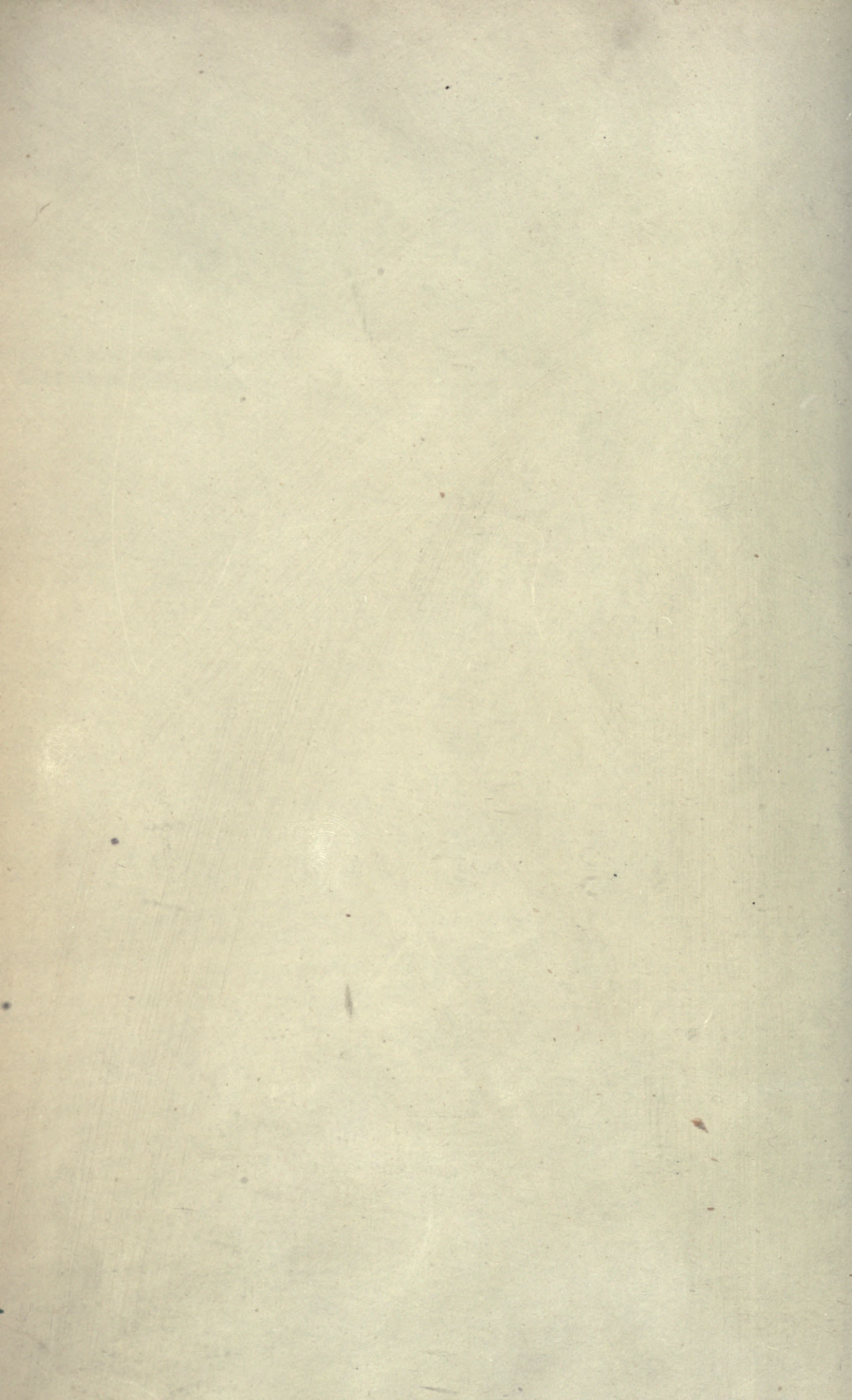


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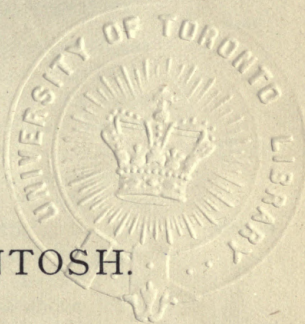
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THE HISTORY
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CIVILISATION IN SCOTLAND.

BY
JOHN MACKINTOSH.



VOL. II.

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THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XIII.

Section I.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

OWING to the remote and insular position of Scotland her means of intercourse with the other nations of Europe were comparatively limited, even down to the end of the Middle Ages; and in the preceding volume it was deemed necessary to state that the influence of these communities upon the Scots could only have been slight. But a new point of departure must now be indicated. The gradual development of the industrial arts, the extension of commercial relations, and the consequent improvement of the means of intercommunication at length permitted different nations to influence each other more freely and distinctly. By slow degrees commercial enterprise had become a power in Europe; and the narrow feudalism of the earlier period had begun to show unmistakable signs of decay. The energy of the people of Europe had rendered it possible for the various communities to influence each other in their opinions as well as to confer mutual benefits by the exchange of their diverse commodities. In no branch of human activity was this widening sympathy more decisively marked than in every thing which related to the Reformation. As we have seen¹, there were attempts to sow novel doctrines

¹ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 354-355, 373-374, 491-498.

among the people in the fifteenth century, but they were still firmly attached to the Roman Catholic creed. The doctrines of the Reformation did not originate among the Scots, these heresies and the opinions flowing from them were an importation ; and when treating of the rise of this revolutionary movement, we must look beyond the boundaries of the island.

There are several mechanical inventions which had a relative bearing on the Reformation movement. Paper was first made of cotton in Europe about 1000, and of rags in 1319 ; and thus the material for printing on was in readiness. In Europe printing became an art in 1438, a few years later cut metal types were invented and used ; and before the end of the fifteenth century many thousands of editions of books were printed and published throughout Europe. The printing press soon made literature the common property of all ; and the range of an individual thinker's influence was at once immensely widened ; ideas and opinions could now be promulgated to an extent before unknown.

These new agencies came upon the scene when the modern languages were forming ; and when the chief nations of Europe were seeking unity and aspiring to independence. This had a deep and vast bearing on the Reformation. The Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, and the English had already begun to use their respective languages in poetry and other compositions ; but the languages of the first three are essentially descendants of the Latin ; and it is a notable coincidence that though the Reformation was attempted to be introduced into these nations, they have ultimately remained within the bosom of Roman Catholicism. Each of these nations have produced a rich and varied literature, in poetry and romance, remarkable for its dramatic power, its flowing cadence, and its sonorous rhythm ; but excepting the French, it is rather poor in the department of philosophy and the higher criticism. The German and the English were also influenced by the Latin, but in a much less degree ; each of them retained a compact body

of words, which each has developed into a great and massive national literature. The printing press had just come in time to spread any new ideas that were afloat, and the signs of a new era had at last appeared. The fetters which had so long bound the human mind were soon to be severely strained ; the chains which had entangled and enslaved it were to be snapped ; the hour was fast approaching when the mass of traditions, of legends, and of wonders would have to sustain a rude and irreparable shock.

It has long been recognised that the revival of Classical literature aided the Reformation movement. This however only affected the educated class, and if there had been no stronger causes of the Reformation classical learning would have been comparatively powerless to touch the mass of a nation ; but being in filiation with other and deeper causes of the revolutionary movement, it may be reckoned a considerable factor among the antecedents of the Reformation. Inasmuch as this revival of ancient literature contributed to weaken the authority of the theology of the schools, it trenched upon the supreme power of the Church, and by assisting to modify the forms of thought and opinion it proved exceedingly favourable to the general movement. Even to awaken a spirit of inquiry was a step of the utmost consequence. Although many of these learned men had no intention of reforming religion, yet owing to other tendencies which had been long in operation, their efforts conduced to that end.

At the same time the revival of art and the rise of modern painting in Italy gave an impetus to the onward movement. It is the essential function of painting to embody man's feelings, emotions, and ideas of beauty, and within a limited range, to give them living form and realised existence. The Church thought art could help her ; and within a limited range of subjects it did so, by vividly portraying Scripture histories and the lives of the saints, by presenting new types of serene beauty and pure joy, by giving form to the floating notions of angelic beings,

and by rousing deep sympathy with our Lord in His Passion, painting lent efficient aid to piety. But painting did not exactly do what the Church would have wished. Instead of tightening the fetters of ecclesiastical authority and encouraging mysticism and asceticism, it restored humanity to a sense of its dignity and beauty, and helped to show the untenability of the mediæval standpoint; for art is emphatically and uncontrollably free, and it is free in the realm of sensuous delightfulness from which conventual religion turns aside to enjoy her own ecstatic liberty of contemplation. Thus art early contributed to the emancipation of the modern mind by proclaiming to men the tidings of their greatness in a world of manifold enjoyment created for their use. "Whatever painting touched, became by that touch, human; piety at the lure of art, folded her soaring wings and rested on the genial earth. This the Church had not foreseen." ²

Before the Reformation the Catholic Church presented a vast and powerful organisation with innumerable agencies that penetrated into every form of society, and attempted to control the whole life of mankind. The body of the clergy, including the monks and friars, had assumed the characteristics and the position of a distinct caste. They were not only distinct, but in many respects antagonistic to the other classes of the people; in their view of life, their laws, their special privileges, their social duties, and in the aim of their existence, they were separated from the lay classes of society by an impassable limit. Their theory of life was to neglect and subdue the body, to mortify the flesh in order that the soul might be made perfect. Whether all this was done for the good of humanity or for the benefit of the clergy themselves is a question of the most momentous importance, and perchance some light may be cast upon it in the course of this volume.

In every country of Europe the Church held a considerable extent of landed property. It varied in different kingdoms, but

² Symond's *Renaissance*, Vol. III., pp. 29-32, *et seq.*

at the beginning of the sixteenth century the wealth of the Church was enormous. In England the landed estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and of the monastic orders extended into every parish of the kingdom ; and the tithes and offerings which maintained the beneficed clergy brought in a larger revenue than the lands. In France a long series of causes and circumstances had combined to throw into the hands of the clergy a large stretch of landed property ; for many generations the Kings of France had vied with each other in heaping estates upon the bishops and in endowing monasteries. The title deeds of church property in France date from a very early period ; and in our own country the earliest body of charters relating to land rights are found in the registers of the Church. The Church lands however formed but a small part of the revenues of the clergy. They had the tenth of all the produce of land, which was extended to include not only all kinds of grain and vegetable produce, but also cattle, sheep, poultry, and all kinds of fish. When we add that the votive offerings, many of which were at first free gifts, had assumed the form of lawful demands ; and that the whole life of every Catholic was interwoven with the ceremonial of the Church, and that the priest had to be paid for confession, baptism, confirmation, marriage, and the rites of burial. And then the saying of masses which were believed to lighten the suffering of the soul after death, was another large source of revenue. More than this, there were the offerings at the crosses and the shrines of the famous and popular saints for their intercessory prayers to avert calamities, to grant success to schemes of ambition, to obtain pardon for sin, and to bring down blessing. Many of the crosses and shrines were supposed to be invested with miraculous powers, and they were always working miracles. When to all these are added the large subsidies which must have been given to the swarms of friars spread over every country of Christendom,³ it will be easily

³ Selden's *Book on Tithes* ; Speed's *Catalogue of Religious Houses, Benefices, &c.* ; Dugdale and Stevens on *The Revenues of the Monasteries* ; Stubb's *Const.*

conceived that the Church consumed a large portion of the industrial produce of Europe, and drew into her coffers an almost incredible amount of wealth.

Such education as existed was almost wholly under the control of the Church, and the clergy themselves were the best educated body of men in the world. Rome was the head of the educational department as well as the centre of everything else connected with religion, morals, and philosophy. No university could be properly established without the sanction and the approval of its constitution by the Pope; but it does not appear that the Pope threw obstacles in the way of the erection of these institutions. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were upwards of fifty universities scattered over Europe: and all learned people were regarded as belonging to the clergy, indeed the Pope had long claimed them as the special subjects of his empire. It was well understood that all the members of the universities should talk and write in Latin, the universal language of the Church and the learned, in which all the knowledge of the times was sealed up and monopolised by the clergy. They were the canon lawyers, the historians, and the philosophers, for philosophy was wholly under the dominion of theology. They reigned supreme, as everything which they deemed to be opposed to Faith or inconsistent with their theology was rigorously excluded from the pale of orthodox Christendom. Medicine and science was left to the unconverted Jews and Arabs; the Christian had higher objects to occupy his mind. If it had been possible to continue making Latin the only medium of communication and record, the sole vehicle of literature, with the Church as its depository, there would have been no Reformation. The modern languages even in their crude state aided the onward movement, and the comparatively rapid development of their varied literature secured the success

Hist. Eng., Vol. III., p. 521; Milman's *Hist. of Latin Christ.*, Vol. VI., pp. 344-375; for Germany see Ranke's *History of the Reformation in Germany*, Vol. I., pp. 272-278.

of the revolution. Hence, since the sixteenth century, in spite of every effort, the Latin has been constantly falling more and more into the background ; it was relegated into the study of the scholar, and into books intended only for the learned. But at the beginning of that century the spiritual authority and the power of the clergy stood unchallenged ; and the minds of men were held in the most complete slavery. They declared the eternal destiny of every one, and to doubt their sentence was the most abhorrent sin ; those who disbelieved trembled in silence, and shrouded themselves from their fellow creatures ; the few who openly ventured to question the unlimited power of the clergy to absolve were sects and outcasts of society, detested and proscribed by the Church and hated by the people. The whole life and moral being of man was under their supervision and control ; no act was beyond their cognisance, all the thoughts of the mind and the inmost secrets of the heart must be laid bare before the priesthood ; every one was bound to inform against himself, to be submitted to a moral torture with threatened condemnation hanging over him, and if he concealed anything he had to undergo the most crushing penance. The sacraments of the spiritual life could be granted or withheld according to the arbitrary judgment of the priest ; absolution might be delayed and even refused ; after death the body might repose in consecrated ground with the saints, or be cast out into the domain of devils. Excommunication cut the man off from the Church, beyond whose pale there was no possibility of salvation ; no one could presume to hope for a person who died under its ban. The inward assurance of faith, of virtue, and of rectitude, unless avouched by the priest, was accounted nothing ; without the priestly passport to heaven man could not attain it. But the sacredness of the priest himself was indefeasible, whatever his habits and life might be ; the people might murmur in secret at his cupidity and licentiousness ; sometimes he might be openly exposed to shame, yet he was still a priest ; and his verdict of condemnation or absolution remained equally valid.

This was the crowning triumph of the Roman priesthood over the moral and intellectual faculties of mankind, but it was too complete to endure. Great as the power of the Church was, she could not for ever bind the human mind ; she might cramp its freedom and retard its progress ; but to arrest the onward movement and destiny of humanity was beyond her compass, and the moral indignation of the people at last rent the veil.

The written creeds of the Church comprised only a small part of the belief of Roman Catholicism. During the period of a thousand and four hundred years the Church had accumulated and interwoven with Christianity a vast mass of mythology, which consisted partly of notions belonging to the old heathen religions that were current in these countries when the Gospel was introduced into them, and partly of notions and opinions which prevailed among the Jews when Christianity was founded, and largely of traditions and legends associated with the Christian saints.⁴ The popular religion of the middle ages was com-

⁴ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 90, 113-123, 127. *Supernatural Religion*, Vol. I., pp. 88-141, 148, *et seq.* ; Vol. III., pp. 325-328, 338, *et seq.*, 1874-77. If I might venture to pass a remark on this important work, to my judgment the first part of it is by far the most effectively handled. When the author comes into the heart of the subject, to the examination of the evidence of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, he always seems rather anxious to prove his special view ; and his criticism loses much of its force owing to its excessive minuteness and length, and he sometimes fails to see the real bearings of the points in question.

All historians of opinions and doctrines are aware that there existed a speculative connection between the current notions of the philosophy of the age and those set forth in the New Testament ; indeed, the speculative tendency of the early fathers caused them to adopt the existing logical distinctions of philosophical schools. But nevertheless the opinions of the Fathers were all tinged by their belief in supernatural agencies. Numerous allusions and direct references to good and evil spirits, angels, and demons, occur in their writings ; and the doctrine of the existence of demons stands in close association with the existence of evil in the world. In the onward development of Catholicism this class of beings seems to have constantly multiplied. "If we pass from the Fathers into the Middle Ages we find ourselves in an atmosphere that was dense and charged with the supernatural. The demand for miracles was almost boundless, and the supply was equal to the demand." (*Lecky's Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I., p. 152.) Compare Dean Milman's *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI., pp. 399-332.

posed from these diverse sources, and it contained a remarkable combination of beliefs, and a mass of crude, unsifted, and materialised notions. Tradition claimed equal authority with the Scriptures; the Church and the hierarchy were assumed to have the power of indefinitely multiplying the objects and articles of faith, and by degrees the whole imaginary belief of the Middle Ages was authorised and ingrafted upon Christianity. Externally there was a certain unity in the diversity of the public worship, although each nation and even each parish had its peculiar patron saint, no one denied the influence and the power of the saints of other nations and parishes; there was always plenty of employment for them all within the vast organisation of Roman Catholicism. *

There was the realm of angels and devils, the hierarchies of heaven and hell. The celestial host of angels was divided into three classes, and each class again sub-divided into three orders; ⁵ and these beings formed circles around the throne of the Trinity. They were of a fiery nature, as fire had most of the properties of the divinity, and they were endowed with countless eyes and wings; their form, however, was human, their raiment priestly and exceedingly bright, and they were holy and full of joy. They occasionally visited the earth as messengers, but angelic apparitions were far less frequent than the interferences and temptations of the demons. The latter were base and cruel, malignant, hideous, and hateful; they took a gnashing delight in the tortures which they inflicted, but the saints often mastered

⁵ In the primitive Church the doctrine of angels was indefinite, but it gradually assumed form, and most of the scholastics adopted the classification indicated in the text. The Council of Lateran, held in 1215, declared as the doctrine of the Church that the angels are spiritual beings, and were created in a state of innocence. But touching particular points, ample scope was still left for poetical and imaginary speculations. Some of the Fathers held rather curious notions about the angels. Clement and Origen assigned to the angels the office of watching over provinces and towns, in accordance with the notions of individual guardian angels. (Clem., Strom. V., p. 700.) Clement further says—"That they have neither ears, nor tongues, nor lips, nor entrails, nor organs of respiration," &c.

them, and exultingly repulsed their fiercest assaults. The devils were very numerous and ever present under the name of the spirits of air; this world was their almost exclusive domain; sometimes they assumed beautiful forms, as of frisky women, to tempt the saints; sometimes the devil appeared in the shape of a monstrous animal, at other times as a priest to declaim in the pulpit. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest Catholic writer of the fourteenth century, distinctly maintained that diseases and tempests are the direct acts of the devil; that the devil can transport men at his pleasure through the air, and that he can transform himself into any shape. It was generally taught and believed that innumerable evil spirits were ranging over the world, seeking the misery and the ruin of mankind; they were always hovering around the inhabitants of the earth, and originating wind, hail, and tempests.⁶

Closely associated with these demoniac agencies, was the belief in witchcraft, sorcery, spells, talismans, and conjurations. These vaguely connated notions rested upon the supposition that acts and operations were performed by persons who were under the influence of the devil, or who acted as the assistants of evil spirits. The Church had long encouraged these silly notions and wild hallucinations by recognising and treating them as facts; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the belief in witchcraft reached a height which produced the most frightful results. Many thousands of human creatures were burnt and drowned for the supposed crime of having sold themselves to the devil, and held communication with evil spirits.

The intense and vivid sense of satanic presence which pervaded the minds of the clergy and the legislators of those times, induced them to look upon heresy and witchcraft as nearly allied, and the zeal against both grew together. The idea of

⁶ Malleu's *Maleficarum*, Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I., pp. 72, 74, *et seq.* Regarding the devil there has been great diversity of doctrine and opinions. According to the opinion of Origen, there was still hope of the final conversion and pardon of Satan himself. Tertullian and Origen both ascribed the failures of crops, drought, famine, pestilence, and murrain to the influence of demons.

demoniac power had so deep a hold upon the minds of men that even the Reformation failed to shake it; for some time this revolution gave a new impetus to the persecution for witchcraft; and it required other two centuries to weaken and dispel this dark and cruel belief.

The saints were an intermediate class of beings between God and the living Catholic world of christians. As they were endowed with human feelings and sympathies, they were naturally supposed to be more closely associated with, and interested in, the welfare of their kindred upon the earth. This kinship between the blessed saints and their brethren and votaries still in the flesh seemed to be mutual; each saint willingly kept up his special interest and attachment for the places and the associates of his earthly sojourn. By his intercession he exercised a beneficent influence; he was tutelar within his sphere, and so he became an object of devout adoration. So useful a class of beings could not fail to be constantly multiplied, and some of them deified; they had assumed the position of the rulers and the disposing providence of the earth, and it appeared that the Deity had almost abandoned the government of the world to them. The unmistakable evidence of their place and power in the popular imagination is seen in the numbers of their altars in every church and chapel throughout Christendom, and the costly oblations that were continually offered at their shrines.

