "The day now approaches and is before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted; when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served in spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel of the Son of God; and have had it for my only object, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace; and to fight against the proud and rebellious, by the divine threatenings. I know, that many have frequently and loudly complained, and do yet complain, of my too great severity; but God knows, that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny, but that I felt the greatest abhorrence of the sins which they indulged, but I still kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter so

boldly what the Lord put into my mouth, without respect of persons, was a reverend fear of my God, who, of his grace, called and appointed me to be a steward of his divine mysteries; and a belief that he will demand of me an account of the trust committed to me, when I shall stand before his tribunal. I profess before God and his holy angels, that I never made merchandize of the word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions, or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent entrusted to me for the edification of the Church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time, my dearest brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the Gospel. Wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed with the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my brother Lawson, fight the good fight of faith, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you and the whole Church of Edinburg, against whom, as long as they persevere in the

word of truth, which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail.”

Having warned them against those who disowned the King's authority, and made some observations on the charge which Maitland had lodged against him before the session, he was so exhausted that he was obliged to desist from speaking. Those present were filled with both joy and grief by this affecting address. After reminding him of the warfare which he had endured, and the triumph which awaited him, and joining in prayer, they took their leave of him in tears. When they were going out he desired his colleague and Lindsay to remain behind, to whom he said, “There is one thing that greatly grieves me. You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of God; but now, alas, into what a gulf has he precipitated himself! I entreat you not to refuse to go and tell him from me, that John Knox remains the same man now he is going to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble. Neither the craggy

rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man, (Maitland,) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God. That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish, if I could save it." The ministers undertook to execute this commission, and going up to the castle, obtained an interview with the Governor and delivered their message. He, at first, exhibited some symptoms of relenting, but having consulted with Maitland, he returned and gave them a very unpleasant answer. This being reported to Knox, he was much grieved, and said, that he had been very earnest in prayer for that man, and he still trusted that his soul would be saved, although his body should come to a miserable end.

After his interview with his session, his complaint became worse, and his difficulty of breathing was such, that he could not speak but with much pain. Still he received all that

came, and addressed himself to his visiters with wonderful suitableness and variety, according to their respective characters. Among these were some of the nobility, who had treated him badly, and now came to acknowledge their faults and beg his pardon. Many of his sayings and exhortations to particular persons have been preserved, but it is not convenient to insert them here.

On Friday, November 21st, he desired his servant, Richard Bannatyne, to order his coffin to be made. During that day he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words were often in his mouth, "Come Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I cominit my spirit. Be merciful Lord to thy Church, which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors, who will take charge of thy Church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy." In the midst of his meditations, he would often address those around in such sentences as these, "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt

the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God.”

On the 23d, which was the Sabbath, he broke out into the following rapturous expressions: “I have been these two nights in meditation on the troubled state of the Church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, I have committed her to her head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, I have prevailed. I have been in heaven, I have possession. I have tasted of heavenly joys, where presently I am.” He then repeated the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, interjecting some devout aspirations at the end of every petition and article.

After sermon, many came to visit him; and perceiving that he breathed with great difficulty, some asked him if he felt much pain. He answered, that he was willing to live there for years, if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine on his soul through Jesus Christ. When they thought him asleep, he was employed in meditation, and at intervals exhorted and prayed. “Live in Christ, live in Christ,”

said he, "and then flesh need not fear death. Lord grant true pastors to thy Church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace again to the commonwealth, and godly rulers and magistrates. Once, Lord, make an end of my trouble." Stretching his hands towards heaven, he said, "Lord, I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all, into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles, I do not murmur against thee." But his pious ejaculations were so numerous that few of them could be remembered. That night his pain greatly increased.

Monday, the 24th of November, was the last day that he spent on earth. That morning he could not be persuaded to lie in bed, but by the help of others arose, and sat upon a chair for the space of half an hour. In the progress of the day it appeared, that his end drew nigh. A number of his friends waited around his bed. To one he said, "I must leave the care of my wife and children to you, to whom you must be a husband, in my room." He desired his wife to read the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians; and then said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter? O what sweet

and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me, from that chapter." After some time, he fell into a slumber, and uttered heavy groans; and the attendants looked every moment for his dissolution. But he awakened, as if from sleep, and being asked what caused him to groan so heavily, he said, "I have formerly, during my life, sustained many contests, and many assaults of Satan; but, at present, that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour, and make an end of me at once. Often before he has placed my sins before me, and tempted me to despair, and often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but resisted by the sword of the Spirit, he could not prevail. Now, he has attacked me in another way. The cunning serpent has endeavoured to persuade me, that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness, by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But, blessed be God, who has enabled me to quench the fiery dart, by suggesting, "What hast thou that thou hast not received? By the grace of God I am what I am. Not I, but the grace of God in me. Wherefore, I give thanks to God

through Jesus Christ, that he hath strengthened me, and has given me the victory." And I am persuaded, the tempter shall not again attack me, but within a short time, I shall, without any great bodily pain, or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life, for a blessed immortality, through Jesus Christ."

He lay now, for several hours, as though he had been asleep. About ten in the evening, prayers were offered, and Dr. Preston asked him whether he heard. He answered, "I would to God, that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them. I praise God for that heavenly sound."

At eleven o'clock, he gave a deep sigh and said, *now it is come*. Richard Bannatyne immediately drew near, and desired him to think upon those comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others. But perceiving that he was speechless, he desired him to give them a sign that he heard, and died in peace. Whereupon, he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle.

He died in the sixty-seventh year of his

age; not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and mind. Few men were ever exposed to more dangers, or underwent such hardships. He only emerged from one sea of troubles to plunge into another.

On Wednesday, the 26th of November, he was interred in the church yard of St. Giles. His funeral was attended by the newly elected Regent, Morton; by the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the Regent pronounced his eulogium in the well known words—"THERE LIES HE, WHO NEVER FEARED THE FACE OF MAN."

HIS CHARACTER.

JOHN KNOX, according to the acknowledgment of all, was a very remarkable man. His natural powers were undoubtedly great. Inquisitive, ardent, acute; vigorous and bold in his conceptions, he entered into all the subtleties of the scholastic logic then in vogue; yet disgusted with its barren results, sought

out a new course of study, which gradually led to a complete revolution in his sentiments. His early education was not equal to that afforded by the universities on the continent, at that time; but his abilities and application, made up, in a great measure, for these disadvantages. He remained a stranger to no branch of learning, cultivated by men of his profession. He united the love of study with a disposition to active employment; qualities seldom found in the same person. The truths which he discovered, he felt an irresistible impulse to impart to others; for which he was qualified, by a bold and fervid eloquence, singularly adapted to arrest the attention, and govern the minds of a fierce and unpolished people. His zeal for the reformed doctrines which he had embraced, made him willing, for the sake of propagating them, to sacrifice his ease, interest, reputation, and life itself. An ardent attachment to civil liberty held the next place in his breast, after the love of evangelical truth. That his motives in prosecuting these objects were of the most disinterested kind, does not admit of a doubt, whatever opinion may be formed of some of the

means made use of for that purpose. In fact, he only thought of glorifying God, and promoting the welfare of his country. By his intrepidity, indefatigable activity, and invincible constancy, he was admirably fitted for the arduous work to which, in the providence of God, he was called. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; and his firmness was proof, equally, against the solicitations of friends, and the threats of enemies. Although his courage and impetuosity led him frequently to expose himself to imminent danger, yet we never find him inattentive to those prudent precautions, which his safety required. The confidence which his countrymen reposed in his sagacity, as well as honesty, is evident from the whole history of those times. All the measures adopted for advancing the Reformation were at his suggestions, or submitted to his advice; and it must be admitted, that they were as wisely planned, as boldly executed.

His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching

was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified, by an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the happy art of applying them in the most happy manner, to the existing circumstances of the church, and of his hearers. His power of alarming the conscience, and arousing the passions, have been frequently mentioned: but he excelled also in opening up the consolations of the Gospel, and calming the troubles of those who were wounded with a sense of their sins. And when he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs of Christians, he declared what he himself had experienced.