But the Virgin Mary was seated far above all the saints and martyrs. Since the beginning of the seventh century the worship of the Virgin had been constantly on the ascendant. Every Cathedral, and almost every Church, had its Chapel of our Lady; and in every breviary the hymns to the Virgin teemed with poetic images expressive of the homage paid to her: in the worship of the people she was addressed in words similar to those applied to the Deity. A copious and rich legend unfolded the whole history of her birth and life, a subject on which the New Testament was silent: but the spurious

gospels had furnished ample incidents, which threw a halo of authority around the details.⁷ Painting and sculpture both lent their aid to embody and realise this worship of the Blessed Virgin. At last the question was raised, whether she was entirely free from the sin of Adam; and there was great discussions on the point, if she was absolutely sinless or not. The Council of Basle in 1439 decreed in favour of the Immaculate Conception; yet some still doubted, and Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in 1477, and in 1483, declared that this doctrine should not be called heretical, though his bulls did not prohibit those who differed from retaining their own views.⁸ At this time the festivals in honour of the Virgin had increased to seven; and it is almost unnecessary to say that in the Middle Ages the Virgin wrought countless miracles.

This worship of the Virgin and the Saints was continually receiving fresh accessions. For many centuries the passions and feelings were kept in a state of excitement; new saints were always arising and crowding on to the Calendar, and whenever a saint was canonised, it was deemed necessary to show that he had wrought miracles; so all the lives of the old saints are full of miracles. Some of the saints had a world-wide fame; their churches were erected in every Christian kingdom, and their shrines sprung up in all lands; but others had only a national or merely a local fame, although within these limits they were worshipped with equal fidelity, their legends, their acts, and their miracles, were commemorated and presented to the eye in architecture, sculpture, and painting. A few of the patron saints of the western kingdoms of Europe belong to a comparatively late date, England placed herself under St. George,

⁷ *Supernatural Religion*, Vol. I., pp. 308, 314, *et seq.*

⁸ "Those theologians who sought to clear the Mother of Christ from the guilt of original sin, did not bear in mind that they only pushed the miracle one step further back, without entirely removing it; for in that case the parents of Mary must have been free from original sin, and again their parents, &c., and so on up to Adam. Bernard of Clairval seems to have perceived this difficulty." Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Vol. II., p. 23; 1847.

a personage of very doubtful origin ; St. Louis was the Saint of the Crusades ; St. Thomas Aquinas of Scholasticism. Each order of monks, and of friars, were bound to hold up to the utmost the saints of their order, it was the sacred duty of all who wore the garb to spread their fame with especial assiduity. It was also the duty of every king, burgess, and craftsman and parishioner, to asset and propagate the renown and the miracles of his patron saint.⁹ Most of the chief churches of a kingdom had a commemorative anniversary of their patron saint, when his wonders were made the subject of endless sermons ; it was the great day of processions, rejoicing, and feasting ; and occasionally rendered more attractive by some new miracle, some marvellous cure, some demon ejected, or something which outdid the miracles of every neighbouring saint. Each of these notable saints had his life of strange incidents, the legend of his virtues and miracles, his shrines and his reliques ; and this legend was to his votaries a kind of gospel, which was wrought into the popular belief by constant iteration ; in fact the legend was the universal poetry of those times. The mythic literature of Roman Catholic Christianity is almost interminable in quantity, and its life and strength is centred in its particularity and individuality ; whenever it is reduced to a more compendious form it withers, the chill of the tomb gathers around it ; and under the searching grasp of comparative criticism, the specified particulars and the minute details are found to lack evidence, and so one by one, each story is made to pass from the realm of fact into that of belief, or the hallucinations of the dark and perplexed imagination of the sons of men.

The worship of saints was connected with the adoration of

⁹ Incidental evidence of this has already been given in the first volume of this work, pp. 117-130, 463-464, 491-498. The great authority for the lives of the Saints is the large folio volumes of the Bollandists' Collection, which was begun in 1643 by the Jesuit, Bolland. Within the past fifty years many of the materials relating to the Roman Catholic Church in England and Scotland have been published by the authority of the Commissioners of Record ; and by Clubs and Societies formed with the object of printing early records.

images, and the veneration of relics. The legend was confirmed and kept alive by the somewhat dimly shown relics, which might be either in the church, under the altar, or upon the altar. In 787, the Second Council of Nice issued a decree prohibiting the consecration of any church without relics; hence it may easily be understood that objects of such virtue and importance continually multiplied. The reliquary was the most precious ornament in the king's hall, in the lady's chamber, and in the knight's armoury. It cannot be denied that there is something human and even amiable in preserving memorials of the departed; and this natural and universal feeling when transferred to the relics of the Blessed Virgin and the saints had an almost incredible power. No one doubted that the relics of the saints wrought miracles; and the wood of the true cross grew and grew into a forest; the most perishable things became imperishable—the garments of the Saviour and of the saints. To such a height was the veneration of relics carried, and the belief in their virtue and miraculous powers had become so absolute, that the very devil himself failed to detect imposture. Up to the verge of the Reformation period the veneration of relics and the worship of images continued in unshaken authority.

As the Catholic Church developed and completed her organisation the world after death became more and more distinctly imagined and vividly described. Hell, purgatory and heaven, were palpably represented to the senses. The conception of hell and the doctrine of future punishment was especially clear and minutely elaborated; its site, its topography, its trials and torments, were all portrayed with harrowing exactness and repulsiveness. Hell is described in the writings of the Middle Ages in words that are too gross to be repeated here; its imagery had been for long accumulating, and it was gathered from various sources besides the Old and New Testaments. It was held and taught that eternal damnation was the lot which God had prepared for an immense majority of the human race; that their punishment consisted in the burning of their bodies in a literal

fire ; that the flames of this fire were never quenched nor the bodies of the damned ever consumed. That God had made the contemplation of their sufferings an essential element of the happiness of the redeemed ; and in fact the saint was frequently permitted in visions to behold the agonies of the lost, and to recount the spectacle he had seen. "He loved to tell how by the lurid glare of the eternal flames he had seen millions writhing in every form of ghastly suffering, their eyeballs rolling with unspeakable anguish, their limbs gashed and mutilated and quivering with pain, tortured by pangs that seemed ever keener by the recurrence, and shrieking in vain for mercy to an unpitying heaven. Hideous beings of dreadful aspect and of fantastic forms hovered around, mocking them and their torments, casting them into caldrons of boiling brimstone, or inventing new tortures more subtle and refined. Amid all this a sulphur stream was ever seething, feeding, and intensifying the waves of fire. There was no respite, no alleviation, no hope. The tortures were ever varied in their character, and they never paused for a moment upon the sense. Sometimes, it was said, the flames while retaining their intensity withheld their light. A shroud of darkness covered the scene, but the ceaseless shriek of anguish attested the agonies that were below."¹⁰

The doctrine of hell and eternal punishment as presented in the tenets of the Church of the Middle Ages, destroyed all sense of the Divine goodness, and would at length have extinguished the principle of right and morality. Religion, instead of ex-

¹⁰ Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I., pp. 348-349 ; St. Thomas Aquinas, In. 97, Art. 4, 5, 6 ; Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, Vol. II., pp. 148-149, 151-152. There is a large literature on hell and the punishment of the lost. Besides passages in the Fathers, and in the writings of the Schoolmen, and in the legends of the saints, we have the well-known works of the great Italian poet Dante ; another of his countrymen, not so well known, Antonio Rusca, is the author of a book entitled *De Inferno* ; Milan, 1621. It settles logically, and with great learning, every question relating to hell and its inhabitants—its place, extent, divisions, and torments. The more modern books which treat on the subject are very numerous, and quite recently the main points involved in the doctrine of future punishment have been handled from very opposite standpoints.

hibiting a pure and exemplary morality, had become a system of dogmas, of ceremonies and of relics, of asceticism and of abuse, of extreme credulity and of savage persecution, and all this was mainly supported and maintained by fear.

The doctrine of purgatory seems to have arisen gradually from the notion of a purifying fire, and it was afterwards brought into connection with the notion of the mass. It came in to soften the horrible idea of eternal torture in hell; in another respect it was simply a continuation of the doctrine of penance. The keys of heaven and hell unquestionably entailed a terrible responsibility upon the priesthood; and it is only charitable to suppose that many a priest must have thought that the key of purgatory might be used with much less presumption; and so it came to pass that praying souls out of purgatory by saying masses on their behalf was speedily developed into an elaborate office which demanded large remuneration. The purchase of indulgence naturally followed in the same wake; so much almsgiving to churches or to churchmen was understood to secure the remission of so many years, or it might be, centuries of purgatory.

But the idea of heaven, the state of the blessed, was not nearly so firmly realised as the notions of hell and purgatory. Many had brought back visions of hell and purgatory, but no one had returned from heaven with clear information about it; some of the saints might occasionally descend on beneficent missions to the world of living men, yet of the state of the blessed they only brought extremely vague tidings. In fact, the notion of heaven was mixed up with the prevailing cosmical theory, as well as with the theology of the age. The whole belief of Roman Catholicism was materialistic, a palpable image or a representation of everything was eagerly sought and as fully supplied.

At the opening of the sixteenth century the political power of the Church varied in different kingdoms. The head of the Church made the same absolute claims upon all the rulers of

Christendom, but they did not always respond equally to his calls and pretensions. In England the aristocracy and the commons had united to limit the exorbitant power and influence of the Pope within the kingdom, and his remonstrances and threats were unavailing. The English clergy, as a body, had a considerable share of political power ; they constituted one of the estates of the realm, and the territorial wealth of the bishops was large, and it contributed to enhance their social importance. The Pope, however, was still recognised as the head of the Church, and by artful management, and the policy of seizing every opportunity to extend the influence of the Court of Rome, it as yet retained a firm hold upon the English clergy.

In France the clergy were very powerful in the Middle Ages. By the middle of the thirteenth century they had begun to exercise an almost complete social tyranny. Heresy was a crime which fell under their jurisdiction ; they had a monopoly of granting licences to marry and of power to sanction wills ; they had an exclusive right to give judgment in cases of usury, that is loans ; and thus they became judges in nearly all the important disputes of daily life. Indeed they interfered in whatever suited them, and launched excommunication upon every opportunity, and this, if not removed, ended in confiscation. The French nobles who tamely yielded to the encroachments of the kings resisted the clergy ; they entered into a bond to aid each other in defying Papal excommunication. In 1249, King Louis issued his Pragmatic Sanction, an ordinance against the undue privileges of the clergy and the usurpations of the Popes. It established the rights of the national prelates to confer benefices as handed down to them, and the right of chapters and cathedrals to elect their bishops : it also abolished simony, which Rome in her urgent need of funds had introduced on a large scale. All these arrangements King Louis declared to be under the protection of his own royal courts. The decree forbade the levy of any tax by the court of Rome, unless it was sanctioned by the King, and consented to by the national

church. This ordinance remained in force till the reign of Francis I. in the sixteenth century. The Pragmatic Sanction was not a very bold assertion of religious freedom, but it seems to have been highly valued by the French ; although one of its results was to strengthen the growth of the royal authority—a growth which long proved fatal to the peace and happiness of the French.

The French nobility were a separate caste and paid no national taxes. Their estates descended to their eldest sons, but the younger sons, according to etiquette, also belonged to the noble class, and they became very numerous, and though often poor they were extremely proud of their blood and privileges. Thus it was that the people of France from an early period were hard pressed by paying rents to the nobles and taxes to the King, and the tithes to the Church, and other fees and money payments which were rigorously exacted from the hard won industry of the sons of toil. In 1483 the French peasants laid their grievances before Charles VIII., hoping for some remedy, but in vain ; the new monarch took to invading Italy, and thereby increased their taxes and shed more of their blood. Absolute monarchy became firmly established in France, and there the Reformation failed, not because she was Roman Catholic, but mainly because the struggle in France was finally decided upon secular and political grounds. The persecution of heresy in France was excessively severe till Catholicism gained the upper hand, and as it was more favourable to despotic government than Protestantism, the absolute monarchy of France ruled the people almost without a challenge for nearly two centuries. But at last the accumulated oppressions and wrongs perpetrated upon the people for many generations exhausted their endurance, and they arose and laid the Throne and the Church both in the dust. The Reformation which was stifled in the sixteenth century burst with volcanic violence at the end of the eighteenth ; then the people goaded almost to madness rose in their might, and scattered the glittering brass of the

Crown; and rent to shreds the hallowed veil of the Church which had so long covered the emblems and the instruments of their oppressors.

In Germany the strife between the Emperor and the Pope had ceased; and externally there seemed to be peace with the head of the Church in that quarter of Christendom. But there were many other elements of discord among the Germans; as yet they were far from having attained national unity. The country, though nominally under the Emperor, was really ruled by a number of petty princes and prelates, and the Emperor merely held a sort of feudal headship. Germany was still under the meshes of the feudal system; she had a class of little princes and great dukes, and under them a host of petty nobles and lords, most of them poor but proud and independent, and they constantly resisted all the attempts of the higher powers to control them. They claimed the right of waging private war, and the public peace was often broken. It was only in the free towns of Germany that there was union and real strength and peaceably organised society; the citizens were thrifty, toiled hard, and saved much, and thus they had gathered wealth. The want of Germany was a central and organised government with power enough to maintain the public peace.

No class in Germany had suffered more from the lawlessness of the nobles and knights than the peasantry, who were still in feudal serfdom. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century there had been several insurrections among the peasantry against their masters; and these risings at last began to be mixed up with the religious movement. They were the natural result of oppression, in the circumstances rebellion was the only remedy. The peasants of Swabia, a district of South Germany, rebelled in 1525 against the exactions of the Church and the nobles, but they were soon crushed.¹¹ Other local rebellions of the

¹¹ The demands which the leaders of the peasants put forward were comprised in twelve short articles—"The right to choose their own pastors; they would pay tithe of corn, out of which the pastors should be paid, the rest to go for the

peasantry followed, and severe and savage measures were adopted on both sides, and many were put to death. It has been calculated that before the peasants' war was ended 100,000 were slain. Luther throughout this struggle sided with the ruling powers; he was firmly opposed to the use of the sword against the civil authorities. The sons of the soil naturally thought that they should have found a friend in Luther but they were bitterly disappointed; he openly exhorted the princes and the nobles to crush the rebellion, and urged them on in the work of slaughter.¹² It need not be denied that in some degree this rebellion was incited by the seed that Luther himself had sown, and therefore he deserves the less sympathy for his hard and cruel bearing towards the poor peasantry and their somewhat wild leaders. The monks, who had suffered severely at the hands of the peasants during the progress of the rebellion, blamed Erasmus and the new learning for causing it; Erasmus blamed Luther, and Luther blamed the wilder teachers. But history must tell that it was the refusal of timely reforms by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities that was the real cause of the rebellion, and so persistent were these authorities against social reform that the German peasantry were doomed to groan under the yoke of serfdom till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, unhappily for the German race, they have been subjected to a crushing and exhausting militarism, a modern form of despotism, which is threatening to extinguish the spirit and consume the heart of this great but too submissive people.

use of the parish; but small tithes, that is, the produce of animals, every tenth calf, lamb, pig, or egg, and so on, they would not pay; they would be free and no longer serfs and bondmen; wild game and fish to be free to all; woods and forests to belong to all for fuel; rent when above the value of the land to be valued and lowered; common land to be again given up to common use; punishments for crimes to be fixed; death gifts, that is, the right of the lord to take the best chattel of the deceased tenant, to be done away with. If any of these articles be proved contrary to the Scriptures or God's justice, such to be null and void." But there was no chance of their demands being granted.

¹² Worsley's *Life of Luther*, Vol. II., pp. 62-64, 67-69, 71-73. There is a full account of the peasants' war in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I.

The new learning mentioned above had a remarkable influence on the Reformation movement in Germany. Erasmus had a European reputation and influence, but there was a band of other notable scholars more immediately connected with the rise of the Reformation in Germany. Among these may be named Reuchlin, Buschius, and Hutten; they were called "Humanists," and those who were bent on maintaining the old modes of learning branded the intruders as "preachers of perversion, and winnowers of the devil's chaff". Greek in particular was declared to be heretical: the monks and masters of the Universities were afraid of the light. Reuchlin was the greatest Hebrew scholar of his day, at once a man of the world and of books, but Hebrew was not more in favour than Greek with the theologians of the old school, and they resolved to crush the leaders of the literary reformation. Great efforts were put forth by the enemies of light to overwhelm Reuchlin; the struggle was desperate, and for some time the issue seemed doubtful, his enemies were fast closing in upon him; and as a last resort he wrote to his friends throughout Europe, entreating their interest in obtaining for him new allies. He received from all quarters expressions of sympathy and assistance. Reuchlin's victory in public opinion was completed by a satire which appeared in the beginning of the year 1516, entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, &c. The aim of this memorable satire is to make the enemies of Reuchlin and polite letters represent themselves: "And the representation is managed with a truth of nature only equalled by the absurdity of the postures in which the actors are exhibited . . . Never certainly were unconscious barbarism, self-glorious ignorance, intolerant stupidity, and sanctimonious immorality so ludicrously delineated. The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* are at once the most cruel and the most natural of satires, and as such they were the most effective . . . So truly, in fact, did it hit the mark that the objects of the ridicule themselves, with the exception of those who were necessarily in the secret, read the letters as the genuine product of their brethren,

and even hailed the publication as highly conducive to the honour of scholasticism and monasticism." ¹³

Hutten, who has generally been supposed to be one of the authors of the above satire, at first wrote in Latin rhyme, but he at length resolved to write in German for the instruction of the people. The burden of his popular German rhymes was that Germany must abandon Rome; he exposed her tyranny and worldliness, and stirred up the people against it. Many others also freely ridiculed the existing priestcraft by their fables, letters, and rhymes, and prepared the people for the inception of the Reformation.

Spain, before the end of the fifteenth century, had fully entered upon her task of persecuting the heretics. The Inquisition was early established in Spain, and more effectively applied to crush all attempts for the reformation of religion than in any other country. She long enjoyed the glory of being the most Catholic nation in Europe. The modern form of the Inquisition was adopted in Spain in 1484. It was at this time that Torquemada, a friar, was placed at its head with the title of Inquisitor-General, and he at once proceeded to organise the institution. After constituting the new tribunal, he framed a body of rules for its government, which were issued in 1484, and from time to time new rules were added till 1561, when the whole code was revised and published in eighty-one articles, which continued to be the law, with slight variations, down to the present century. Without entering into minute details, it may be stated that the Inquisition was not merely a court for the trial and condemnation of heretics; it was also a well organised body of police employed in searching out heresy, and thus it was one of its chief functions to hunt for the crimes on which it was afterwards to sit in judgment, and every member of its higher and lower courts was charged with this elevating work. At times when its vigilance was aroused by the alarm of

¹³ Sir W. Hamilton's *Discussions*, pp. 203-217; 1852. Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation in Germany*, Vol. I., pp. 300-308; 1845.

heresy, it had its spies and agents at every port and pass of the kingdom, fully armed with authority to arrest the persons and goods of all who incurred their suspicion. The forms of trial in its courts were all on the side of the inquisitors, and at once to render it an instrument of injustice and terror all its proceedings were shrouded in complete secrecy. The part of the procedure relating to torture was full of inhuman cruelties; when there was not sufficient evidence to convict the heretic he was tortured in order to force him to give answers against himself. From 1484 to 1517 the victims of the Inquisition in Spain consisted of thirteen thousand persons who were burnt alive, eight thousand seven hundred burnt in effigy, and one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three condemned to undergo penance, all within a period of thirty-four years.¹⁴

Various attempts were made to introduce the Reformation doctrines into Spain, but they completely failed. Everything savouring of heresy was utterly extinguished in that land: in the sixteenth century, Spain constituted herself the great champion of Roman Catholicism; although it was chiefly for political ends that she leagued with the court of Rome. She aimed at subjecting all classes to the absolute will of the monarch, and the power and seeming greatness which was raised upon this foundation contained within itself the vices which soon consumed her energy and ensured her decay.

At the opening of the sixteenth century Italy had made but little progress towards becoming a united nation. She was divided into a number of separate states with varying and opposite interests. The chief states were Venice, Milan, and Florence, in the north; Naples to the south; and the states of the Church between them, over which the Pope endeavoured to rule. These states of the Church contained a number of petty

¹⁴ Limborch's *Hist. of the Inquisition*, Vol. I., pp. 119-127, 156-159; Vol. II., pp. 211-226; 1731. Compare Dr. M'Crie's *Hist. of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, Works, Vol. III., pp. 50-51; 1855.

lordships and cities claiming independence, and the Nobles and the Pope were always quarrelling as to who should bear the chief sway. Quarrels were constantly fomenting among the Italian states; and the governments of the neighbouring kingdoms were apt to set their eyes on these comparatively weak principalities. Milan was claimed by the Kings of France, Spain, Naples, and the German Emperor; and by these internal and external forces Italy was kept in a sea of unrest and disorder. The power of the Papal Court was not so complete in Italy as in some other countries; and even excommunication had lost some of its terrors and former power.

Touching the morals of the clergy before the Reformation, there is a general concurrence of testimony against them; to the historian however this subject appears as a complicated problem tinged by the contorted notions of the age; inasmuch as it is difficult to reach the truth and do justice to opposing parties. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, a reformation of the Church had been loudly demanded; and the shortcomings of the Clergy were generally, if somewhat reluctantly, acknowledged throughout Christendom. They neglected the religious instruction of the people, and their sacred functions were often prostituted to worldly purposes; while the exactions of the Church were becoming more and more unbearable. Nowhere were these abuses and grievances more rampant than in Italy. The Court of Rome itself was more corrupted than any of the political Courts in Europe; the unprincipled and faithless character of its policy was everywhere notorious; in fact, it was a system of intrigue, of cabal, and of bribery. The sacred body of clerical dignitaries who surrounded the throne of the Pope might agree to dupe the world; yet they rarely scrupled to supplant and deceive each other when their personal interests were at stake. Many of the clergy did nothing but say masses for the dead, a more lucrative occupation than praying for the living. The education of the clergy and their modes of life were not well calculated to encourage self-culture nor the study

of Divine truth in order to qualify them to instruct others ; and the root of the prevailing system directly tended to narrow their sympathy and to dwarf their humanity. Celibacy cut them off from all the interests and duties of domestic life, and this left them at leisure for mischief of all kinds.¹⁵ Everywhere there

¹⁵ "The corruption of the Papal Court involved a corresponding moral weakness throughout Italy."—Symond's *Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 382, and the whole of the 7th Chapter. "The history of the clerical celibacy, in England as elsewhere, is indeed tender ground, the benefits which it is supposed to secure are the personal purity of the individual, his separation from secular ways and interests, and his entire devotion to the work of God and the Church. But the results, as legal and historical records show us, were very different. Instead of personal purity, there is a long story of licensed and unlicensed concubinage, and, appendant to it, much miscellaneous profligacy and a general low tone of morality in the very point that is supposed to be secured. Instead of separation from secular work is found in the higher class of the clergy entire devotion to the legal and political service of the country, and in the lower class idleness and poverty as the alternative. Instead of greater spirituality, there is greater frivolity. The abuses of monastic life, great as they may occasionally have been, sink into insignificance by the side of this evil, as an occasional crime tells against the moral condition of a nation far less fatally than the prevalence of a low morality. The records of the spiritual courts of the middle ages remain in such quantity and in such concord of testimony as to leave no doubt of the facts ; among the laity as well as among the clergy, of the towns and clerical centres, there existed an amount of coarse vice which had no secrecy to screen it or prevent it from spreading. . . . And in this, as in other particulars, the mediæval Church incurred a fearful responsibility. The evils against which she had to contend were beyond her power to overcome, yet she resisted interference from any other hand. The treatment of such moral evils as did not come within the contemplation of the common law were left to the Church courts ; the Church courts became centres of corruption which archbishops, legates, and councils tried to reform and failed, acquiescing in the failure rather, than allow the intrusion of the secular power. The spiritual jurisdiction over the clergy was an engine which courts altogether failed to manage, or so far failed as to render reformation of manners by such means absolutely hopeless : yet any interference of the temporal courts was resented and warded off until the evil was irremediable, because a clerk stripped of the reality of his immunities, but retaining all the odium with which they had invested him would have no chance of justice in a lay court. Thus on a smaller stage was reproduced the result which the policy of the papacy brought about in the greater theatre of ecclesiastical politics. The practical assertion that, except by the court of Rome, there should be no reformation, was supplemented by an acknowledgment of the evils that were to be reformed, and of the incapacity of the court of Rome to cure them : there popes and councils toiled in vain, they could neither bear the evils of the age nor their remedies. Strange to say, some part of the mischief of the spiritual jurisdiction survived the Reformation itself,

was a number of priests and friars, whose religious duties occupied only a small portion of their time, and whose standard of morality was formed upon an extremely low ideal; and it was the moral standard that required to be raised before there could be any real improvement in the social condition either of the clergy or the people.

For several centuries before the Reformation much of the popular literature of Europe was directed against the vices of the clergy and the abuses of the Church; upon this theme the most orthodox and the most heretical were agreed. The secular clergy often despised the monks, the monks satirised the begging friars, and thus their inconsistencies were exposed to the people, and by slow degrees the strength of the old traditions and prejudices were loosened and impaired, and the people partly prepared for a revolution in their opinions and belief.

From an early period in Italy the corruptions of the Church were ably exposed by persons who had no thought of renouncing her communion. The Italian poets laid open the abuses of the head of the Church as well as the subordinate orders of the clergy. Dante, who was a sincere believer in the Roman Catholic Church, shows little faith in the infallibility of the Popes or general councils, and he describes the avarice and the luxurious lives of the clergy in the language of indignation and ridicule. In his treatise on Monarchy he inveighs with remarkable boldness against the corruption of the Church; and in this work he also attacked tradition, the grand fortress of Catholicism. Petrarch and Boccaccio followed in a similar strain; and the latter, especially by his broad humour, keen wit, and reckless pleasantry was exceedingly effective. He mercilessly assailed the popular religion; its pilgrimages, relics, and miracles are scoffed at in the most playful style; its corruptions are laid bare, and the monks, the nuns, and the friars are stripped of their

and enlarged its scope as well as strengthened its operation by the close temporary alliance between the Church and the Crown."—*Stubb's Const. Hist. Eng.*, Vol. III., pp. 372-374; 1878.

sanctity and derided in profane mockery and jeering scorn.¹⁶ The Decamerone of Boccaccio is the bitterest satire of the religion of the Middle ages ever written, and to this day it remains the most curious illustration of the belief and notions of that age. Many other Italian poets and writers employed their talents to unmask the ignorance, the vice, the greed, the hypocrisy, and the absurdities of the hierarchy from the Popes to the wandering mendicants; and this warfare was continued down to the eve of the Reformation.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Savonarola, a Dominican friar, became a religious reformer. An Italian by birth and education, he was a man of talents and great piety, but he seems to have yielded to the illusions of his imagination and at last persuaded himself that he was possessed of supernatural gifts. In 1486, he commenced preaching against the vices of the popes, cardinals, priests, and monks, the tyranny of princes, and the immorality of the people; he was an eloquent and powerful preacher, and he called earnestly for repentance and reformation. He preached in various cities, and vast crowds of the people came to hear him. Florence was chosen as the

¹⁶ Dante's *Inferno*, Et. al. Cary's Translation; Petrarch's *Sonnets* and other Poems; Milman's *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Vol. VI., pp. 516-518, &c.; M'Crie's *Hist. Reformation in Italy*, Works, Vol. III., pp. 14-19; 1855. "While so much liberty of thought prevailed in Italy it may be wondered why the Renaissance, eminently fertile in the domains of arts and culture, bore but meagre fruit in those of religion and philosophy. The German Reformation was the Renaissance of Christianity; and in this the Italians had no share, though it should be remembered that, without their previous labours in the field of scholarship, the band which led the Reformation could hardly have given that high intellectual character to the movement which made it a new starting point in the history of the reason. To expect from Italy the ethical regeneration of the modern world would be to misapprehend her true vocation; art and erudition were sufficient to engage her spiritual energies."

"True to culture as their main preoccupation, the Italian thinkers sought to philosophise faith by bringing Christianity into harmony with antique speculation, and forming for themselves a theism that should embrace the system of the Platonists and Stoics, the Hebrew Cabbala, and the Sermon on the Mount. There is much that strikes us as both crude and pedantic, at the same time infantine and pompous in the systems elaborated by those pioneers of modern eclecticism."—Symond's *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. II., pp. 21-23; 1877.

scene of his labour, and for a short time he had a great influence in that city. His aim was to improve the morals of the clergy and the people, not to change the faith of the Christian world. He was also a warm friend of the cause of political liberty and freedom. From this standpoint he was one of the most ardent Reformers. Towards the close of his career his mind had become fevered and unbalanced, and he prophesied rather wildly. In 1495, Pope Alexander VI. deemed it time to stop so bold a preacher, and he was excommunicated and proclaimed a heresiarch ; he was afterwards taken, tortured, condemned to the flames, and strangled and burned in May, 1498, by the order of the Pope, who had himself committed many dark crimes.¹⁷

For two centuries preceding the Reformation a literature in the language of the people had been growing up in Germany, France, and England, and in each of these countries the vernacular contained a mass of writings which satirised the corruptions of the Church and the vices of the clergy. This class of compositions was sometimes in the form of rude rhymes and short poems, and sometimes songs or ballads, but occasionally they assumed a more ambitious form, as in the poems of Chaucer and Piers Ploughman. As before indicated, the general result of this literature upon the minds of the people was that gradually and with difficulty they began to see some of the inconsistencies of the Church, and their moral and religious consciousness at last awoke to a clearer conception of their rights.

But the causes of the Reformation were manifold and extremely varied, rising so high and at the same time descending so low, and yet invoking so many venerated feelings and sentiments of our common nature. And it must be added, so many prejudices and passions were inflamed on both sides, so many great prizes and invested interests depended upon the issue that even at this day it is almost impossible for any man to assign

¹⁷ Symond's *Renaissance*, Vol. I., pp. 428-471.

the true and just measure of all the influences and elements which contributed to this the most momentous struggle of the Christian era.

Another important agency of the revolutionary movement was implied in the printing and publication of editions and translations of the Scriptures. In Italy during the fifteenth century attention was devoted to the Hebrew language and to sacred literature. The Psalter appeared in 1477, and from that date parts of the Old Testament in the original continued to be issued from the press, till in 1488 a complete Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino in Italy. The first edition of the Septuagint came from the Aldine press at Venice in 1518. Erasmus published at Basle in 1516 his edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, together with his own Latin version and explanatory annotations. The book of Job in Hebrew was printed at Paris in 1516. The Polyglot Bible of Alcalá, under the patronage and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, was printed between 1502 and 1517 and published in 1520. It contained in three columns the Hebrew, the Septuagint Greek, and the Latin Vulgate version of Jerome; the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch by Onkelos was printed at the foot of the page, and to it a Latin translation was given; the New Testament included the original Greek and Vulgate Latin version. The work also had a grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew, a Greek vocabulary, and other explanatory treatises attached to it. To Spain, therefore, belongs the credit of printing the first complete edition of the Scriptures. An edition of the Septuagint and of the Greek New Testament was published at Strasburgh by Cephalaëus in 1524 and 1526; editions of the New Testament also appeared at Paris in 1534 and at Venice in 1538; and about the same time editions were printed at various other places. Hebrew and Greek grammars and lexicons now began to appear, and commentaries on the Scriptures followed.¹⁸

¹⁸ Ginguene's *Hist. of Italian Literature*, Tom. VII. ; Dr. M'Crie's Works, Vol. III., pp. 31, 34, 36; 1855. Among the earliest books of any kind printed

But these important works were confined to the learned and could have had no impression upon the popular mind. The influences, however, which had contributed to produce them were general and not limited to any class ; the religious feelings and sentiments were as active among the unlearned as among the most cultured men of the age. The activity of the learned class, as manifested in the publication of the Scriptures, was the effect of general and widely spread influences which were running in a definite direction. Translations of the Scriptures were therefore eagerly solicited, and now for the first time began to be supplied. It is said that the Scriptures were translated into the Italian language in the thirteenth century, and it is certain that fragments of very early translations were found in libraries during the fifteenth century. Nicolo Malermi, a monk, produced an Italian version of the Bible from the Vulgate, which was published in 1471 : it went through eleven editions before the end of the century and twelve editions in the next century. About this period various Italian versions of parts of the Scriptures also appeared. An improved and more faithful translation of the New Testament was executed by Antonio Brucioli, and printed at Venice in 1530, his translation of the whole Bible was published in 1532, and it was revised and reprinted in 1541 ; other Italian versions of the Scriptures soon followed. But in none of the modern languages were so many translations and editions of the Bible published as in the Flemish or Dutch tongue. A Flemish version of the Bible appeared in 1477 ; a translation from the Vulgate was printed at Delft in 1497, and it was reprinted several times before the Reformation at the presses of Antwerp and Amsterdam. A Flemish version of the New Testament from that of Luther was published at Antwerp in 1522, and it was reprinted twelve times within the next five years. During the first thirty-six years of the sixteenth century

was a Psalter in 1457, and a Latin Bible about the year 1455, usually called the Mazarin Bible, the exact date of its printing is uncertain, but it is not earlier than 1450 nor later than 1455.

fifteen editions of the entire Bible was printed in the Flemish language, and thirty-four editions of the New Testament alone within the same period, twenty-four of which were printed at Antwerp ; some of these were taken from the Vulgate, but most of them from Luther's version. The earliest French translation of the Old Testament from the Vulgate was printed about 1477 ; a French version of the New Testament was published in 1512, and a version of the Bible in 1530. The earliest Protestant translation of the Bible in French was printed at Neufchatel in 1535.¹⁹

In Spain the Scriptures were translated into the Castilian dialect in the year 1260, and other ancient versions of the Bible in the dialects of the Spanish people are still preserved in the libraries of the Continent. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Bonifacio Ferrer, a Carthusian monk, translated the whole of the Scriptures into the Spanish language, and this translation was printed at Valencia in 1478 ; but shortly after its publication it was suppressed by the Inquisition, and the whole impression ordered to be burned. A Spanish version of the New Testament was printed at Antwerp in 1543.²⁰ Luther's German translation of the Old and New Testaments was published between the years 1522 and 1530, and translations of the Bible were published in the Danish language in 1524 and in the Swedish in 1526.

Wycliffe commenced his English translation of the Bible from the Vulgate in 1380, and it is supposed that portions of it had been widely circulated. Tyndale's English version of the New Testament was printed in 1526, and within ten years fourteen editions of it were published. Coverdale's translation of the whole Bible was published in 1535 ; another version, mainly based upon Tyndale's, appeared in 1537. A revised translation was issued in 1539,²¹ and sometimes called Cranmer's Bible.

¹⁹ Panfer's *An. Typ. In.* ; Simon's *Hist. Critique* ; Dr. M'Crie's Works, Vol. III., pp. 38-40.

²⁰ *Le Long. Bibl. Saci.*, Book I. Andres.

²¹ Bibdin's *Typ. Ant.* ; Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, 1862.

The publication of so many translations of the Scriptures in the languages and dialects of the people, and the numerous editions which they passed through, seemed to indicate that a crisis was approaching, the religious sentiments of the people were warmed, and their feelings and their passions were raised to a pitch of excitement which it might be extremely difficult to control. The lower classes in many parts of Europe had been long groaning under oppression, and a sense of wrong had begun to rankle in their minds; indeed a century and a half earlier the English peasantry had rebelled against their masters, and we have seen that the same classes in Germany had revolted against the Church and the nobles. The inconsistencies of the profession and the practice of the clergy could hardly fail to open the eyes of the people, while the social position in which they found themselves placed did not harmonise with the most elementary ideas of justice and truth. They therefore listened with keen emotion and swelling hearts to the impassioned appeals of the reformed preachers, and these easily won over the multitude; but there was much more difficulty in moderating the zeal and the passions aroused by their preaching. Even in Luther himself the destructive leaning was pretty strong and pronounced.²²

This awakening of the religious consciousness, and its association with moral and social practice, soon led to important issues. The married life, which had hitherto been regarded as inferior to celibacy, now appeared in a new light, as something divine, as a law imposed by God himself; and the domestic duties at once assumed a higher and nobler significance. Poverty was no longer considered an object in itself, though the life of the

²² Luther's view of philosophy—"I believe it to be impossible that the Church should be reformed without completely eradicating canons, decretals, scholastic theology, philosophy, and logic, as they are now received and taught, and instituting others in their place."—Ueberweg's *Hist. of Philosophy*, Vol. II., pp. 16-17. "Luther railed against all speculative doctrines and pursuits with violent, indiscriminate recklessness. He frequently expresses the most withering contempt for Aristotle and all his works."—Blakey's *Hist. of the Philosophy of the Mind*, Vol. II., p. 129; 1848. Compare *D'Aubigne's Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I., pp. 154, 219.

monk had before been deemed higher than the worldly energy and industry of the layman who supported himself by the labour of his hands. Religious freedom took the place of blind obedience, and henceforward monkhood and priesthood lost their absolute sway.

· Again, in relation to knowledge and to thought, man returned, as it were, from the extramundane to the genial earth—from the alien region of authority to himself. He was at last convinced that within himself the entire work of salvation must be accomplished, and that reconciliation and grace were matters that stood in a direct relation between himself and God. With this conviction in the depths of his soul he found his real and true being; thus it is that the philosophy of the human mind is closely connected with Protestantism, for the principle of both is one and the same, although in the course of development it realises itself in varying forms.²³

The Bible appeared to the early Reformers as the pure, genuine, and true word of God, and whatever had been added to it was not regarded as a real advance upon the original, but rather as a castration and debasement. The authority of tradition was denied, the mediæval hierarchy and the scholastic tendency to rationalise Christian dogmas were rejected. In the first burst of the enthusiasm of the early stages of the struggle the Reformers called the Pope Antichrist, and Aristotle, the chief of the Catholic school philosophy, the godless bulwark of the Papists. The logical result of this would have been the abandonment of all philosophy in favour of immediate, unquestioning faith: but when Protestantism gained a fixed consistence the necessity of a definite order of instruction became as apparent as that of a new ecclesiastical polity. Melancthon perceived the need of Aristotle, the master of form, and at last Luther allowed the use of the text of Aristotelian writings, when not encumbered with scholastic commentaries. Thus there arose at the Protestant Universities a new, though simpler, scholasti-

²³ Schwegler's *Hist. of Philosophy*, Dr. Stirling's Trans., pp. 148-149; 1868.

cism; the development of an independent philosophy on the basis of the generalised Protestant principle was the work of a later time.²⁴

²⁴ Ueberweg's *Hist. of Philosophy*, Vol. II., pp. 15-16. Modern Philosophy began when it ceased its entire subservience to theology which characterised it in the Middle Ages. In the words of one of the best authorities, the chief divisions of modern philosophy are: "1. The Transitorial Period, beginning with the revival of Platonism; 2. The Epoch of Empiricism, Dogmatism, and Scepticism, from Bacon and Descartes to the Encyclopedists and Hume; and 3. The epoch of the Kantian Criticism, and of the systems issuing from it, from Kant till the present time.

"Unity, servitude, freedom—these are the three stages through which the philosophy of the Christian era has passed in its relation to ecclesiastical theology. The stage of freedom corresponds with the general character of the modern era, which seeks to restore, in place of mediæval antagonism, harmonious unity. Freedom of thought, in respect of form and substance, has been secured gradually by modern philosophy. The first movement in this direction consisted in a mere exchange of authorities, or in the reproduction of other ancient systems than that of Aristotle, without much modification, and such adaption to new and changed conditions, as the scholastics had effected in the system of Aristotle. Then followed the era of independent investigation in the realm of nature, and finally also in the realm of mind. There was a transitional period marked by the endeavour of philosophy to become independent. The second epoch, the epoch of Empiricism and Dogmatism, was characterised by methodical investigations and comprehensive systems, which were based on the confident belief that knowledge of natural and spiritual reality was independently attainable by means of experience or thought alone. Scepticism prepared the way for the third stadium in the history of modern philosophy, which was formed by criticism. According to the critical philosophy, the investigation of the cognitive faculty of man is the necessary basis for all strictly scientific philosophising, and the result aimed at by it is, that thought is incompetent to the cognition of the real world of phenomena, beyond which the only guide is man's moral consciousness. This result has been denied by the following systems, although these systems are all lineal descendants from the Kantian philosophy, which is still of immediate (not merely historical) significance for the philosophy of the present day."—Ueberweg's *Hist. of Philosophy*, Vol. II., pp. 1-3; 1874.

There is only a limited truth in the presuppositions of a complete parallelism between the progress of the development of the ancient philosophy and that of the modern. "Modern philosophy has from the beginning owed its existence in a far greater measure to an interest in theology (though not for the most part to an interest in the specially ecclesiastical form of theology) than did ancient philosophy previous to the time of Neo-Platonism."—*Ibid.*, p. 3. The most remarkable difference between the ancient and modern philosophy is in the science of mind. Psychology has within comparatively recent times been developed to a stage of completeness much beyond what the philosophers of Greece had reached; and the departments of moral and social science are now treated on a different and far wider method than in ancient times.

From the beginning there were two chief doctrines which determined the course taken by the Reformers. One of these was the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, the other manifested itself in the constant appeal to the Bible as the only decisive authority in questions concerning faith. It is pretty evident that the German Reformers held mainly by the first, while those of Switzerland, Zuinglius and Calvin, gave the preference to the second.