With his brethren in the ministry, he lived in the utmost cordiality. We never read of the slightest variance between him and any of his colleagues. While he was an object of hatred and terror to the licentious and profane, he was venerated and loved by the religious and sober part of his congregation. In private life he was both loved and revered by his friends and domestics. He was subject to occasional fits of melancholy and depression of spirits, arising partly from natural constitu-

tion, and partly from the diseases which had long preyed upon his health. While these continued, his temper was irritable, and his conversation less affable than it was wont to be. This he confessed, and begged the indulgence of his friends, but his friendship was sincere, affectionate, and constant. At other times, he relished the pleasures of society, and among his friends, was accustomed to unbend from severer cares, by indulging in innocent recreation and the sallies of wit and humour, to to which he had a strong propensity, notwithstanding the grave tone of his general character.

Most of his faults may be traced to his natural temperament, and the character of the age and country in which he lived. His passions were strong. He felt with keenness on every subject which interested him, and what he felt he expressed without any disguise or affectation. The warmth of his zeal was apt to betray him into intemperate language; and the inflexibility of his adherence to opinions, once adopted, inclined him to obstinacy: and this independence of mind, occasionally assumed the appearance of haughtiness and disdain. In administering de-

served reproofs, he regarded not the rank or character of the offender; and he was prone to utter his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate, than reclaim. But in his sharpest reproofs, he protested, that his hatred was not directed against the persons, but the vices of those reprov'd. He was stern, not savage; austere, not unfeeling. He never employed his influence to obtain revenge for a personal injury; and rigid as were his notions of the execution of justice, there are more instances of his interceding for the pardon of criminals, than perhaps of any man of his time. His conduct at Frankfort demonstrates his moderation in religious differences among brethren. The liberties which he took in the pulpit of animadverting on the actions of individuals, of the highest rank and station, seems strange, to us but accorded with the customs of that age.

Most would be ready to conclude, from the labours he underwent, that he was of a robust constitution. The fact, however, was not so. He was of small stature, and of a weakly habit of body; which circumstance gives us a higher idea of the indomitable vigour of his

mind. His portrait was taken more than once during his life. He, according to the custom of the times, wore his beard long, reaching to his middle, which gave him a venerable appearance.

He has been accused of setting up for a prophet, and pretending to enter into the secret counsels of the Most High. To this he answered, that he did no more than denounce the just judgments of God against enormous wickedness, as he found them in his word. But there are some instances in which he seems to have had a kind of prophetic foresight, of the particular kind of judgments which would be executed on certain public offenders against God and his people, as in the case of Thomas Maitland, and Kircaldy of Grange. For although the canon of our faith has long been complete, and is comprehended in the Old and New Testament; yet this does not hinder, but that God may now sometimes forewarn certain persons of events which will happen, to testify his approbation of them, as well as to encourage them to confide in him in peculiar circumstances of difficulty and danger; or for other purposes unknown to us.

And in this opinion there is nothing inconsistent with natural or revealed religion. If this is enthusiasm, it is an enthusiasm into which some of the most enlightened and sober men, in modern, as well as ancient times have fallen. The Reformers were men of extraordinary piety. They walked with God, were instant in prayer, were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform. They were, therefore, endued with extraordinary gifts, and I am inclined to believe that some of them were occasionally favoured with extraordinary premonitions, with respect to certain events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church of God. But whatever intimations of this kind they enjoyed, they did not rest the authority of their mission upon them, nor appeal to them as constituting any part of the evidence of those doctrines which they preached to the world.

That the memory of Knox should be loaded with obloquy by the prejudiced writers of the Romish communion, is in accordance with their treatment of Luther, Zuingli, Calvin, and all the Reformers; for no one of these

acted a more conspicuous and effective part in overthrowing the religious establishment of that corrupt and apostate church than our reformer, as far as relates to his own country. The calumnies and slanders vented against him gained but little credit and have long since sunk into oblivion. Knox was known and esteemed by the principal persons among the reformed, in France, Switzerland, and Germany. Calvin was his intimate friend, and esteemed him highly; as appears by his letters addressed to him. Beza, the successor of Calvin, was also personally acquainted with him; and in the correspondence which he kept up with him, expressed the warmest regard and highest esteem for him; and in his account of "Illustrious Men," gave an affectionate tribute to his memory; as did also Melchior Adam of Germany, Verheiden of Holland, La Roque of France. Senebier, the late historian of Geneva, though entertaining very different sentiments from our reformer, says, "that he immortalized himself by his courage against popery, and his firmness against the tyranny of Mary." And though

violent, he was always an open and honourable enemy to the Catholics.