Although the leaders of the Reformation did not adopt a bold critical method of inquiry, and though the systems which Luther and Calvin founded were essentially dogmatic at all points; yet the admission of an act of spiritual rebellion, of an appeal to conscience and to the judgment of the people, instead of the authority of the Catholic Church, involved a principle which must ultimately lead to consequences that the Reformers hardly intended and could not have foreseen. Questions concerning the sacraments, the meaning of certain texts of Scripture, the forms of church polity, were discussed with the utmost zeal; but the grand issue of the revolution—the rebellion of the moral faculty against doctrines that collided with its teaching—was as yet little manifested by the Reformers. They had rejected much of the traditions and the external ceremonies of the Church, but they still looked to the Bible and historical authority for the basis of their theology. And yet it cannot be doubted that the Reformation introduced influences which had a powerful effect on the philosophy of the human mind;²⁵ and at length greatly modified the moral ideas and sentiments of the people, and lead to political and social results. This revolutionary movement also gave a marked impetus to scientific inquiry. It was then that empirical science began to assume importance, and it is only from this epoch that it has a continuous history.

When we inquire what was the meaning of a national revolt

²⁵ D. Stewart's Works, Vol. I., pp. 28-30; 1854. Blakey's *Hist. of the Philosophy of the Mind*, Vol. II., p. 128; 1848.

from Romanism, and look only to external circumstances, it will not appear to amount to much. It was the claim set up by the Government or the Crown for the control of those rights within the nation, which the Pope had before claimed as the head of the Christian empire; the clergy and monks and friars had hitherto been regarded as subjects of the Pope's sacerdotal empire. Now, where there was a revolt from Rome, the allegiance of this class of persons was annulled, and the civil government claimed as full a power over them as it had over its lay subjects; there were some partial exceptions to this, but the essential point was the entire exclusion of all the pretensions of the Pope to interfere with any of the affairs of the nation. Generally matters relating to marriage and wills still remained under the jurisdiction of the clergy, but when the ecclesiastical courts ceased to be papal they became national, and the special matters with which they dealt, might, if necessary, be brought under the control of the Government. Even touching religious doctrine and the forms of public worship, the Government often claimed the final authority before exercised by the Pope. Thus externally considered, the revolt from Rome was rather a political and ecclesiastical arrangement than a purely religious affair. In relation to the ruling powers, it was an assertion of free, independent national life; the instinctive feeling for unity and the pride of distinct national independence entered as a very strong influence in the struggles of the Reformation, but it was not always on the side of the Protestants; and in those countries where the movement failed, as in Spain and France, it was probably owing to these influences more than to any other cause. In the imperfectly tutored mind the instinctive tendencies, the inherited feelings, and the traditional notions, together form a conservative power and unreasoning force which it is almost impossible to overcome without a gradual change of surroundings and circumstances; while to many highly cultured individuals, the mere idea of belonging to the great historical and the only true and infallible Church is exceedingly soothing and gratifying. To

be relieved also from all perplexing doubts concerning those questions touching the spiritual and eternal destiny of the soul is to many a matter of exquisite satisfaction ; they glory in the thought of the certainty of their everlasting salvation ; they glory in the notion that whatever others may be, they at least cannot be wrong ; time may come and go, generation after generation of the heretics and heathens may be whirled into everlasting misery, but they alone go on for ever rejoicing that the universe was specially created for their eternal happiness.

The eras of the Reformation among the different nations of Europe were comprised within a period of about fifty years, though in some countries the struggle lasted longer. The revolt of Luther is usually dated 1517, when he published his thesis against indulgences, but the Reformation in Germany was only partly successful. Denmark and Sweden both broke from Rome and adopted the Lutheran doctrines between 1521 and 1534 ; about the same time several of the cantons and chief cities of Switzerland became Protestant. England threw off the authority of the Pope in 1535. But the struggle with the Roman Catholic powers was longest continued in the Netherlands, in France, and in Germany ; in the two latter the Catholics ultimately recovered much of the ground that they had lost.

Luther was backed by the Elector of Saxony, and this enabled him to continue the disputes with the Church. His activity and writings soon raised a stir in Germany, which spread to other lands. He published two pamphlets in 1520, the first was addressed to the nobility of the German nation, and in it we find the following sentiments :—"The Romanists have raised round themselves walls to protect themselves from reform. One is their doctrine, that there are two separate estates : the one spiritual, including the pope, bishops, priests, and monks ; the other secular, embracing the princes, nobles, artizans, and peasants. And they lay it down that the secular power has no power over the spiritual, but that the spiritual is above the secular ; whereas, in truth, all Christians are spiritual,"

✓ and there is no difference between them. The secular power is of God, to punish the wicked and protect the good, and so has power over the whole body of Christians without exception, pope, bishops, monks, nuns, and all. For St. Paul says—'Let every soul (and I reckon the pope one) be subject to the higher powers.' Why should 300,000 florins be sent every year from Germany to Rome? Why do the Germans let themselves be fleeced by cardinals who get hold of the best preferments and spend the revenues at Rome? Let us not give another farthing to the Pope as subsidies against the Turk; the whole thing is a snare to drain us of more money. Let the secular authorities send no more annates to Rome; let the power of the Pope be reduced within clear limits; let there be fewer cardinals, and let them not keep the best things to themselves; let the national churches be more independent of Rome; let there be fewer pilgrimages to Italy; let there be fewer convents; let priests marry; let begging be stopped by making each parish take charge of its own poor; let us inquire into the position of the Bohemians, and if Huss was in the right, let us join with him in resisting Rome."²⁶ This passage shows that Luther knew well how to catch the ear of the people, and he also wrote in a strain which was likely enough to arrest the attention of the princes of the day; nothing could be more gratifying than to set their own authority above the clergy and the Church. From this date Luther's impassioned nature hurried him on: he burned the Pope's bull and the canon law books in the month of December, 1520. But it would be unjust not to mention that there were many in the Roman Catholic Church who earnestly wished for a reform of the discipline and the manners of the clergy and the monastic orders, although they were averse to any separation from her communion or any breaking up of what was deemed her legitimate authority. This class of moderate men, though some of them were not without

²⁶ Luther's Works, Walch's ed. H. Worsley's *Life of Luther*, Vol. I., pp. 169-171.

influence, were doomed to effect very little, because in times of revolution bold measures alone have the chance of commanding success.

Luther was a voluminous writer as well as a great preacher, and in spite of his faults, taking him all and all, he presents the characteristics of a veritable hero. His works are both numerous and diverse, they consist of sermons and expositions of Scripture, disputations, and controversial writings, many letters and circular epistles, maxims, hymns, and his translation of the Bible already mentioned. Most of Luther's writings were produced on the spur of the moment to meet some exigency, and none of them can be regarded as finished compositions, yet they are fresh and full of vigour and energy.²⁷ But it fell to the lot of the calmer and more learned Melancthon to lead the stream of the newly awakened life of faith into its methodically circumscribed channel. Besides many other valuable works, he composed the first compend of the doctrines of the Protestant Church, which formed the basis of other treatises.²⁸

Melancthon was appointed by the newly formed Protestant party to draw up a Confession of Faith, in a concise and calm form, on the basis of the doctrines which he and Luther and other divines had determined. It was laid before the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and hence it has been called the Confession of Augsburg. It consists of twenty-eight articles. In the first twenty-one the principal doctrines of faith are discussed in reference to the Roman Catholic Church, but with remarkable moderation of tone; the last seven articles treat of the prevailing abuses of Catholicism. A confutation published by the

²⁷ Many editions of Luther's works, more or less complete, have been published: one at Wittenberg, twelve volumes in German, 1539-59, and seven in Latin, 1545-58; one at Jena, eight volumes in German, 1555-58, and four in Latin, 1556-58; another at Altenburg, in ten volumes in German, 1661-64, and there are several later editions.

²⁸ His *Loci Communes rerum Theologicarum seu Hypotyposes Theologiæ* was published in 1521, and it passed through upwards of a hundred editions, about fifty of which appeared during his lifetime.

Roman Catholics, in opposition to this Confession, was soon after followed by a treatise from Melancthon, entitled the Apology of the Confession. A similar arrangement is adopted in the Apology as in the Confession, but the number of articles is reduced to sixteen. This work long occupied the first place among the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church ; in argumentative power the Apology is exceptionally masterly among this class of theological literature. The Articles of Schmalkald, written by Luther in a far bolder strain, appeared in 1536, and the first German edition was published in 1538. With these may be mentioned Luther's larger and smaller Catechisms, the larger one for the use of the clergy and schoolmasters, and the other for the use of the people and children.

The early Swiss Reformer, Zuinglius, proclaimed the principles of evangelical faith in various writings, which may be regarded as the beginning of the consecutive theology of the reformed Church. Besides his polemical writings, sermons, and letters, he wrote *Commentaries concerning True and False Religion*, published in 1525, and *A Brief and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*. The first Confession of the Reformed Church was published in 1534, and it is known as the Confession of Basle. But owing to the controversy touching the Lord's Supper, and the efforts made to restore peace, a second Confession was composed by the Swiss Reformers and divines in 1536, and it is usually called the Helvetian Confession.

From the very commencement of the Reformation it became manifest that the Protestants must proceed upon a different method of attaining knowledge from that followed by the Roman Catholics. The radical distinction between the two, which has continued to become wider down to the present day, may be shortly stated: The Protestants assert that the Old and New Testament is the only safe source of religious knowledge, and forms the sole rule of faith ; the Roman Catholic Church assumes the existence of another source associated with the first, namely, tradition. The Roman Catholic Church emphatically claims

the sole right of interpreting Scripture ; but the Protestant Church concedes this right, within limits, to every one who has the requisite gifts and attainments, and in a wider sense to every one who seeks after salvation ; she proceeds upon the view that Scripture should be interpreted in its entirety according to the analogy of faith, and she also allows for the distinction between a critical and general understanding—between the common understanding and a deeper insight into the meaning of Scripture. Having now concluded a sketch of the antecedents of the Reformation, I return to the more immediate subject of the work.

Section II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND TO THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEATON.

While Europe was on the eve of the first stage of the Reformation struggle, Scotland, as we have seen in a foregoing volume, had lost her king and many of her leading men upon the disastrous field of Flodden. The citizens of Edinburgh, however, were equal to the emergency, and they immediately took steps to preserve order and to defend the capital if the enemy advanced to attack it.²⁹ But the fear of an invasion was soon dispelled as the Earl of Surrey disbanded his host. In October, 1513, the infant king was crowned at Scone and his mother named as regent, but her frothy disposition shortly led her into actions which rendered this arrangement nugatory. Within less than a year of her husband's death she married the young Earl of Angus, which at once deprived her of the regency.

Meanwhile a party of the nobles were looking to the Duke of Albany as a likely person to take the reins of Government. He was a son of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, a brother of James III., who after his forfeiture passed into France, and there attained to a position of wealth and honour ; as a member

²⁹ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. I., pp. 143-144. It was at this time that the authorities resolved to build a wall around Edinburgh.—*Ibid*, p. 146.

of the Royal family, after the young king, he stood next heir to the throne, and he was now requested to come to Scotland and act the part of Governor. But the state of society in Scotland offered comparatively few attractions to a man living in the gay and fashionable circles of France, and Albany seems to have been loth to leave the enjoyments of his adopted country even in exchange for the highest place in the Council of Scotland.

As usual, there was war among the nobles themselves, while at the same time a fierce contest was raised among the dignitaries of the Church about the See of St. Andrews. Gavin Douglas, the provost of St. Giles, John Hepburn, the prior of St. Andrews, and Andrew Forman, the bishop of Moray, each eagerly sought and struggled to gain possession of this coveted position; and after some unseemly displays of force a compromise was effected by a distribution of benefices and temporalities among the aspirants, and Forman obtained St. Andrews, together with the power of *Legate a Latere* and the promise of a cardinal's hat.³⁰

In May, 1515, the Duke of Albany arrived in Scotland, and he was warmly welcomed by the people, who hoped to enjoy more tranquillity under his regency. But the task of restoring order amid the discordant influences of Scottish society was one of enormous difficulty. The new regent's talents were undoubtedly above the average of his class, but he laboured under the disadvantage of being a Frenchman in manner and habits, almost entirely unacquainted with the usages and the feelings of the Scots. He began his government by rather bold measures: offenders of the highest rank were seized, imprisoned, and executed; such proceedings, however, were too much out of the usual course of things among the Scots, and they failed to produce the effect intended; the Scotch aristocracy would not long submit to be treated in this form. In a short time Albany seems to have discovered the hopelessness of his post, for he

³⁰ Buchanan's *Hist. Scot.*, B. XIII., ch. 48. *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 125-127.

repeatedly returned to France to be out of the turmoil, and his regency came to an end in 1524, after a fluctuating sway of only eight years.³¹

The persistent interference of Henry VIII. with the internal affairs of Scotland added another element of anarchy. He appears to have had a special animus at the Duke of Albany, but he continued to tease and torment Scotland throughout his reign. Henry's intrigues and projects never ceased; he endeavoured to get the young king into his hands by encouraging his sister to flee with her children into England; he kept a number of paid spies and agents in Scotland for the express purpose of exciting popular tumults, private quarrels, and rekindling the jealousy of the nobles, in order to distract and discredit the government of Albany; and project after project arose in his passionate breast, which his ambitious and brutal nature pursued with unrelenting and murderous severity; sometimes his hobby was political, sometimes religious, at other times matrimonial, and in almost every instance with the result of inflicting great suffering upon the people of Scotland. During the regency of Albany, the Earl of Angus had been forced to leave the country, however he entered into a paction with the English Government in 1524, and returned to Scotland.³²

At this time the chief nobles were much divided, and the Earl of Angus quickly matured his plot for seizing the symbol of Government. Having secured the concurrence of the Earl of Arran and others he got hold of the young king, and, as had often been done before in similar circumstances, he shortly concentrated in his own hands all the power of the Crown. Angus kept the young king in close restraint, and revelling in his usurped authority he exercised a severe tyranny on all who dared to oppose him. In this state the kingdom remained for

³¹ Buchanan's *Hist. Scot.*, B. XIII. Among modern historians Tytler has treated the regency of Albany at greatest length. *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. V., pp. 101-174; 1834.

³² *State Papers*, reign of Henry VIII., Vol. IV., throughout. Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. V., pp. 99, 117-119, 182.

several years, though two attempts were made to rescue the king from the grasp of the bold noble, in one of which the Earl of Lennox lost his life, and the chains of the captive were more firmly rivetted than before. The Douglasses were complete masters of the situation, Angus himself was chancellor, his uncle was treasurer, and they compelled the king to sign any deeds which they chose to present to him ; both the revenue and the law of the country were wholly under their control. At last, with the assistance of Archbishop Beaton, James escaped from Angus in May, 1528, and from that time to the end of his reign he pursued the Earl and his adherents with implacable severity.³³

The king proceeded to adopt measures against Angus and his adherents, but the Earl for some time defied the efforts of the Crown. In September a parliament met and passed an act of attainder against the Douglasses, and Angus was forced to flee into England. The king appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow chancellor, the Abbot of Holyrood was made treasurer, and the Bishop of Dunkeld, keeper of the privy seal.³⁴ These appointments indicated that the tide was turned against the aristocracy, that the policy of the young king would be strongly influenced by the circumstances in which he had been placed. James soon manifested an unmistakable intention to curb the nobles, but it must be added that he entered upon his purpose without a full and proper appreciation of the difficulties of the task ; he seems to have greatly under-estimated the power of the nobles, and accordingly he paid the penalty. When the nobles were excluded from the Government of the kingdom they then began to show a leaning towards the doctrines of the Reformation, they were extremely dissatisfied with the king, and they hated the clergy on account of their influence over him, and their control of the Government of the country.

But the causes and circumstances which tended to promote

³³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 301, 307, 312, 330 ; *Lesly's Hist. Scot.*, pp. 134, 136, 140 ; *Buchanan's Hist. Scot.*, B. XIV., ch. 33.

³⁴ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 322-323, 324 ; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 11.

the Reformation in Scotland demand a more minute examination. In the eleventh chapter of this work it was noticed that the wealth of the Church gave the clergy much power in the public affairs and the government of the country ; it was also observed that the clergy generally ranked themselves on the side of the Crown in its struggles with the aristocracy. This deep-seated antagonism of interests between the clergy and aristocracy was one of the chief external causes of the Reformation in Scotland ; and in the development of Protestantism in our country, the motives of this aristocratic connection finally issued in curious and instructive results. James V. was not insensible to the prevailing abuses of the Church, nor was he averse to moderate remedies, but he never entertained the idea of forsaking the religion of his fathers. He, however, incited Buchanan to lash the mendicant friars in the Satire of the Franciscans, and he encouraged by his presence the public performance of Sir David Lindsay's Satire of the Three Estates, which was acted at Linlithgow in 1540. It is said that he exhorted the bishops to reform their lives, and threatened if they neglected his warning that he would treat them after the manner of the King of England ; for all this he was a faithful son of the Catholic Church, and pretty well under the influence of the clergy. Many of the nobles, from motives of self-interest, professed a willingness to embrace the reformed opinions, and gradually ranked themselves on the side of the Reformers ; as time passed, and the prospects of the division of the spoil approached, they became more and more ardent in their adherence to the principles of the Reformation.

But strong as the influence of the nobles was in hastening on the Reformation, or rather the destruction of the Roman hierarchy, it is a narrow and mistaken view to attribute this revolution to them alone. Besides the religious ideas and sentiments which the Reformers themselves honestly held and preached, there was also what may be called the domestic, the social, and the moral causes of the Reformation, and which com-

prised all the relations between the clergy and the people that had arisen and accumulated since the introduction of Christianity. The tenor of these relations and exactions have already been partly noticed in the Introduction in the fourth and eleventh chapters of this work, and again generally but slightly touched upon in the preceding pages of the present chapter, and we must now discuss the results which they more or less distinctly produced on the feeling and mind of the nation.'

Those exactions connected with the Roman Catholic rite of burial were the most teasing and heartless. They were known under the terms of "The Kirk Cow," and "The Uppermost Cloth," "Corse Presents," that is, dues exacted by the parochial clergy on the deaths of their parishioners. These dues were sometimes taken from the surviving relations in cases of the most abject poverty, and however much concern the survivors of a father or a mother might have for the souls of the departed, surely it was a short-sighted piece of greed to lay on a heavy exaction at such a time, irrespective too of the circumstances of the parties. When the holiest and deepest feelings and emotions of human nature were struggling within the breast of the mourners, when that inexpressible sentiment was moving them to the core, then it was that the grasping hand of the priest was seen distraining an important part of their scanty means of living; at that sad and sorrowful moment amid the gloom and perplexity which all humanity is doomed to witness, even then, instead of stretching forth their hands to bless and comfort, they stretched them forth to snatch the best means of the chief mourners. For these and many other obvious reasons the mortuary dues were the most hateful and galling to the people.³⁵

Then there were the paschal offerings, the Sunday penny, the penny offering, the christening pennies, and the lights at

³⁵ *Statuta. Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 44, 273-274, 167-168, 305-306. On the eve of the Reformation (1559) a provincial council of the Catholic clergy enacted a canon relieving the poor from the mortuary dues, but they were to be exacted from those immediately above the poor in a modified form. The concession, however, came too late.

Candlemas for the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary. At first these were free gift offerings according to the benevolence of the giver ; but in course of time they became obligatory, and the churchmen enforced the payment of them, when necessary, by fulminating the sentence of cursing and debarring the refractory from the sacraments of holy Church. The priest also claimed the right of common pasture for his cattle throughout the parish.³⁶

The right of the Church to enforce the payment of tithes under penalties had been long established in Scotland as elsewhere, but this often led to disputes between the clergy and the people. An uncounted tithe was a tax on the fruits of industry, increasing in amount with the increase of production and wealth ; however much the hard toil of a man or a family might produce, the tenth part thereof had always to go to swell the riches of the Church. This exaction pressed extremely hard upon the class of tenant farmers and the toilers of the soil, who amid all their difficulties and struggles could not fail to see that the services of the clergy scarcely repaid them for the worry and loss of so large a deduction from the products of their industry. Such thoughts naturally must have arisen in the minds of the people, for strong as their religious feeling was it had a limit beyond which it could not be drawn upon with a chance of safety.

The tithes were extended not only to include all kinds of farm produce, live stock, and poultry, but also the produce of gardens, descending to flax, leeks, and cabbages ; tithes of pasture and hay, tithes of mills and fishings, tithes of wool and everything else.³⁷ That the collection of all these dues must have been a constant source of annoyance to the people cannot be doubted, and that it occasioned many disputes and quarrels is not surprising.

But from another point of view the theory of the Roman

³⁶ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 31, 45, 148-149, 274-275.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 21-23 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 47.

Catholic Church had issued in a social corruption of the clergy and the religious orders which was too palpably inconsistent to endure. Touching the principle of celibacy, it was briefly noticed in the fourth chapter that the clergy of Scotland had not strictly practised the rule of the Church ; and in the sixteenth century this blot on the clergy was not a matter of doubt or dispute, it was a notorious fact and patent to the eyes of all. The result in Scotland was this, the rule of celibacy was enjoined by law but abrogated in practice among those of the clergy who were rich enough to support a household ; council after council protested against it, canon after canon called upon the bishops and the clergy to put away their concubines, but all was in vain, on the failing of incontinence they seemed to be utterly irredeemable.³⁸

³⁸ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 15, 17, 28, 35, 42, 48, 51, 55, 65, 81-88, 89-118, 128, 153-156, 301-303. Cardinal Beaton had five children ; his successor, Archbishop Hamilton, had three ; William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, had several children, one of his daughters married the Laird of Udny ; Bishop Chisholm of Dumblane had children, in 1542 one of his daughters married Sir James Stirling of Keir, and her father gave her a dowry of £1000, and also bound himself to keep her and her husband for five years. The Bishop of Moray, when Prior of St. Andrews had three sons, legitimated in 1533 ; when Bishop of Moray he had five sons legitimated in 1545, and two daughters, 1550—making ten of a family. *Register of the Great Seal*, B. 26 ; *Acts of the Lords of Council and Session*, B. 36 ; Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. I., p. 201 ; Gordon's *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, pp. 172, 478 ; W. Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir*, pp. 39, 40, 378 ; *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 163. In fact most of the bishops and many of the abbots and monks had children at the period immediately preceding the Reformation. The statutes passed in the Provincial Council of the clergy held at Edinburgh in 1549, were prefaced with a confession that the cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the lewdness, and the gross ignorance of churchmen of almost all ranks. "The clergy, therefore, were enjoined to put away their concubines under pain of deprivation of their benefices ; to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage ; not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them, the daughters with doweries, the sons with baronies, from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, profane swearers. The clergy in general were exhorted to amend their lives and manners ; to dress modestly and gravely ; to keep their faces shaven and their heads tonsured ; to live soberly and frugally, so as to have more to spare to the poor ; to abstain from secular pursuits, especially trading.

"Provision was made for preaching to the people ; for teaching grammar,

This must have tended to lower the character of the clergy in the popular estimation ; there is also reason to believe that the example of the dignified clergy sporting with their damsels in the face of society had an injurious effect in other directions, by weakening the feeling of chastity and modesty in the relations of the sexes ; it encouraged immorality among all ranks of the nation ; it lowered and tended to discredit the whole group of feelings and sentiments which should be concentrated around the domestic circle, and which really forms the foundation of social wellbeing and virtuous life.

Celibacy and monasticism both originate from the same principle, and the associated group of ascetic and sanctimonious notions. Looking on the subject from the standpoint of history, upon the broad ground of morality and freedom, it is not necessary at this time of day to argue that the State should suppress

divinity, and canon law in cathedrals and abbeys ; for visiting and reforming monasteries, nunneries, and hospitals ; for recalling fugitives and apostates, whether monks or nuns, to their cloisters ; for sending from every monastery one or more monks to a university ; for preventing unqualified persons from receiving orders and from holding cure of souls ; for enforcing residence and for restraining pluralities ; for preventing the evasion of spiritual censures by bribes or fines ; for silencing pardoners or itinerant hawkers of indulgences and relics ; for compelling parish clerks to do their duty in person, or to find sufficient substitutes ; for registering testaments and inventories of persons deceased, and for securing faithful administration of their estates by bringing their executors to yearly account and reckoning ; for suspending unfit notaries, and for preserving the protocols of notaries deceased ; for reforming the abuses of the Consistorial courts."—*Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 149-150. This is a very formidable array of abuses to reform brought forward by the Roman Catholic clergy themselves ; and the proceedings and canons of subsequent councils show that they were not carried into effect—indeed it would have been marvellous if the churchmen had complied with the canons of 1549. Sir David Lindsay in the Satire of the Three Estates makes Spirituality say—

"Howbeit I dar not plainlie spouse a wife,
Yet concubeins I haif had four or five,
And to my sons I have given rich rewards,
And all my daughters maryit upon lairds."

Again Diligence announces—

"From this day forth our barons temporall
Sall na mair mix thair noble ancient blood
With bastard bairns of stait spirituall."

—Lindsay's *Poetical Works*, Vol. II., pp. 88, 119.

and prohibit monasteries and nunneries. All that the State can be fairly called upon to perform is to afford protection to those who are forcibly seized and detained in such establishments. But circumstances might arise when it would be necessary for the government to interfere; in well-ordered communities, however, where public opinion has its proper influence, such instances would rarely happen. If men and women voluntarily resolve to shut themselves up within the walls of a building, it is best to let them follow their special hobby; when the dominant idea and feeling of their minds really lead them to adopt this mode of life, it may be pretty safely assumed that they would be comparatively useless members of society in the outside world. It is not therefore on the ground of any theory of Government that the system of monasticism is here discussed; but upon the principles of human nature, morality, the rational and harmonious exercise of the varied faculties of the mind in the development of civilisation.

It must be confessed that the ascetic sentiment has often entered largely into other religions as well as Christianity. This is especially true of the great religions of the East, but it is not unknown in some of the less developed forms of religion. When Mexico and Peru were conquered by the Spaniards in the first quarter of the 16th century, they were amazed to find among the inhabitants of these countries religious customs and practices which so much resembled some of those of the old world. The resemblance was most noticeable in relation to monasticism; some of the customs of the natives corresponded pretty closely with the Christian monastic institutions.³⁹ At an early

³⁹ Viscount Amberley's *Analysis of Religious Belief*, Vol. I., pp. 98-108. Hereafter it will come within my purpose to give a more detailed criticism of this work, especially the second Book, which deals with the Religious sentiment itself. Although the candour, the talents, the industry, and the literary culture of the author are worthy of all admiration, it must be admitted that his elaborate performance lacks the logical grasp of principles and ideas which characterise the highest minds, and that before all other qualifications is necessary to one who aspires to revolutionise the religions and theologies of the human race. It

period in the history of Christianity monasticism became a recognised institution ; by the end of the 4th century the monastic system was in vogue and growing rapidly. "At first it called into existence a class of men who for self-denial, sincerity of purpose, heroic endurance, and unyielding fanaticism, have rarely been matched. They abandoned all the ties of home and friendship, renounced all the pleasures and even most of the necessities of life ; they scourged and macerated their bodies, lived in loneliness and desolation, and wandered half-starved and half-naked through deserts, till they had almost extinguished every natural feeling and every human sentiment within their breasts. No affliction could move them, no sympathy for suffering stirred their heart ; they embraced misery with an ardent yearning ; they gloried in multiplying forms of loathsome penance and in trampling upon every natural desire. To promote the interests of their church was their only passion, and to gratify it there was no torture that they were not ready to endure or to inflict."⁴⁰ The monastic system under various

may also be stated that his sympathies were rather feeble to enable him to fathom the real suffering and the inner pangs of the heart of mankind, or to reach and faithfully represent the deepest cords which have throbbed in the soul of humanity. This weakness of sympathy is most apparent in his treatment of Jesus Christ. He devotes about 240 pages to an account of Jesus and his sayings ; but even from the standpoint of the school to which he belongs, the criticism is uncommonly contorted and flippant. Sometimes he condescends to sneer at the ignorance of Jesus—"His intellectual weakness, his irrational prejudices," and so on. He was evidently much offended because the moral doctrines of Jesus did not assign more respect to wealth and rich men—it was a sad error on the part of Jesus not to extol them ; since from these and such-like reasons the author is led to the conclusion that Jesus had only a very imperfect sense of justice, "crude ideas of social connexions," no proper esteem for aristocracy ; and especially no conception of the supreme importance of English dinner parties. The work in its historical character is also defective in consecutive continuity and in the appreciation of internal sequence. Vol. I., pp. 254-496.

The monastic system was first introduced from Egypt into Christendom about the beginning of the 4th century. In Africa and Asia the monastic type of religion has always existed ; the horrifying macerations and ascetic rites of the Buddhists equal those of any Christian order. Lecky's *Hist of Rationalism*, Vol. II., p. 396 ; Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, Vol. I.,

⁴⁰ Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. II., pp. 28-29.

orders of monks, but all founded on the theory of mortification, continued to develop till it reached enormous dimensions ; and as centuries passed the first enthusiasm of the monks died away, the monasteries became rich, and then multitudes entered into them merely to escape the burdens of life. At last the monasteries, instead of being the abodes of saints and holy men and women entirely devoted to the service of God, had become dens of corruption, of luxury, and vice ; yet until near the end of the 15th century the ascetic theory of life, the philosophy of mortification, was everywhere held throughout Christendom ; asceticism still represented the highest point of moral dignity, Protestantism was the first effective declaration against it.

✓ According to every worthy conception of philosophy, man has been constituted with feelings, emotions, sentiments, and ideas, which naturally seek gratification ; and the chief question is how their varied claims should be subordinated and developed. Every feeling and emotion and idea has an unquestionable right to seek gratification, subject to the necessary limitations, on the ground of reasonable subordination in the interest of development on the lines of harmonious inclusion, instead of exclusion and unnaturally attempted extinction. The most advanced thinkers, moralists, and educators now recognise this ; and history gives masses of evidence against the principle of rigid exclusion and asceticism—the method of maiming the body, dwarfing the human sympathy, and starving the mind, in order to save the soul. The effects of this may be seen in the establishment of caste, in Oriental religions and despotisms, in oligarchies and aristocracies, in imperialism and fatalism, and in many other forms.

✓ In the history of the form and the manifestation of the religious feeling and aspiration there has been a tendency in many quarters to draw the lines too sharply between the teachers of religion and the body of the people. This has often resulted in the establishment of a class specially charged with the oracles and message of God ; and once the idea begins to be entertained,

sentiments and habits associated with it spring up and accumulate around it, till the priesthood finally assumes a strong and commanding position. They are the holy servants of God, and they must therefore show to the profane world of the flesh that they are exalted above the most natural and deeply rooted feelings of mankind. Accordingly they proceed to renounce the idea of marriage, and to forego all the touching domestic feelings and duties associated therewith ; the members of the priesthood from the highest to the lowest must forsake all such earthly pleasures ; the salvation of the human race has been committed to them by heaven, and they insooth must rise to the height of their sublime calling ; the intoxication of power inevitably asserts its supremacy, and then they declare themselves to be the final legislators of this world and the next. Is it a question of morals, a question of mutual association among any body of men ; is it a novel opinion that has been expressed, or a tradition or article of the creed which time has consecrated, that has been called in question ? on all these matters they alone are the arbiters who can pronounce a true verdict.

A celibate clergy among a rude people will probably command most influence. The priest with no family ties is supposed to have abandoned the engrossing interests of earthly enjoyments, and devoted himself to his God and to the care of the salvation and eternal life of his flock. With nothing else to divert his energies or to ruffle the serenity of his soul, he toils professedly for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Many of the priests of all religions have earnestly laboured in this work ; the Roman Catholic priesthood have rarely shrunk from facing danger and toil in the cause to which they have consecrated themselves. It is, however, possible for the priests to make too stringent rules of self-denial—rules which aim at extinguishing the natural feelings of our common humanity, and by pushing this to extremes, instead of enhancing their influence, they may come to degrade themselves in the eyes of the people. It is possible to be over holy, by publicly professing to believe doctrines and to

5.64 ✓ obey rules which in practice are continually broken through by some of the priesthood. Now this was exactly what happened in Scotland, celibacy was the rule and law of the Church but in practice the clergy disregarded it. It may well be asked, why should any class of men be placed in such a position? Why should such rules be imposed upon the clergy and their human feelings twisted and tied down? Why should their humanity be shorn and mangled as if this was a necessary part of their calling?

✓ The most sympathetic races are those among whom monogamy has been long established, and all genuine social feeling and sentiment begins in the family circle. This is the altar where, if anywhere, love should reign supreme. The father surrounded by his children looking up to him with all the simplicity of a primitive faith; there the little ones are full of trust and ready to be impressed with reverence; and those who do not love their own will never care much for any doctrines of religion or morality however clearly they may be understood. We have no faith in the son who rails against his father and mother; indeed the best part of our nature is almost unconsciously formed during our earliest years, all those feelings and sentiments that assist in sustaining the development of the moral character and of the finer emotions of the heart, the touches of kindness which sweeten human life and cheer the soul of humanity.

✓ In this connexion it may be noticed that the modern hospitals for boys and girls are open to somewhat similar objections. The principle at the root of the modern hospital in which children are brought up presents the same defectiveness as monasticism, in so far as there is an absence, in these institutions, of the truly human influences of the family circle. When boys are brought up in these establishments their humanity is cramped and dwarfed, the finest elements of their being are driven out of them or never have a chance of development; the exacting round of the uniform and monotonous routine to which

such children are subjected is far removed from the influences and the surroundings and the circumstances which develop the men of the widest sympathies and the strongest minds. When, therefore, a number of boys or girls, doomed to live within the narrow walls of a building apart from all society but themselves and their instructors, day after day, week after week, and year after year, are wheeled round the minutely defined circle, is it surprising that their susceptibilities should become dull and benumbed, or that they should acquire many undesirable habits and vices.

The family must ever be the foundation of society, the first link in the great chain of order, virtue, progress, and civilisation. It is the root from which the most complete social and political organisations have sprung; and the nations which have recognised and adopted this institution have had by far the happiest and most glorious careers of national life. But celibacy, monasticism, and the modern hospital establishments for the young, all discard it, and proceed on a single line of characteristic isolation. To retire from the duties of life and bury oneself in a monastery cannot contribute much to the onward movement of society, though it may suit the peculiar mind and circumstances of some individuals.

The evidence of history and psychology both point to the conclusion that monasticism, celibacy, and the hospital system, all violate and trench upon the fundamental principles of social development and healthy society. These systems ignore the doctrine that teaches us to cultivate and develop all our powers and feelings in harmonious subordination by a life of activity and energy, of untiring struggle and conflict with surrounding difficulties, of honest effort and endeavour, of toil and thought; and though no one has a right to shrink from his duties, this need not deprive us of any of the enjoyments which our country and age afford.

In relation with these matters there is another important point which cannot be passed in silence. The social miscalcu-

lations and economic errors of the present day, as formed and taught by the Socialists and Communists, bears a rather close resemblance in some points to the monasticism of the Middle Ages. The modern theories are not all equally wild and impracticable ; but the ideas of absolute equality of right, community of goods and property throughout a nation, must be characterised as grossly visionary. In the history of Christianity from the 4th to the 15th century there had been innumerable attempts to establish a sort of Communism in societies unripe for its reception, which ended in the results indicated in the preceding pages. All the theories of modern Socialists for the immediate reconstruction of society are based upon equally delusive notions ; no theory has a chance of practical influence and realisation, unless it work through existing forms of social life, not by isolation from them. A higher moral standard, a clearer idea of justice, and a far greater willingness to look at both sides of a trade question must be attained, even before a larger development of simple co-operation can be effected.

Having indicated the external, the political, and social causes of the Reformation, we proceed to consider what may be called the inner or its religious cause. It is more difficult to see and grasp than the other causes, and more important, because it is deeper and intenser than they. The first class of causes were transient and rather selfish, and when the aims which stimulated their activity was gained, they fluctuated, and shortly ceased to operate. But the purely religious sentiment was constant in its action, and persistent in its manifestation in the face of fearful odds ; until it attained its complete triumph in the recognition of toleration and religious freedom.

✓ The religious feeling and idea, then, was the constant and the real cause of the Reformation, though this contained under it immense social and political issues which were hardly foreseen by the politicians of that age. The political movements and combinations prompted by mixed motives, and often by selfish ends, in some quarters accelerated and in others retarded the

religious upheaval, but all the political powers in the world could neither have accomplished nor prevented the final consummation of the principles of the Reformation. The evidence of this conclusion is ample and varied. From the dawn of history, political power has been characterised by duplicity and lack of honest principle; diplomatic jugglery and concealed falsehood reigned along the whole line of empires and nations down almost to the present century. The proof of this may be read in the records of every government that has existed, and in the honest testimony of the historians of the world. In the 16th century no political government had truth enough in its soul to bring about this great religious revolution; no government had sufficient strength of moral purpose for so mighty a task, and at the utmost governments could only directly hinder or hasten it. Though the Reformation bore on its surface many marks of contact with the political powers, it may be affirmed that the religious feeling and the moral principle were the supreme influences of the movement; these were its heart and life, the internal and invisible springs of its vigour, and the glorious features of its reality and truth. ✓

There have been politicians who have laid down their life in testimony of their adherence to political ideas, but they are few in number compared with the army of men who have cheerfully endured the tortures of martyrdom for their religion. Here, then, we have the grand influence and the cause of this religious movement—an aspiration and a moral sentiment, the inner craving of the mind which ever seeks a being worthy of its adoration.

In 1525, Parliament passed an act forbidding the importation of Luther's books and the propagation of his opinions. The act states that damnable opinions were spread in several countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples; but that Scotland and her people had always firmly believed in the holy faith and never yet admitted any opinion contrary to it. It was declared that no person arriving with ships at the ports of the kingdom ✓

should bring any books of this heretic, nor dispute, nor rehearse, his heresy unless it be to refute it. It is reported that a translation of the New Testament in MS. was used among the Scots in the reign of James IV. Tyndale's version in a printed form was brought into Scotland in 1526, and it seems to have been pretty freely circulated. The first heretical books of any kind circulated in this country came chiefly from England. In 1535, Parliament commanded all persons who had heretical books in their possession to deliver them up to the authorities within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment.⁴¹

The first Scotsman who fell a victim for the profession of the novel opinions was Patrick Hamilton, the Abbot of Ferne. While sojourning in Germany, he had drunk the forbidden water from the lips of Luther himself. He returned to Scotland in 1527, and began to disseminate his opinions by addressing the people. Early in the following year he was taken and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Andrews, and there tried, convicted, and condemned for heresy. He was led to the stake on the 29th of February, 1528, and burned to death before the College of St. Andrews.⁴² It appears that he was married and had a daughter.⁴³ He left a short treatise in Latin, which contained the leading doctrines of his Protestantism.

This treatise was translated into English shortly after Hamilton's death by John Firth, an Englishman, who added a preface to the reader, and as the reward of his zeal he was burnt at Smithfield in 1533.⁴⁴ The book contains the ten

⁴¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 295, 349; Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 111-112, 495-501. 1862.

⁴² Knox's Works, Vol. I., pp. 14-18, Dr. Laing's edition.

⁴³ Lorimer's *Life of Hamilton*, pp. 123-124.

⁴⁴ Three editions of Firth's translation were published at London, probably before 1540. John Firth was one of the earliest and most consistent of the English Reformers. "He had embraced the rational views of the sacraments that had been taught by Zwingle. He reasoned that if the body of Christ ascended into heaven it could not be in the Eucharist, for it was impossible for a body to be in more places than one at one time . . . Firth complained that the error prevailing in his day was too much trust in the outward signs, as if by

commandments, eighteen propositions, mostly quotations from the Scriptures, put into a syllogistic form. The doctrine of the Gospel is set forth and contrasted with the law, the doctrine of faith—faith in Christ, free grace or justification by faith; good works are held neither to save nor to condemn the sinner; there is a comparison between faith, hope, and charity; and finally, “He that thinks to be saved by his works calleth himself Christ, for he calleth himself a saviour, which appertains only to Christ. What is a saviour but he that saveth? And thou sayest, I save myself, which is as much to say as I am Christ, for Christ is only the Saviour of the world.”⁴⁵

It was mostly among the lower orders of the clergy that the new doctrines were embraced. The friars were the chief preachers of the day, and they occasionally inveighed boldly against the prevailing abuses of the priesthood. A friar named Erth preached a sermon in Dundee, in which he touched upon the licentious lives of the bishops and the evils connected with excommunication and miracles; and there the armed followers of the Bishop of Brechin buffeted him and called him a heretic. Naturally the friar was displeased at this treatment, and he proceeded to St. Andrews to consult John Mair, the well-known doctor of the Sorbonne and the author of numerous works, whose word at that time was regarded as an oracle in matters of religion; and he assured the friar that such a doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it was not heresy. The friar then intimated to all who were offended with his sermon that he would again preach it in the parish church of St. Andrews. On the appointed day all the regents and masters of

them was accomplished what could only be done by faith. He denies that the sign gives the Spirit of God or grace. Those that come rightly to baptism have grace already. The ordinance is a witness that they are in a state of grace. The life of a true Christian is a continual baptism. One result of attaching so much importance to the outward sacrament was the consigning of unbaptised infants to everlasting pain.”—Hunt’s *Religious Thought in England*, Vol. I., p. 4; 1870. Knox’s Works, Vol. I., p. 20.