In Scotland, the affectionate veneration in which Knox's memory was held after his death, evinces the influence which he possessed among his countrymen during his life. It is a remarkable circumstance, that he had a servant of so distinguished a character for piety and intelligence, that he gave his character in the General Assembly. This was John Bannatyne, of whom frequent mention has been made already; but the word *servant* was, in those days, so used as to include clerk or secretary; or the person who attended to the business of his master. This man lived long in the family, and continued to serve this man of God, more from an esteem of him than for emolument. Indeed, it appears that he was a man of respectability and learning. His testimony is, therefore, worthy of regard. After giving an account of his last days, he says, "In this manner departed this man of God; the light of Scotland, the comfort of the Church within the same: the mirror of godliness, and pattern and example of all true ministers, in purity of life, soundness of doctrine, and boldness in

reproving wickedness: one that cared not for the favour of men, how great soever they were. What dexterity in teaching, what boldness in reproving and hatred of wickedness was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declare; and which if I could set out, it were as one who would light a candle to let men see the sun, seeing all his virtues are better known to the world, a thousand fold, than I am able to express."

Principal Smeton's character of him, while it is less liable to the suspicion of partiality, is equally honourable. "I know not," says he, "if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright to the comfort of the Church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigues of body and mind: none were more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him."

The divines of the Church of England, who were contemporary with him, or who survived him, entertained a great respect for his character. Some of the chief men among them

were personally acquainted with him during his residence in England and on the continent. Others corresponded with him by letters. His writings were greatly esteemed by them, so that they procured his manuscripts from Scotland, and published some of them. But towards the close of the 16th century, there arose a race of prelates of another spirit, who began to inculcate the divine right of episcopacy, and the intrinsic excellency of a ceremonious worship, and to adopt a new language respecting other reformed churches. Dr. Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first who spoke disrespectfully of Knox; after whom it became fashionable among the hierarchical party. This was resented by the ministers of Scotland, who warmly vindicated the character of their reformer. James VI. said to Melville, "that Knox, Buchanan, and the Regent Murray, could be defended by none but traitors and seditious theologues." Melville replied, "that these were the men who set the crown on his head, and deserved better of him than to be thus traduced."

Spottiswood described him, "as a man en-

dowed with rare gifts, and a chief instrument of God for the work of those times.”

Our reformer was never a favourite with the friends of absolute monarchy; and in later times, since many have been infected with the spirit of infidelity, and a spurious charity towards the Roman Catholics has come into vogue, the character of Knox has not been appreciated as it was in better days. But since the publication of Dr. McCrie's life of him, of which this is a mere abridgment, the attention of the public has been more impartially directed to the subject; and, at least among Presbyterians in America, who have derived their Confession and Form of Government from Scotland, the character of John Knox will continue to be venerated as long as these formularies shall be retained, and have their due influence on the minds of the people.

Knox, as we have seen, was twice married. He left behind him a widow and five children. His two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, were the children of his first wife, Mrs. Marjory Bowes. In the year 1566, they went to England, where their mother's relations resided. They

received their education in St. John's College, Cambridge; and after finishing it, both died in the prime of life. And as they died without issue, the family of the reformer was extinct in the male line. His other three children were daughters, by his second wife. His widow was married to Sir Andrew Ker, a strenuous supporter of the Reformation. One of his daughters was married to Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthberts; another to James Fleming, also a minister of the Church of Scotland; and Elizabeth, the third daughter, was married to Mr. John Welch, minister of Ayr. Mrs. Welch seems to have inherited some of her father's spirit, and she had her share of hardships similar to his. Her husband was one of those who resisted the arbitrary measures pursued by James VI., for overturning the government and liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. For attending the General Assembly of 1605 at Aberdeen, after the King had directed it to be adjourned *sine die*, he was imprisoned; and for afterwards declining the Privy Council, as not proper judges, he and four other ministers were arraigned,