⁴⁵ A copy of Firth’s translation of Hamilton’s treatise is inserted in Knox’s History. Works, Vol. I., pp. 21-35.

the University, and other notable persons, attended to hear him. He ascended the pulpit, and took for his text the words, "Truth is the strongest of all things". He spoke of excommunication, how fearful a thing it was when rightly applied, that it should not be rashly used for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners. "But now," said he, "the avarice of priests and the ignorance of their office has caused it to be altogether vilified ; for the priest, whose duty and office it is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday and cries : ' One has tint a spurtle ; there is a flail stolen from them beyond the burn ; the goodwife on the other side of the street has tint a horn spoon ; God's malison and mine I give to them that knows of this gear and returns it not.' " He said the people merely mocked at excommunication ; and this part of the friar's sermon is confirmed by acts of Parliament passed about the same date, and in which it is stated, " that the dishonesty and misrule of churchmen, both in wit, knowledge and manners, is the reason and cause that the Church and clergy are slighted and contemned ; and also that the damnable persuasion of heretics and their perverse doctrines gave occasion to despise the process of excommunication and other censures of the holy Church." ⁴⁶

Friar Erth, however, did not renounce the Catholic faith, but his plain preaching necessitated his flight to England, where he was imprisoned by Henry VIII. for defending the authority of the Pope. In Scotland, as in other countries, there was a number of earnest Roman Catholics who wished to reform the existing abuses and the discipline without destroying the Church or forsaking their ancient faith, but things had come to such a crisis that their efforts in this direction were overborne and rendered futile ; already it was too late in the day, the time for compromises had passed. John Mair, noticed above, was for sometime a regent in the University of Glasgow, but in 1533 he became connected with the University of St. Andrews, and he

⁴⁶ Knox's Works, Vol. I., pp. 36-40 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 341, 342, 370.

was appointed Provost of St. Salvator's College, an office which he held till his death in 1550. About the same time Gavin Logie was Principal of St. Leonard's College, under whom many of our early Reformers were educated at St. Andrews. In this connexion might be reckoned Alexander Myln, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, who was appointed the first President of the Court of Session in 1533; he manifested commendable zeal in religion, and died in 1548. At the same time John Winram was sub-prior of St. Andrews, and afterwards became one of the chief Reformers; and Robert Richardson, a canon-regular of Cambuskenneth, though an adherent of Catholicism, preached with great energy against the scandalous and immoral lives of the higher churchmen, and denounced the intemperate habits which prevailed among the monks. Alexander Seaton, a black friar, and confessor to the king, during the time of Lent preached with remarkable boldness against the corruptions of the Church, and especially the life and conduct of the bishops. The favour of the king shielded him for a time from the wrath of his brethren, but he was at last obliged to flee into England about the year 1536.⁴⁷

For some years after the fall of the Earl of Angus, the anarchy on the Borders, the disturbance in the Highlands, and the harassing conflict between the Crown and the nobles, fully occupied the time and attention of the leading churchmen of the day, and the heretics were comparatively little disturbed. The king, as we have seen, had thrown the government almost entirely into the hands of the clergy, and they had to watch the nobles, who being now neglected by the king and excluded from the offices of the State, always manifested a still stronger inclination to listen to the new opinions; but great as the power of the Church was in the reign of James IV., it was not in a position to accuse and try a great local noble for heresy.

To do justice to the character of the leading Catholic church-

⁴⁷ Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 7, 8; Knox's Works, Vol. I., pp. 36, 37, 45-52, 150, 530-533.

men of the age, it must be remembered that their ideas and sentiments were very different from our own, and in relation to the persecution for heresy this is specially noticeable. To take the life of a single human being for holding certain opinions on any subject whatever is a great and fearful crime ; but in the 16th century it was deemed the highest virtue to cut off the obstinate heretic. This was the common view of the age throughout Christendom. It is therefore in vain, and unjust to judge them by the ideas and sentiments of the 19th century. The prevailing Roman Catholic creed seems to have produced upon the character of its most ardent professors an almost absolute indifference to the suffering of those outside the Church ; and among men of this frame of mind and feeling it was regarded as their first duty to cut off the heretics, and to extinguish them root and branch for the glory and honour of God, the purity of the faith, and the good of society. These notions were so deeply ingrained into the religious creed and feelings that it was hardly possible for the Reformers to emancipate themselves from them ; hence we find that Calvin openly avowed and took credit to himself for his share in the persecution and burning of Servetus. Calvin's action in this matter was applauded by all sections of Protestants, and warmly approved by his most intimate contemporaries. Calvin, Beza, and others, wrote books on the lawfulness of persecution ;⁴⁸ so difficult is it for even the greatest minds to disentangle themselves from the current trains of thought and associated sentiments of their age. But the persecution in Scotland was not nearly so severe as in some of the other countries of Europe.

King James continued attached to the Church, and countenanced the persecution of the heretics. Henry Forest, a Benedictine monk, was taken, tried, condemned for heresy, and burned at St. Andrews in 1532. In 1534, the Bishop of Ross, under

⁴⁸ Dr. Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 185 ; Hallam's *Hist. of Literature*, Vol. II., pp. 101, 107-116 ; Dyer's *Life of Calvin*. Compare Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. II., pp. 35-61. 1865.

a commission issued by the primate, held a court in the Abbey of Holyrood, and many suspected persons were summoned to appear before it; the king himself attended several of the sittings clothed in scarlet. A number of the accused, both men and women, "burned their faggots," that is, renounced their erroneous opinions; some had fled to England and to other countries. But Norman Gourlay, a priest, and David Straiton, a layman, firmly adhered to their heresy, asserted their innocence, and vindicated their faith to the last, and in consequence they were both condemned, and on the 27th of August they were burned at Greenside in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.⁴⁹ Yet despite these executions heresy still spread, and between the years 1534 and 1537 many persons were accused of heresy, some of them abjured their opinions, and a considerable number fled out of the country.⁵⁰

Henry VIII. was extremely anxious that the young king of Scotland should imitate his example and shake off the authority of the Pope. In 1535, he sent ambassadors into Scotland with a proposal for a marriage between his daughter and the Scottish king, and suggested that James should meet him at York, where they could confer together and cement the ties of friendship. Much showy flattery was used towards James to induce him to follow out the proposals of his uncle; various presents were sent to the king, consisting of horses, offers of a garter, and a copy of a book entitled "The Doctrine of a Chris-

⁴⁹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, from 1513 to 1575, pp. 18-19. "And also there was sharp inquisition and punishment of heretics in Edinburgh, the king himself assisted thereto. Master Gourlay being adjured before, and Straiton obstinate in his opinions, were burned. The Sheriff of Linlithgow, and Captain James Borthwick, and divers others, fugitives from the law, were convicted for heresy."—Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, pp. 149-150. In the case of Straiton there was a quarrel about the tithe of fish. He had a boat in which his servants went to the sea and fished, and when the collector insisted for the tithe of the fish, then Straiton ordered his servants to throw every tenth fish into the sea again, and let them seek their tithe where he found the stock. Knox, Vol. I., pp. 56-60.

⁵⁰ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 54-57, 526-531; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*—Works, Vol. I., pp. 317-323.

tian Man". But all the artful policy of Henry failed; the meeting between the two kings was indefinitely postponed by the advice of the Scottish clergy, and James remained firmly attached to the Roman hierarchy. The agents of the English Government assert that James was completely under the control of "his spiritual unghostly councillors, who, I dare boldly affirm that, if they might destroy us with a word, their devilish endeavour should not long fail . . . Also, I am sure that the council, which are only the clergy, would not willingly give such advertisement to the king for due execution upon thieves and robbers; for then ought he first of all to begin with them in the midst of his realm, whose abominable abused fashion, so far out of frame, a Christian heart abhorreth to behold. They show themselves to be in all points the pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the devil, whose popish power violently to maintain their lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us, who have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their detestable lies, if I might obtain the king's licence (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach, I will not spare for no bodily peril, boldly to publish the truth of God's word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give ear."⁵¹ The man who thus described the Scotch clergy was Dr. Barlow, one of Henry's own chaplains, and who was then at the Scottish court on his master's business.

The influences which guided the policy of James V. were manifested in various directions. In the summer of 1537, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent into Scotland on a mission to the Scottish court. He was instructed to make every endeavour to persuade

⁵¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. V., pp. 1-7, 10, 14, 19, *et seq.*, and pp. 36-38. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* says—"In the month of November there came an English ambassador, with sixteen horse in his train, to infest this realm with heresy, which was then in England among them, but through the grace of God he came no speed but departed with repulse" (p. 19).

James to resist the pope and to join his uncle in common measures of defence, to give no heed to the false rumours and slanderous misrepresentations of the motives of his uncle which were so industriously spread; he was also to propose that James should meet with Henry, when they might have a personal interchange of views, from which much mutual benefit was expected to result.⁵² But shortly after this an embassy was sent to France with the object of selecting a wife to the king, and Mary of Lorraine, a daughter of the Duke of Guise, was brought over to Scotland in 1538, and married to the king. She was a woman of remarkable energy and talents, and she played an active part in the struggle of the Reformation in her adopted country. The house of Guise, however, was one of the most aspiring and ambitious in France, and its aims and policy were wholly devoted to the Roman Catholic Church. The marriage of the King of Scots, therefore, was a plain indication to Henry VIII. of the direction in which the policy of the Scottish king would tend, at least for some time to come. But it is only rendering historical justice to state that James V., as compared with his contemporary across the Border, was a liberal minded king; and when he countenanced and permitted the execution of the heretics he was merely allowing the law of the kingdom to run its course. He was at variance with the aristocracy as many of his ancestors had been before him; and remembering the treatment which many of the occupants of the throne and he himself had received at their hands, it is not surprising that he pursued the line of policy naturally marked out for him. There is no evidence that James was naturally cruel or inclined to push matters to extremes, while Henry VIII. persecuted the devotees of the pope and the disciples of Luther with equal severity, he endeavoured to hold the position of pope and of king, to concentrate the power of both in his own person and reign above all law.

In the autumn of 1539, James Beaton, Archbishop of St.

⁵² *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 81-90, 97.

Andrews, died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Cardinal Beaton. David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath in Scotland, and Bishop of Mirpoix in France, was assured of the primacy in August, 1538, and was installed in the See between the 13th and the 25th of February, 1539, six months before the death of his uncle : a few days afterwards his natural son got a grant of lands in Angus. Beaton was made a cardinal upon the 20th of December, 1538, and he was exceedingly anxious to obtain from the pope the office of Legate a Latere. In December, 1539, he wrote to his agent at Rome to press his suit for a commission as Legate, and James V. wrote to the pope on the 16th December, 1538, entreating that the office might be bestowed on Beaton, again in August, 1539, in June, 1540, and in March, 1541. The Regent Arran wrote to the pope in February, 1544, touching the same matter, and a month after the coveted office was granted and Beaton attained to the summit of his power.⁵³

About the beginning of the year 1539, several persons, mostly of the lower orders of the clergy, were accused and apprehended for heresy. Thomas Forrest, a canon of Inchcolm and vicar of Dollar ; two Black friars, named Beveridge and Killor ; Duncan Simpson, a priest at Stirling, and Robert Forester, a layman, belonging to Stirling, were tried before a council held by Cardinal Beaton and the Bishop of Dumblane. They were all condemned for heresy, and burned on the 1st March, in the presence of the king, upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. At the same time nine persons recanted, and many were banished ; among the latter was George Buchanan, who escaped by the window of his bed-chamber while his keepers were asleep.⁵⁴ This year a friar of the name of Russel was appre-

⁵³ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 117, 129-133 ; *Sadler's State Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 15-17 ; *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 156, 443-445. Archbishop James Beaton, the cardinal's predecessor, also aspired to a cardinal's hat and the power of Legate a Latere, but he failed to obtain it. David Beaton was the only Scottish bishop on whom the dignity of a cardinal was bestowed by the undivided Latin Church.

⁵⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 23 ; *Knox*, Vol. I., pp. 62-63, 521-522 ; *Buchanan's Hist. Scot.*, B. XIV., ch. 55 ; *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., p. 154.

hended for heresy; he had been preaching at Dumfries and other parts of the country, he was young and intelligent, and therefore it was not likely that he would be suffered to spread his heresies. Another youth of eighteen years, named Kennedy, was seized for heresy, and they were both brought before the Archbishop of Glasgow. It is said that he was reluctant to condemn them, they were, however, sentenced to death and burned at Glasgow. Russel before his death is reported to have spoken the following words:—"This is your hour and the power of darkness; ye now sit as judges, whilst we stand before you wrongfully accused and more wrongfully condemned, but the day shall come when our innocence shall appear, and then ye shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." ⁵⁵

These executions were not followed by the results intended. ✓ Instead of stamping out the heresy they added more intensity to it, and the proscribed opinions and doctrines were only more firmly held by those who embraced them. It has been affirmed that if a persecution is sufficiently severe and prolonged it must extinguish heresy, but this is a point which will greatly depend upon the state of civilisation of the people among whom heresy exists. If a nation is in a comparatively low moral and social condition, and living under a political or military despotism, heresies or opinions obnoxious to the ruling powers may be extinguished, or rather banished, from that particular part of the earth; in such circumstances persecution may be carried to a pitch which will crush the best of causes. Although it cannot eradicate what is believed to be the truth from the minds of such as have cordially embraced it, the usual means ✓ of communication by which heresy is propagated may be cut off. Oppressive laws and a tyrannical and merciless administration, if carried on long enough, will no doubt prevent the manifestation and expression of heresies, or of any opinion

⁵⁵ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., p. 216; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 63-66; *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., p. 141.

whatever ; but we can hardly assume that a heresy is extinguished even when its expression is legally and effectively prohibited, and this is the utmost that the severest persecution can effect : a heresy can be compelled to hide itself, but no power on earth can force it further than that ; and it is just at this point where the influences arise amid which the human mind derives a peculiar enjoyment by holding on to opinions that have been prohibited by the State and the Church. There is unquestionably a high degree of inward pleasure in cherishing proscribed opinions which the judgment and the moral sense believe to be true, and upon this some of the very strongest self-sustaining and original elements of character have always been developed. The bond of sympathy that radiates in the hearts of heretics is not broken when one or two of them are burnt, indeed their memory and opinions then begin to be grasped and retained with a vividness and a faith which the followers of the heretic alone can fully realise. If it had been possible to burn the enthusiasm of the heretic and of the martyr along with their bodies, truth and religion and morality would have been banished from the world, or rather the higher characteristics of humanity could not have been developed. Hence heresy may be cursed and condemned, heretics may be tortured and consumed to ashes ; and yet, as if to mock the limits of the powers which have vainly assayed to crush them, again and again the heresy rises up hydra-headed shining with a lustre all its own, and gathering fresh strength from the manes of the departed.

A parliament met at Edinburgh in December, 1541, and at once proceeded to deal with two measures which directly trenchd upon the privileges of the aristocracy. An act was passed confirming the revocation of all grants of land, lordships, customs, borough rents, annual fishings, all donations, life rents, and gifts which had been made during the king's minority. The variety and extent of the transactions which this act covered must have appeared extremely alarming, especially to those who had any hand in the Government within the period specified.

Another act declared the Western, the Orkney, and Shetland Islands to be annexed to the Crown, together with the lordships of Douglas, Bothwell, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford, Lindsay, Crawford John, Bonhill, Jedburgh Forest, Glammis, Liddesdale, Evandale, and the superiority of the Earldom of Angus, with all its forts, castles, and whatever else pertains to it. Though these measures were within the legal limits of the constitution of the kingdom they were far too bold; but if the Crown had been able to carry them into effect the results would have been beneficial, as the disorderly state of the inhabitants in the annexed districts would have been remedied, and peace and order introduced. The Government was aware of the danger of the path on which it had entered, and attempted to appease the ruffled feelings of the nobles and chiefs by proclaiming a general pardon for all crimes committed down to the date of the act; this, however, lost much of its calming effect owing to the clause which excluded the banished Earl of Angus and all his adherents.⁵⁶ The nobles now became nervously apprehensive, and their feeling soon manifested itself.

In a parliament held in March, 1541, new acts were passed against the spread of heresy. To question the supreme authority of the pope was declared to be a capital crime, and even a suspicion of heresy was deemed enough to disqualify any one for office in the Government or elsewhere; all meetings for the discussion of religious doctrines were strictly prohibited, and rewards were promised to those who revealed to the authorities where such meetings were held. The Church was so solicitous to preserve the purity of her doctrines that no Catholic could be permitted to converse with any one who had embraced a single heretical opinion. Another statute was passed which tells that one special feature of the Scottish Reformation had already begun to show itself; it was directed against those who broke and cast down the images of the holy saints, or otherwise treated them with irreverence and dishonour.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 357-358, *et seq.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-371.

While these events were passing at home, Henry VIII. was always assuming a more dictatorial tone, and making demands which the Government of Scotland could not entertain. His project of a meeting at York was again renewed, and James agreed to meet him there. In the winter of 1541, Henry travelled to York, and for a week held his court in that city, looking anxiously for the arrival of James, but no King of Scots appeared to greet him. Henry was greatly disappointed, and instantly burst into an uncontrollable rage, leaping in his fury and seething like a maniac, nothing short of a war of conquest against Scotland could appease his wrath. King James's advisers would not let him go to York, and they had good reason for distrusting his uncle's professed intentions as the State papers amply testify.⁵⁸

In 1542, Henry declared war, and the strife began on the Borders with all the old fury. James mustered his army and marched southwards, but news soon came that the English army had disbanded for want of provisions, and the Scotch nobles then refused to follow their king. Their hour was come; they had determined to show their power and to mortify the man who had so ruthlessly punished some of them, and who according to their ideas had encroached upon the old rights of their class. The king was forced to disband the army. James, however, was very loth to be balked in his intention of retaliating upon Henry VIII., and very shortly after it was resolved that a smaller force should make a raid across the Border—a band which is said to have mustered ten thousand. They had passed the Esk and were entering English ground when a strange fate befell them; it was at this point that Oliver Sinclair, one of the king's favourites, began to read the commission which appointed himself to the chief command. The nobles present were enraged at this new encroachment upon their hereditary rights, a storm of talk arose among them, and all discipline and order was forgotten. Lord Dacre, the English leader, was hovering near with

⁵⁸ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 198-205, 214.

three hundred cavalry, and when he saw the confusion of the Scots he ordered his party to dash in amongst them, and in a moment the Scottish army was scattered in all directions. A thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the English, and among them nine or ten of the nobles.⁵⁹

The tidings of this disaster seems to have broken the spirit of the king. He brooded over his disappointments and what he regarded as a disgrace; his mind became confused, he continued to sink lower and lower, and died on the 14th December, 1542. Although he was hard to the nobles he was popular among the people. The line of policy which circumstances naturally led him to pursue cannot be commended for its wisdom or sagacity; yet, when everything is taken into account, James V. appears as a ruler fully equal to the average of his contemporaries.

The Crown of Scotland then fell to an infant seven days old. Mary Stuart was destined to become the most renowned member of all the long line of Scottish sovereigns, her career was eventful, chequered, and tragic. In her infancy and innocent childhood she was an object of fierce contention; her youth and beauty, her talents and accomplishments, the strength and weakness of her character, her success and her failures, her imprisonment and long captivity, her sad end—all concurred to concentrate around her the elements of the most absorbing interest. From her cradle to her grave she was an object of extreme solicitude, not merely to Scotland and England, but also to the chief rulers of Europe and to his holiness the pope.

When Henry heard of the events in Scotland he at once formed the idea that he should have the infant queen for a wife to his son. Matrimonial projects were all-absorbing matters with him, and if his exploits in this region of activity were not

⁵⁹ Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, p. 165; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 86-88. In the fifth volume of the *State Papers* of the reign of Henry VIII., there is a list of the Scottish prisoners taken at Solway Moss, in which the value of their property and the names of their hostages are stated (pp. 232-235).

always attended with honour and glory he certainly never lost his relish for the pursuit. His high sense of justice, his love of truth, no less than the unspotted purity of his motive, suggested to him that the banished Earl of Angus and the Scottish nobles taken at Solway Moss might be made useful agents in the accomplishment of his scheme with Scotland. Henry proposed to the Earl of Angus and the captive nobles that they should enter into an agreement with him to do their utmost to promote the marriage project, and to deliver the infant queen into his hands to be kept in England. They agreed to this, and also to recognise Henry as lord superior of Scotland; they promised to exert their influence to procure for him the government of the kingdom, and to deliver all the national fortresses into his hands. This bond between Henry and the Scottish prisoners was drawn up with great formality and minuteness, but with all his adroitness in taking advantage of the circumstances in which the Scotch nobles were placed he gained very little by it.⁶⁰

The general feeling of the nation was decidedly opposed to the interference of Henry VIII., and though his ends were supported by a party of the nobles with more or less energy, he was at last utterly baffled. Arran, the regent, was always ready to receive the money of England, and though he had along with him the English faction of the nobles, the opposition was so strong that he found it extremely difficult to arrange, conclude, and in a packed convention of the Estates, to ratify the new treaties of marriage and peace between England and Scotland. Although all that the Government had conceded fell short of Henry's demands, it soon appeared that the regent had gone further than the nation would follow him. From the first Henry's object was not merely a treaty of marriage. He aimed at the complete reduction of Scotland, but the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy, with Cardinal Beaton at their head, were opposed to this scheme. There was much diplomatic wrangling on both sides, but the

⁶⁰ Sadler's *State Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 69, 74-75, 81, 97; *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 239-241.

cardinal showed himself equal to the emergence, and fairly baffled Henry and all his agents in Scotland. In a parliament held in December, 1543, the treaties with England were repudiated and the ancient league with France renewed.⁶¹

Henry now proclaimed war against the Scots, and avowed his intention to take the infant queen by force of arms. It was indeed hard that the Scots could not see his many virtues, it was harder still that they could not believe in his benign purposes, nor appreciate the many acts of condescension which he, their lord superior by a divine and legal claim, had shown to them; he had suffered them long, but his forbearance was at last exhausted, and he must let them feel the weight of his wrath. On the 11th of April, 1544, he issued instructions through his privy council to the Earl of Hertford, the leader of the inroads into Scotland; these instructions are marked by a ferocity of spirit, a fiendish malignity and a barbarity ummatched in the annals of Europe. Hertford was ordered in Henry's name to make an inroad into Scotland: "There to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and raze and destroy it, when you have sacked it and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it for their falsehood and disloyalty. . . . Sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child

⁶¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 247-254, 270-285, 302-304, 319-323, 328, *et seq.*; Sadder's *State Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 270, 282, 283; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 432. So keen was the feeling against the scheme of Henry among the citizens of Edinburgh that they threatened to lay violent hands upon Sadler, the English ambassador. And Henry himself in his usual arrogant tone addressed a letter to them, in which he remonstrated and scolded them—"We have thought good to admonish you to beware and eschew that outrage, whereby ye might provoke our extreme displeasure and indignation, and to forbear that attempt, not only for the detestation of it in all men's ears, but also for fear of the revenge of our sword to extend to that town and commonalty, and all such people as shall by any means come into our hands, to the extermination of you to the third and fourth generation," &c. *State Papers*, Vol. V., p. 334.

to fire and sword without exception when any resistance shall be made against you. And this done pass over to Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may conveniently reach, not forgetting among all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as that the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, especially such as are either in friendship or blood allied to the cardinal, and the accomplishment of all this shall be most acceptable to the majesty and honour of the king." ⁶²

The Earl of Hertford followed out his instructions pretty fully, he led two expeditions into Scotland, one in May 1544, and the other in September, and both were marked by the mere wanton destruction of life and property. Towns and villages one after another were sacked and burned, death, desolation, and woe proclaimed the boiling wrath of Henry VIII. in Scotland. The monasteries of Melrose, Kelso, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, and other religious houses, were committed to the flames and laid in ruins.⁶³ The besotted and half maniac king knew little about the spirit of the people when he fancied that such treatment would bend them to his will; their national feeling was too strong for him with all his fury, and death closed his eyes and the cold narrow grave inwrapped his ashes ere he attained a single tittle of all that he had struggled for in Scotland.

Henry VIII. evidently engendered within himself a remorseless enmity against the Scots; there was one man among them, however, whom he detested more than the rest, and pursued him with a venomous malignity. This was Cardinal Beaton, the most talented and strongest adherent of Catholicism in Scotland, and a politician, according to the standard of the times, of

⁶² Hamilton *Papers*, 93, 94, quoted by Dr. Burton; *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 432. Compare *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 350-352, 371-374.

⁶³ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 521-525; Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teriotdale*, pp. 36, 100, 243, 301; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 271, *et seq.*

consummate ability. The cardinal had played hard against the policy of Henry, and it must be confessed that he had defeated it. Since the death of James V. Henry had marked out the cardinal, and had employed every means to insnare and crush him, but Beaton was well aware of his venomous designs against him. Henry lent his influence to a plot against the cardinal's life, and at last promised a reward to the other conspirators who were concocting a scheme to murder him. As early as 1543 Henry had approved of the plot, and in the event of its being successful, that is, if the cardinal were killed, and his murderers forced to flee to England, then he bound himself to protect them from all the consequences of their act.⁶⁴ But despite all the efforts of Henry and of those whom he employed the cardinal eluded the machinations of his mortal enemies for several years.

While these events were passing and ruffling the surface of society, the reformed opinions were gradually spreading among the people. The contradictory and vacillating policy of the regent was well adapted to weaken the authority of the old religious creed. In March, 1543, Parliament passed an act authorising all men to have and to read the Old and New Testament in the common speech of the country, English or Scottish. This liberty, however, was only enjoyed for a short time, and it is doubtful if any edition of the Scriptures was printed in Scotland during the brief interval in which the act was allowed to remain in force.⁶⁵ The regent Arran, in a few months after the passing of this act, dismissed the two reformed preachers whom he had retained in his family, and the cardinal soon obtained a complete ascendancy. Those affected by the new opinions began to manifest their feeling by attacking and defacing the houses of the Black and Grey Friars in Dundee. About the same

⁶⁴ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 242-243, 377, 449-450, 467, 470-472, 512; *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 142. There is a pretty full account of the plot against the cardinal in an appendix to the fifth volume of Tytler's *History*, pp. 453-470.

⁶⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 415, 425; Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 77, 438.

time attempts were made to mar the building of the Black Friars at Edinburgh, a movement which was repelled by the citizens ; and these outbursts of heretical feeling quickly received a sharp check. A parliament which met at Edinburgh passed an act declaring—"How there is great murmur because the heretics more and more rise and spread within the realm, sowing their damnable opinions contrary to the faith and laws of the holy Church and the acts and constitutions of the kingdom." Therefore all the prelates and ordinaries were exhorted, each within their own diocese, to inquire after all such heretical persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the Church, and the regent promised to be always ready to do everything therein that belonged to his office.⁶⁶

The year 1544 began very ominously for the heretics. The cardinal was master of the situation in Scotland, and he was not the man to let his opportunity slip. About the end of January he held a court at Perth, and many suspected persons were summoned before it and accused of heresy. A number of them were banished, but four men, James Hunter, a flesher, William Anderson, a maltman, James Randlson, a skinner, Robert Lamb, a burgess of Perth, and his wife, were all condemned. The four men were hanged, and the helpless woman, Lamb's wife, who had a child at her breast, was drowned. She gave her infant to the attendants, her hands and feet were then bound, and she was thrown into a deep pool of water where her sufferings were ended.⁶⁷ This is the only instance of a woman being put to death for religious opinions in Scotland before the Reformation.

George Wishart returned to Scotland in the end of the year 1544. He was a popular preacher, and was supported by the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. These men were deeply in the confidence of Henry VIII. and were plotting the murder of Cardinal Beaton ;

⁶⁶ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 29 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 443.

⁶⁷ *Knox*, Vol. I., pp. 117-118, 523-526.

whether George Wishart was concerned in this plot is an unsettled point. The evidence, however, on which it has been sought to show that he was implicated in the plots against the cardinal's life, certainly does not come up to the critical standard.⁶⁸ Wishart preached in Montrose, Dundee, Ayr, Perth, and in other parts of the country. He delivered his sermons with much vehemence; he boldly attacked the errors of the Church and declaimed against the profligacy of the clergy; and it is reported that he produced a marked impression upon the people. It was in company with him that Knox first appeared in history.⁶⁹ ✓

Wishart was in Lothian in the beginning of the year 1546, and preached in Haddington, where John Knox accompanied him. On the 16th of January he was apprehended at Ormiston, in East Lothian, by the Earl of Bothwell, and carried first to Edinburgh, and shortly after to St. Andrews. He was tried on the 28th of February, condemned, and executed on the 11th of March. When the fire was prepared he was led from the castle to the stake; he implored mercy of his Saviour and commended his soul to Him. He then addressed the people, beseeching them not to be offended with the word of God, for the profession of which he was suffering. He said—"For the word's sake, and the true gospel which was given me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer

⁶⁸ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 125-138, 534-537. The only evidence connecting Wishart, the martyr, with the plot against the cardinal's life rests on the fact that a Scotsman named Wishart conveyed letters from Crichton of Brunston to Henry VIII., and it is only conjectured that this individual was Wishart, the preacher of the reformed doctrines. There is some presumptive circumstances which seem to point to him, such as his known association with the Laird of Brunston and others of the conspirators. But if this mere conjecture was true it would not amount to much, because the men of these times held opinions very different from ours touching the murder of an enemy; they did not view the murder of an enemy of their faith in the light in which we do, on the contrary, they thought it was rendering a service to God to cut off an able opposer of the truth.

⁶⁹ Buchanan, B. XV., ch. 32; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 125-137.

this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not, and so I pray you for to do if that any persecution come to you for the word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day, but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this." He then prayed for those who had accused him, saying—"I beseech thee, Father of Heaven, to forgive them that through ignorance or an evil mind have forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart; I beseech Christ to forgive those who have condemned me to death this day." And finally to the people he said—"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your bishops to learn the word of God, that at least they may be ashamed to do evil and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves and turn from their wicked ways the wrath of God shall swiftly overtake them." At last he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and burned to ashes.⁷⁰

The burning of Wishart aroused a deep feeling in the popular mind, and many began to say that they would not suffer the life of innocent men to be taken away. As the regent had declined to authorise the execution of Wishart, all the odium of the deed rested upon the cardinal, and his enemies increased in number and bitterness. Indeed Beaton had been endeavouring to strengthen his position by the old custom of entering into bonds of man-rent with many of the nobles; he was secure on the side of France, and the faction of the Scottish nobles opposed to his line of policy had been almost put out of reckoning. Soon after the death of Wishart the cardinal passed through Angus, and attended the marriage of one of his natural daughters at Finhaven Castle. When he was thus enjoying himself

⁷⁰ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 137-171; Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 622-627; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 20. Wishart produced an English translation of the Swiss Confession of Faith, which was printed after his death.

news came that Henry VIII. was again preparing to invade Scotland, and he hurried back to Fife to put his castle into a state of defence as he dreaded that it would be attacked. At that moment his enemies in Scotland were maturing their scheme to murder him, and the folds of the plot were fast closing in around the cardinal.⁷¹

The cardinal was living at his ease in his own Castle of St. Andrews, while he had a number of workmen engaged in repairing it. Early on the morning of the 29th May, 1546, Norman Lesly, the Master of Rothes, and two others, slipped into the castle, and they were followed by James Melville with other three, who asked an interview with the cardinal; and immediately after them the Laird of Grange came up with eight armed men. The suspicion of the porter at the gate was now roused, but he was instantly stabbed and cast into the ditch. Thus in a few minutes the party were within the walls of the castle; and with surprising alacrity its few defenders and the workmen on the ramparts were led out, and all the gates guarded. The unusual noise had aroused the cardinal from his bed, and he was ascending the stair of his keep when his enemies came upon him and ruthlessly murdered him. Meanwhile the alarm rose in the city, the common bell was rung, the citizens with their provost at their head rushed in confusion to the castle, and called loudly for the cardinal, but they were too late, and to show them that the work was done the murderers exposed the body of the cardinal over the castle wall. The conspirators, only sixteen in number, kept possession of the castle.⁷²

Thus perished Cardinal Beaton by the hands of a set of cruel assassins, who probably cared about as much for Protestantism as the Hottentots. The cardinal was the ablest champion of Catholicism in Scotland; John Hamilton, a brother of the regent's, who succeeded to the primacy, fell far short of the

⁷¹ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 147-174; Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. I., p. 201; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. V., pp. 456-470.

⁷² *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 560-561. Spottiswood.

talents of his predecessor. According to the laws of the Church Beaton's moral character was extremely defective ; but then among the dignitaries of the Church the laws of purity and chastity were utterly disregarded, and the morals of the cardinal were just those of his day and generation. He has been often blamed for persecuting the adherents of the reformed opinions, but when compared with his contemporaries, the number of persons put to death by him were trifling ; that he was naturally cruel there is absolutely no evidence. That he was much respected and even loved by many of the citizens of St. Andrews cannot be doubted. That the men who put him to death were not actuated by religious motives has long ago been clearly proved.⁷³ As already remarked more than once, the feelings, sentiments, and ideas which originated, sustained, and continued the Reformation were of a very different cast from those which animated the mercenary and greedy plotters who cut short the life of Cardinal Beaton.

⁷³ Hosack's *Queen Mary*, Vol. I., p. 13. When the citizens of St. Andrews came running to the castle, Knox says they cried—"What have ye done with my Lord Cardinal? Where is my Lord Cardinal? Have ye slain my Lord Cardinal? Let us see my Lord Cardinal!" And when they were told that he was no more, they cried more eagerly—"We shall never depart till we see him!" Then his body was shown over the wall, "to the faithless multitude, who would not believe before it saw". Works, Vol. I., p. 178.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE sixteen desperadoes who held the Castle of St. Andrews were soon joined by about one hundred and forty of their friends and adherents, and they formed a garrison and defied all the force at the disposal of the regent. The cardinal at the time of his death had the regent's son as a hostage, and he was retained by the conspirators as a pledge for their own advantage; this was James, Lord Hamilton, afterwards third Earl of Arran, and the Government were afraid that he would be delivered to the English. John Rough, one of the reformed preachers, entered the castle soon after the cardinal's death, and began to preach to the garrison at St. Andrews. The regent laid siege to the castle from the end of August to December but without success. In April, 1547, John Knox had become wearied by moving from place to place to avoid persecution, and he then felt inclined to visit the schools of Germany; but as he had the charge of some gentlemen's sons he entered the Castle of St. Andrews. During the intervals of the siege a Protestant congregation had been formed in the town, and about the end of May Knox consented to assume the functions of their minister. Rough had been unable to match the debating powers of John Annand, the principal of St. Leonard's College, and a firm adherent of Catholicism; but Knox, according to his own narrative, refuted all the arguments of the principal, and compelled him to retire behind the authority of the Church, which had already condemned Lutherism and all other heresies. After worsting the principal, Knox on the following Sunday preached his first public sermon in the

parish church of St. Andrews, and there were present John Mair, Winram, the sub-prior, many of the canons, and some of the friars. In this sermon he showed to his own satisfaction that the Roman Church was the Antichrist, the Man of Sin, and so on. A discussion took place between Knox on the one side, and Winram and a friar on the other; but neither party was convinced by the arguments of the other. The Catholic clergy themselves then began to preach regularly in the parish church every Sunday. Knox continued his sermons on the week days, and the numbers of those who embraced the reformed opinions increased. But this episode in the history of the Reformation was abruptly brought to a close.¹

Meanwhile, however, the Reformation was progressing. In the month of June, 1546, the Council issued a proclamation warning all persons not to pillage or destroy monastic and church buildings. It goes on to state—"In these troublous times it is dreaded and feared that evil disposed persons will invade, destroy, cast down, and withhold abbeys, abbey places, parish kirks, friars' houses, nunneries, chapels, and other spiritual men's houses, against the law of God and man, and contrary to the liberty and freedom of the holy Church and acts of parliament made and observed in all bygone times . . . All and sundry were charged that none of them take upon hand any of these kirks, religious places, or houses, or to withhold, intermit, or take the same at their own hand by way of deed hereafter, or to spoil the jewels and ornament of the church ordained for God's service and dedicated to it, under the penalty of tinsel of life, lands, and goods."² We are told that the bishops and the priests were enraged at the proceedings in St. Andrews, and that they ran to the regent, to the queen, and the whole council, with their complaints, and cried—"What are we doing? Shall

¹ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 181-202; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 26, 31, 33, 38, 39, 44, 47, 58; *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. V., pp. 563-564; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 478, 479.

² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 28-29.

we suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine? Fy upon you, and upon us!"³ The queen and the French ambassador comforted them with the assurance that matters would ere long be remedied. On the 19th of March, 1547, the bishops and clergy assembled in Edinburgh, presented to the regent and Council a supplication calling on them to enforce the laws against the followers of the pestilent heresies of Luther, which had not only spread in several parts of the kingdom, but also in the court in the regent's presence, and sometimes preached openly; and it must daily rise and increase unless the arm of the civil power assist the spiritual authority to arrest its progress. The regent and the council acceded to their request, and desired them to furnish the names of the heretics and the teachers of heresy; "and his Grace and the temporal lords shall take them and cause the laws of the realm to be executed against them, ay, as he is required thereto, according to the laws of holy church, and ordains this deliverance to be inserted in the books of the council."⁴

But the resources at the command of the regent were not sufficient to reduce the Castle of St. Andrews, and there the heretics were carrying out their own forms of religion. In the end of the month of June, 1547, however a French force arrived in Scotland, and attacked the castle both by sea and land, and they shortly did their work; after the guns were got into position, and the batteries opened fire, the cannonade soon brought the bold defenders of the castle to submission. The garrison had imagined that they would obtain more favourable terms from the French commander and the King of France than from the Regent Arran and the Council, and they surrendered themselves to him.⁵ But they were conveyed to France and treated as criminals.

³ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 202-203.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 61, 63-34.

⁵ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 44; Buchanan, B. XV.; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 203-206.

They arrived first at Fecamp, a seaport about midway between Dieppe and Havre, and then passed up the Seine and anchored before Rouen; when the chief gentlemen who had expected to be set at liberty were disappointed, they were put into various prisons; while the rest were left in the galleys and hardly treated, among whom were James Balfour, with his two brothers, and John Knox. The Catholics both of Scotland and France rejoiced at the fate of the heretics and the enemies of the late cardinal. Knox, along with his fellow-prisoners, had to work on the galleys chained as slaves. After an imprisonment of eighteen months he obtained his liberty in 1549 upon the intercession, it is supposed, of the English Government. Knox came to England, and soon after he was appointed to preach in Berwick; and in 1550 he was removed to Newcastle, where he continued his labours. In 1551, he was appointed one of King Edward's chaplains, and he remained in England till after the death of Edward VI. Knox left England in the beginning of March, 1554, and passed to Geneva to pursue his private studies. He was called to be minister to the English exiles in Frankfort, and he entered on his duties in November, 1554. But disputes arose in the congregation regarding the Book of Common Prayer and other ceremonies; he relinquished his charge, and in March, 1555, he returned to Geneva.⁶

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry VIII. died, but the policy of aggression towards Scotland did not die with him. The war was continued by Somerset, the new governor, and the Scots were reduced to great extremities. Both nations had become exasperated, and acts of cruelty were frequently perpetrated on both sides. In 1548, a French army of about seven thousand men arrived to assist the Scots; and the same year the young Queen Mary was sent over to France, and thus the object of contest was removed out of the way. After many struggles, and with almost infinite difficulty, the Scots and the French

⁶ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 206, 225-232; Vol. III., pp. 156, 215, 380. Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, p. 195.

drove the English out of the fortresses and recovered the country ; and peace was concluded in April, 1550.

When the pressure of external enemies was removed the nation breathed more freely. But the internal conflict of the political and religious struggle still went on apace ; and as the contest between the old and the new religious views became closer and clearer, and the shadow of the revolution more distinctly seen approaching, the Church and the Government got more alive to the vital issues which it involved. When the heretics were few in number burning might keep them down or cause them to hide their faces ; but it was now perceived that if heresy was to be extinguished other means must be employed. The whole body of the clergy, from the primate to the humblest monk and friar, must betake themselves to the proper functions of their calling, and discharge their varied duties honestly and faithfully. Within the ten years immediately preceding the Reformation there were four provincial councils of the Church held in Scotland ; and they enacted and adopted one hundred and thirty-one canons, the greater part of which were directed against the immoral lives of the clergy, their ignorance, and the neglect of their essential duties.⁷ The provincial council of 1549 ordered a strict search to be made for heresy and heretical books, especially poems and ballads ; and to make the inquest effective the inquisitors were supplied with a schedule of the chief points of heresy.⁸ The party within the Church who wished to redress

⁷ See under pp. 64 and 65. Also *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 81-176. A number of the canons enacted in the provincial council of 1549 were adopted from the decrees of the Council of Trent passed in June, 1546, and March, 1547 ; *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 150.

⁸ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 117, 118, 119, 120. The chief points of heresy enumerated in the canons are these—"Speaking against the rites and sacraments of the Church, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, and penance ; contempt of the censures of the Church ; denial of the reign of the souls of saints, with Christ in glory ; denial of the immortality of the soul ; denial of purgatory ; denial of prayer and intercession of the saints ; denial of the lawfulness of images in Christian churches ; denial of recompense for works of faith and charity ; denial of the authority of general councils in controversies of faith ; neglect of the fasts and festivals of

abuses, without demolishing the old system, prepared a catechism for the use of the clergy in the vernacular tongue; and it is a production characterised by a spirit of charity and moderation of statement, equally graceful in matter and in composition.⁹ It was intended to be a manual for the Clergy, and to be read by them to the people. But all the canons and the catechism were of no avail, it was too late in the day; the fiat had gone forth; the accumulated misdeeds and corruptions of many generations had resulted in an organisation and a system of institutions incapable of reformation from within; the features of purity and earnestness, the love of truth and justice, had departed from its walls and altars; and the great ethical principles which are at once the heart and soul of all true religion had waxed dim, there was no glowing warmth, no

the Church. Heretical books, especially poems and ballads against the Church or clergy, were to be diligently sought after and burned." *Ibid*, Vol. I., p. 150; Vol. II., pp. 117-120. The part which the popular poems and ballads played in the Reformation struggle will be illustrated in the chapter on the literature of the period.