and by a packed jury condemned to death. When informed of the sentence, their wives, instead of lamenting their fate, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their Master. The sentence having been commuted to banishment, Mrs. Welch accompanied her husband to France, where they remained for sixteen years. Mr. Welch's health having failed, the physicians advised a return to his native country, as affording the only prospect of a cure. They arrived in London in 1622, and she, by means of some relations, petitioned for liberty to return to Scotland. On this occasion she was admitted to the royal presence, and the conversation which passed between her and King James of England, is truly characteristic of both these personages. She showed that the spirit and boldness of John Knox were full inherited.

Knox did not consider himself called so much to enlighten posterity by his pen, as to perform active labour for the existing generation. On this subject, he says, "For considering myself rather called of God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the

weak, and rebuke the proud by tongue, and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come; seeing that so much is written, and by men of most singular erudition, yet so little well observed, I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation to which I found myself especially called." When deprived of the opportunity of doing this during his exile, he prepared letters, exhortations, and admonitions, by which he called to the remembrance of the people those truths, which they had already received. These were circulated and read with far more ease, and to a far greater extent, than large treatises could have been. Of the many sermons which he preached, he never published more than one, which was extorted from him by peculiar circumstances; and that one affords a very favourable specimen of his talents. If he had applied himself to writing, he was qualified to excel in that department. He had a ready command of language, and expressed himself with perspicuity, and with great animation and force. Though he despised the tinsel of eloquence, yet when he

had leisure and inclination to polish his style, he showed that he was not unacquainted with the principles of the rhetorical art. While resident in England, he contracted the habit of writing the language, according to the usage of that country; and in all his publications, which appeared during his life time, the English, and not the Scottish orthography and mode of expression, are used. His tract against female government, was a hasty production, and written under exasperated feelings, produced by hearing of the cruelties of Mary.

His History of the Reformation was undertaken during the confusions of the civil war, and was afterwards continued, at intervals, snatched from numerous avocations. The collection of historical materials must be a work of labour and time; but the digesting them into a regular narrative, requires much leisure and undivided attention. The want of them sufficiently accounts for the confusion observable in many parts of that work; but notwithstanding its defects, it continues to be the principal source of information respecting the ecclesiastical proceedings of that period.

His only published theological work, is a treatise on Predestination, which indicates much controversial acuteness, composed with becoming caution.

PRAYER

Used by John Knox, after the Regent's death.

O LORD, what shall we add to the former petitions we know not; yea, alace, O Lord, our owne consciences bear us record that we are unworthie that thou should either encreass or yet continue thy graces with us, be reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreme miseries, we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us, and first thou delivered us from the tyrannie of merciless strangers, next from the bondage of idolatry, and last from the yোক of that wretched woman, the mother of all mischife, and in her place thou didst erect her sonne, and to supply his infancie thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been execute upon

her, and upon her complices, the murtherers of her husband. O Lord, in what miserie and confusion found he this realme! To what rest and quietnesse now be his labours suddanlie he brought the same, all estates, but speciallie the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearlie shyne in that personage, that the divell, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abyde it. And so to punish our sinnes and ingratitude, who did not ryghtlie esteem so pretious a gift, thou hes permitted him to fall, to our great grieffe, in the hands of cruell and traterous murtherers. He is at rest, O Lord, and we are left in extreame miserie. Be mercifull to us, and suffer not Satan to prevail against thy little flocke within this Realme, neither yet O Lord let bloode thirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, O Lord, our young king, although he be ane infant; give unto him the spirit of sanctification, with encrease of the same as he groweth in years. Let his raigne, O Lord, be such as thou may be glorified, and thy little flock comforted by it. Seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor, in civill policie, and as a shippe with-

out a rudder in the midst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous dayes, that the wicked of the world may see that as weill without the help of man, as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee. And because, O Lord, the shedding of innocent bloode hes ever been, and yet is odious in thy presence, yea, that it defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished, we crave of thee, for Christ thy sonnes sake, that thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruell murthers latelie committed, that the inventars, devysers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable crueltie, may be either thoroughlie converted or confounded. O Lord, if thy mercy prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained the lyfe of that most wicked woman. Oppose thy power, O Lord, to the pryde of that cruel murderer of her owne husband; confound her faction and their subtile enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know that thou art a God that can deprehend the

wise in their own wisdome, and the proude in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusion. Lord, retain us that call upon thee in thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give thou strength to us to fight our battell, yea Lord, to fight it lawfullie, and to end our lives in the sanctification of thy holie name.



The last will and words of John Knox minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, put in order at St. Andrews, the 13th May, 1572.

Lord Jesus, I commend my troubled spirit in thy protection and defence, and thy troubled kirk to thy mercie.

Because I have had to doe with diverse personages of the ministrie whereunto God of his mercie directit me within this Realme, my duty craveth that I shall leave unto them now a testimonie of my mynd. And first to the Papists, and to the unthankful world, I say, that although my lyfe hath beene unto them odious, and that often they have sought my

destruction, and the destruction of the kirk which God of his great mercie planted within this Realme, and hath alwise preserved and kepted the same from their cruell interpryses, yet to them I am compelled to say, that unlesse they speedilie repent, my departing of this life shall be to them the greatest calamitie that ever yet hath apprehended them. Some small appearance they may have yet in my life, if they had grace to see. A dead man I have beene now almost these two years by-past, and yet I would that they should rypelie consider in what better estate they and their maters stand than they have done before, and they have heard of long tyme before threatened. But, because they will not admit me for admonisher, I give them over to the judgment of him who knoweth the hearts of all, and will disclose the secreets thereof in due time. And this farre to the papists. To the faithfull. Before God, before his sone Jesus Christ, and before his holie angels, I protest that God be my mouth (be I ever so abject) hath shewed to you his truth in all simplicitie. None I have corrupted, none I have defrauded, merchandise I have not made (to God's glorie I

write) of the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ, but according to the measure of grace granted unto me, I have devyded the sermon of truth in just parts, beating down the rebellion of the proud in all who did declare their rebellion against God according as God in his law giveth to me yet testimonie, and raising up the consciences troubled with the knowledge of their siune, be declaring of Jesus Christ, the strenth of his death, and mighty operation of his resurrection, in the hearts of the faithfull. Of this I say I have a testimonie this day in my conscience before God, however the world rage. Be constant therefor in the doctrine which once publicklye you have professed. Let not thir scandalous dayes draw you away from Jesus Christ, neither let the prosperitie of the wicked move you to follow it or them. For howsoever that God appeareth to neglect his owne for a season, yet his majestie remaineth a just God who neither can nor will justifie the wicked. I am not ignorant that many would that I should enter in particular determination of thir present troubles, to whom I plainlye and simplie answer, that, as I never exceed the bounds of God's scriptures, so will

I not doe in this part be God's grace. But hereof I am assured by him who neither can deceive, nor be deceived that the castell of Edinburg, in which all the murther, all the trouble, and the whole destruction of this poore commonwealth was invented, and, as our owne eyes may wisse, be them and their maintainers where put in execution, shall come to destruction, maintain it whosoever, the destruction I say of bodie and soule, except they repent. I looke not to the momentarie prosperitie of the wicked, yea, although they should remaine conquerors to the coming of our Lord Jesus, but I look to this sentence, that whosoever sheddeth innocent blood defyleth the land, and provoketh Gods wraith against himself and the land, till his bloode be shedd againe be order of law to satisfie God's anger. This is not the first tyme that yee have heard this sentence, although many at all tymes have sturred at such severitie, I yet affirme the same being readie to enter to give an account before his majestie of the stewardship that he committed to me. I know in my death, the rumours shall be strange. But beloved in the Lord Jesus, be yee not troubled

above measure, but remaine constant in the truth, and he who of his mercie sent me, conducted me, and prosper the worke in my hand against Satan, will provyde for you abundantlie, when either my bloode shall water the doctrine taught be me, or he of his mercie otherwise provyde to put an end to this my battel.

THE END.

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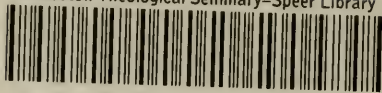
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