One of the canons of the Provincial Council of 1552 stated that—"Even in the most populous parishes very few of the parishioners came to mass or to sermon, that in the time of service jesting and irreverence go on within the church, sports and secular business in the porch and the churchyard. It therefore enacts that the name of every person wilfully absenting himself from his parish church, shall be taken down by the curate and reported to the Rural Dean, and that all traffic in church porches, in churchyards, or in the immediate neighbourhood, shall be forbidden on Sundays and other holidays during divine worship."—*Ibid*, Vol. I., p. 151

⁹ It was in the Provincial Council of 1552 that the publication of the Catechism was sanctioned. At that time it was openly confessed that:—"The interior clergy and the prelates for the most part are not in the meanwhile sufficiently learned to instruct the people rightly in the Catholic faith, in things necessary to salvation, or to reclaim them from the path of error. . . . This work, since commonly known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, was to be read to the people in church, before high mass, when there was no sermon, as much as would occupy half an hour, being read from the pulpit every Sunday and holiday with a loud voice, clearly, distinctly, impressively, and solemnly by the rector, vicar, or curate, in his surplice and stole. The clergy were enjoined to exercise themselves daily in reading it, lest their stammering or breaking down might move the jeers of the people; and heavy penalties, fine and imprisonment, imposed on all who should fail to observe any part of the canons regarding it."—*Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 154; Vol. II., pp. 135-139.

rising rays to lighten up the darkness which had settled down upon every branch of the Church. It is sad to have to record this ; but the historian is bound to proclaim what he finds to be the causes of revolutions, and that no institution can endure in the world unless it is founded upon the vital and glorious principle of genuine morality and humanity.

Towards the end of the summer of 1550, Adam Wallace, a layman belonging to Ayrshire, was accused of heresy. He was a man of humble rank, and occasionally occupied himself in teaching the children of Cockburn of Ormiston. He was brought to a court at Edinburgh and placed before the primate Hamilton, others of the bishops and clergy, the regent, and the Earl of Huntly. Wallace was accused for assuming to preach without authority, and for reading the Scriptures. He denied having preached in public, but admitted that he was in the habit of reading the Bible, and sometimes added a word of exposition to those who chose to hear him. One of the court then said, "What shall we leave to the bishops and churchmen to do, if every man shall be a babbler upon the Bible?" Wallace said that he thought it would befit them better to speak a little more reverently about the Word of God. Various questions were put to him by the accuser concerning the sacraments, prayer for the dead, purgatory, and other points ; till at last, the Earl of Huntly asked him what he thought of the mass. Wallace replied that he could find no authority for it in the Word of God, and therefore it was idolatry and an abomination in the sight of God. Then they all cried "heresy ! heresy !" He was condemned and burned on the Castle hill of Edinburgh, where he met his doom with firmness and faith.¹⁰

In connection with the view of the Reformation adopted in this work, it is necessary to refer briefly to the proceedings of the Council of Trent. As already indicated, there were Roman Catholics within the Church, who more or less sympathised with the opinions of the Reformers ; some of these Catholics

¹⁰ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 237-241 ; Foxe, pp. 627-628.

were prepared to make large concessions in the way of redressing prevalent abuses. The majority, however, were obstinate ; and, as a line had to be drawn somewhere, when that line was drawn by the Council of Trent, the Protestants were found lying beyond it. But when a broad and searching survey is taken of all the conditions and circumstances of the various nations of Europe, vast masses of evidence turn up, which shows that the final decision and conclusions of the Council of Trent were largely influenced and controlled by secular and political ideas and interests ; the glory of God, truth, the purity of religion and morality, were subordinated to lower and more grovelling aims. Indeed, religion had been so long and so much blinded with the politics and secular affairs of the world, that the majority of the Council of Trent could not see their way to the recognition of so large a measure of disentanglement and religious freedom as the principle of the Reformation implied. Then the strength of an inherited and associated belief, which was well exemplified in the importance attached to tradition, and the efficacy ascribed to external signs and ceremonies in the Roman Catholic Church, were so powerful as to override the deliberations of this memorable Council.

When Paul III. ascended the papal throne, he signalled the event by the elevation of several distinguished men to the College of Cardinals without any other object than that of their personal merits. Some of the new cardinals held opinions which inclined to Protestantism ; and by the command of the Pope himself, they prepared a plan for the reform of the Church. When this became known to the Protestants, they rejected it because they had already passed beyond its most liberal proposals. Various other attempts to effect a reconciliation were equally unsuccessful ; but we should not therefore ignore the significance of these proceedings on the side of the Catholic Church.¹¹

¹¹ Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I., pp. 110-113 ; 1847. Buckley's *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, pp. 68-76 ; 1852.

After many obstacles and circumstances unfavourable to the assembling of the Council of Trent had been overcome, it was opened in December, 1545.¹² When the opening ceremonials and various preliminary matters were got through, they proceeded to discuss revelation and the sources from which our knowledge of it is derived. At this stage, some proposals were enunciated in favour of opinions tending towards Protestantism. The Bishop of Chioggia would hear of nothing but Scripture; he maintained that the gospel contained all that was necessary. Seripando, the general of the Augustines, also argued that a distinction should be drawn between the canonical books of Scripture and those not yet received as canonical, such as the Proverbs and Books of Wisdom; and that the first class only should be used for proving the doctrines of belief. But he found few supporters, and there was an overwhelming majority against these views. The Council at last adopted the resolution that those unwritten traditions which had been received from the mouth of Christ, or by the Holy Spirit, and preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church, were to be regarded with the same veneration and of equal authority with the Scriptures. The Vulgate was declared to be an authentic translation, and it was to be printed with the greatest care as soon as possible.¹³

¹² There was no representative from Scotland at the Council of Trent, although a provincial council of the Scottish clergy which met at St. Andrews in March, 1546, imposed a tax of two thousand and five hundred pounds for the expenses of deputies from Scotland to Trent. The tax appears to have been paid, but no Scottish delegate attended the council. The position of the Church in Scotland was so perilous that Cardinal Beaton, though thrice summoned by the Pope to share the deliberations of the Vatican, did not venture to leave Scotland. *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 145, 260-269.

¹³ *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Sess. IV. In the discussion touching the reception of the Vulgate there was much diversity of opinion expressed in the council; and the following example of the line of argument taken by one party of the Fathers has an interest of its own:—"That if the providence of God hath given an authentical Scripture to the synagogue, and an authentical New Testament to the Grecians, it cannot be said without derogation that the Church of Rome, more beloved than the rest, hath wanted this great benefit; and therefore

Upon the great subject of justification there was much diversity of opinion manifested in the Council, and the discussions on it were long and tedious. A section of the members held views nearly similar to those of the Protestants. This party maintained that justification must be ascribed to the merits of Christ and to faith alone; charity and hope they affirmed to be the attendants, and works the proof of faith, but nothing more; thus the basis of justification was made to rest on faith alone. But this primal doctrine of Protestantism had little chance of even a fair hearing in the Council; it was in vain that Cardinal Pole entreated them not to reject an opinion merely because it was held by Luther. The debate waxed extremely hot: a bishop and a Greek monk from words came to blows. The Council found that it could not argue the questions raised to any purpose, and the discussions were confined; still there was marked differences of opinion expressed among the assembled fathers and divines. Towards the end of the discussion on justification, Seripando advanced his opinion; he contended that the doctrine of justification was twofold, or that there was a twofold righteousness, "the one intrinsic, which he again divided into two kinds: the first being that, whereby we become friends instead of enemies of God, and that this is given us with the grace infused by baptism; the second, whereby man is said to live righteously, which results from the acts of virtue proceeding from the aforesaid grace. The other kind of righteousness was outward, and consisted in the righteousness and merits of Christ, imputed to us by the divine mercy as if they were our own, not indeed wholly, but

that the same Holy Ghost who did dictate the holy books hath dictated also that translation which ought to be accepted by the Church of Rome. . . . And if any should make dainty to give the Spirit of God to the interpreter, yet he cannot deny it to the council; and when the vulgar edition shall be approved, and an anathema be thundered against whosoever will not receive it, this will be without error, not by the spirit of him that wrote it, but of the synod that hath received it for such."—Sarpi., B. I., ch. 2, pp. 159, *et seq.*; Buckley's *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, p. 125; Pallavicino, B. VI., ch. 15

to such degree, and for such effects, as seems good unto God. If it be asked which of these justifications we must rely on—that indwelling, or that imparted through Christ—the devout man will reply that we must confide in the latter only. Our own righteousness is incomplete and ineffective, marred by its deficiencies—that of Christ alone is true and sufficient; this only is entirely pleasing in the sight of God, and in virtue of this alone may we trust to be justified before God.”¹⁴

These opinions of Seripando met with little sympathy, only five of the assembled theologians gave their assent to them; while his peculiar tenets on justification were combatted with great ability, force, and subtlety by Cardinal Caraffa,¹⁵ and the

¹⁴ Pallavicino, B. VIII., ch. 11; 1670. Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I., pp. 152-153.

¹⁵ Caraffa was elected Pope under the title of Paul IV. in the year 1555; he was an ardent Romanist. Heresy had been spreading in Italy as in other places, and it was deemed desirable that the Inquisition should be reorganised at Rome, and the leading idea of this institution is well expressed in these words:—“As St. Peter subdued the first Heresiarchs in no other place than Rome, so must the successors of St. Peter destroy all the heresies of the whole world in Rome”. The Pope, by a bull in April, 1543, founded at Rome the Congregation of the Holy Office: six cardinals were deputed as inquisitors-general of the faith, and their functions were extended to embrace all Christian nations. They were empowered to try all cases of heresy, to apprehend and imprison all suspected persons and their abettors, of every rank and order; they could nominate officers and appoint inferior courts in all places, with the same or with limited powers. One restriction only was imposed on the power of this inquisition; they had full liberty to inflict all sorts of punishment, but the right to pardon was reserved by the Pope himself; they might condemn as many heretics as they choose, but to absolve those once condemned was in the power of the Pope alone. The inquisitors were commanded to go on “enforcing and executing whatever might most effectively suppress and uproot the errors that have found place in the Christian community, and permitting no vestige of them to remain”. Limborch's *Hist. of the Inquisition*, Vol. I., pp. 150-152; Bromato's *Life of Paul IV.*, B. VII, Sec. 3; Ranke, Vol. I., pp. 157-158.

At this time Cardinal Caraffa was the head and leading spirit of the Inquisition. In this office he worked vigorously; he appointed commissioners-general for the different countries; and the rules which he drew up for their guidance were the following:—“First, when the faith is in question, there must be no delay, but at the slightest suspicion rigorous means must be resorted to with all speed. Secondly, no consideration to be shown to any prince or prelate, however high his station. Thirdly, extreme severity is rather to be exercised against

two Jesuits Salmeron and Laineg.¹⁶ The influence of the Jesuits was strong in the Council, and their opinions prevailed and carried the decision of the assembly their own way. There

those who attempt to shield themselves under the protection of any potentate ; only he who makes plenary confession shall be treated with gentleness and fatherly compassion. Fourthly, no man must debase himself by showing toleration towards heretics of any kind, above all towards Calvinists." We are told in the Life of Caraffa that "he held as a positive axiom this rule, that in matters of faith one must in no way pause at all, but on the first suspicion or intimation of this plague of heresy, proceed by all force and violence to its utter extirpation." Ranke, Vol. I., pp. 158-159. Such was the iron severity, inflexible and remorseless, which characterised the Roman Inquisition of the 16th century : can we wonder that there was also intolerance among the Protestants of that age ? The Inquisition as a whole is the most complete system of tyranny ever devised ; it is equally exhaustive in detail, and merciless in the means by which it sought to reach its end.

¹⁶ The Society of Jesus was originated by Ignatius Layola, a Spaniard, who was gifted with a fund of enthusiasm. The new order received the papal sanction in 1540, and they soon rose to power, and spread over the world ; they were afterwards known by the name of Jesuits. The aims of the order may be roundly described to consist in a fixed and absolute determination to enhance and extend the influence and power of the Roman Church. Their first and chief rule was unconditional obedience, total and unhesitating subjection of their whole being and energies to the will of their superiors. The order was to the Jesuit the representative of divine providence, and consequently everything else must be sacrificed to its demands. The society was placed under the guidance of a general, and its organisation quickly attained a definiteness and a completeness as yet unmatched.

The order was ranked into several classes, each with their special duties and work. They devoted themselves to the departments of teaching, and the confessional with peculiar and unrivalled zeal. The Jesuits, in fact, became the teachers in the colleges and schools in every Roman Catholic country ; and they founded a system of instruction, framed upon a theological basis, which they impressed upon the minds of the young with an effectiveness never before attained. Their scheme of education was methodical and uniform throughout ; the schools were divided into classes, and the strictest discipline in every branch was observed. The success of the Jesuits, not only in Roman Catholic countries, but also in Germany and in other nations which were partly Protestant, was surprisingly great. The first Jesuits were an immense element of force to the Roman Catholic Church ; they exhibited in their whole proceedings a reaction from the looseness both of morals and of creed which had marked the recent condition of the Church ; they were pious, intensely earnest, and warmly attached to the Church, because their minds were cast in the mould which allowed them still to believe firmly in her pretensions. While they had all the boldness, fervour, and energy of the Protestant reformers, yet their reform took another direction ; instead of going back to the Bible and St. Augustine, they chose St. Francis

were many and long discussions on the errors of the heretics in connection with the sacraments; debates respecting the granting of the cup to the laity; debates touching the mass and the abuses associated with it; debates concerning the institution of the priesthood and its various orders; discussions on marriage; discussions on pernicious and suspected books;¹⁷ and discus-

and the mediæval saints as their models, and rested with unfaltering faith on the authority of the Roman Church. To reform her by the formation of a new monastic order, which made an absolute surrender of free inquiry and free thought, and absolute obedience to ecclesiastical authority, was their leading principle and idea; and before Layola the founder died, he had established more than a hundred Jesuit colleges or houses for training new disciples, and a vast number of educational establishments under their influence; he had many thousands of Jesuits in the rank and file of his order. He had divided the world into twelve Jesuit provinces, in each of which he had his officer, while the general-in-chief himself resided in Rome.

If we inquire why the Jesuits were so successful, the answer will be found in the state of society and the circumstances of the age when they began their work. The Jesuits came into the field at the very time that men's minds were being agitated to and fro, and the general pulsation of society was then exceedingly accessible and susceptible to the influences which they brought to bear upon it: the prevailing states of feeling and emotion, the association of ideas, and the current trains of half formed thought, were all especially amenable to the influences, the dogmatic forms, the positive affirmations, and the compact creed, which the Jesuits employed and held up.

The moral ideas of the Jesuits were entirely subordinated to the notions of the Church, and they often had recourse to the most tortuous casuistry. After the Council of Trent, it was the members of this order, in particular, who made the defence of modern Roman Catholicism, both speculatively and practically, the task of their lives. The order has produced many able writers; among others who wrote on doctrinal and polemical points, may be mentioned Bellarmine and Petavius; and among those who wrote on dogmatic theology—Canisius, Salmeron, Maldonat, Suarez, Vasquez, Coster, Becanus, and others. Some of the Jesuit writers justified and defended tyrannicide; and a few of them have at times advanced pretty liberal views. For fuller information of the Jesuits consult Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*; Hallam's *Hist. of Literature*, Vol. II., pp. 196-200, 1839; Baumgarten; Michelet; Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. II., pp. 161-184; Dallas's *Hist. of the Jesuits*; De Sarrion's *Hist. of the Jesuits*; Brühl's *Hist. of the Jesuits*; Liskenne's *Hist. of the Jesuits*.

¹⁷ It was one of the functions of the Inquisition to look for and to condemn all books which contained opinions and sentiments displeasing to the Church. In 1543 it decreed that no book, either new or old, of any kind should in future be printed without its permission; and booksellers were ordered to send in a catalogue of their stock, and to sell nothing without the consent of the Inquisi-

✓ sions on a multitude of other matters. But the result of the whole was that after several adjournments and reassemblings during a period of eighteen years, the twenty-fifth and last session terminated the Council in December, 1563; the Protestant opinions were excluded from Catholicism, and all hope of mediation or reunion was utterly abandoned. The seven sacraments as heretofore were retained; and also purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, celibacy of the priesthood, and so on: the incubus of the Middle Ages and the inherited accretions of the creed of the Roman Church rested too heavily and firmly upon her to be shaken off; hence she easily accepted tradition as of equal authority with Scripture; yet she was still bold in assumption, strong in assertion, and vigorous in her denunciations; she had always been kept free from error by special grace; she alone was the true Church, and beyond her walls no religious body could be acknowledged.¹⁸

tors. The officers of customs also were ordered to deliver no package, either of printed books or MS., to its address without first laying them before the Inquisition. In this way arose the Index of prohibited books; the first examples appeared in Louvain and Paris, and other lists came out at Florence in 1552, and in Milan, 1554. The first published in the form henceforward adopted, appeared at Rome in 1559. Even private persons were commanded on soul and conscience to denounce all forbidden books, and to exert themselves to the utmost to destroy them. The secular power was called upon to assist the clergy in this matter; and many thousands of books were destroyed, great piles of confiscated copies were burned. There was a long discussion on the best mode of dealing with prohibited and suspected books in the Council of Trent, and much diversity of opinion on the matter was expressed by the assembled Fathers; and in the end it was left with the Pope to settle it according to his own judgment. Buckley's *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, pp. 278-285; *Decrees of the Council*, Sess. XVIII., Sess. XXV.; Limborch's *Hist. of the Inquisition*, Vol. II., pp. 69-72; 1731. Bromato's *Life of Paul IV.*, B. VIII., sect. 9.

¹⁸ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. Touching the history of doctrines the Sessions IV.-VII., XIII, XIV., XXI.-XXV. are of particular importance. The *Catechismus Romanus* was composed in conformity with a resolution of the Council of Trent, Session XXV., it was drawn up under the superintendence of three cardinals, and published by authority of Pope Pius IV. in 1566. Several editions and translations of it were published. There was another Catechism composed by the Jesuit, P. Canisius, which first appeared in 1554, and it acquired greater authority than the other one, though it did not receive the sanction of the pope.

Although the Council of Trent did not radically reform the creed of the Roman Church, clerical abuses were corrected and decency enforced. Provisions were made for the education of priests and for their devotion in future to active duties; the old laxity of morals was to be no longer tolerated, nor on the other hand, the old diversity of doctrine. Thus the revolt of the Protestants had at least contributed to bring about a degree of moral reform within the Roman Church herself;¹⁹ and for this salutary benefit which the heretics so greatly assisted her to attain the Roman Catholics have not as yet shown sufficient gratitude. Doubtless, the salvation of the soul and its eternal life is the highest end of human aspiration; but it can never be permissible to use immoral means even to obtain eternal life. This is the supreme doctrine, the very cornerstone of heaven, and without it there can be no real religion. Indeed it is too manifest that Catholics and Protestants both have often acted in the teeth of this moral law; and the decline of their authority and influence must be attributed to the violation of moral ideas and sentiments more than to aught else. That blind conservatism which causes all institutions to have a tendency to outlive the period of their usefulness, was never more forcibly illustrated than in the history of the Papacy for the last four hundred years.

When we attempt to fix the exact date of the separation between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, we find that it was not strictly coincident with the first appearance of the Reformers, as opinions did not at once assume a fixed character; and for some time there was hope that a compromise between the conflicting principles and doctrines might be effected. But a little past the middle of the century any prospect of this had utterly vanished; and the three forms of Christianity in the West were irrevocably separated. Lutheranism gradually assumed a severity and exclusiveness unknown in its earlier

¹⁹ *Decrees of the Council of Trent.*

stages. The Calvinists had departed from it in several essential doctrines, though Calvin himself in his early days had been considered a Lutheran. But in hostile contrast to both of them, Catholicism firmly invested herself with those forms and ceremonies which still distinguish her. Each of these dogmatic systems sought eagerly to establish its position; each laboured intensely to displace its rivals and to subjugate the world. The struggle for many years was desperate. Catholicism after the first shock rallied again, and with renovated and concentrated resources and power it fought its opponents with every available weapon, and with a determination and persistence of purpose which would have been more worthy of our admiration, if it had been less cruel and merciless.

Having briefly indicated some of the varied agencies and the conflicting influences of the great revolution abroad; we resume the history of the movement as it manifested itself in Scotland. The regency of Arran was approaching its close. His government throughout had been weak and vacillating, and he had now fallen very low in the public estimation. The queen-mother aspired to the regency, and in connexion with her design she made preparations for visiting her daughter in France; and in September, 1550, along with the Earls of Huntly, Glencairn, Marischal, the late king's natural sons, and others of the barons and clergy, she embarked at Leith and landed in France on the 19th of the month. The party at the head of affairs in France were eager to promote her object. It was there agreed to press upon Arran's notice, that the revenues of the Crown had been dilapidated during his regency, that he would be called upon to account when the queen came of age, and then it would be difficult for him to obtain an honourable discharge, should he remain in office. No line of argument could have been more effective than this, on the weak-minded regent; and as a compensation for the demission of office he was offered the Dukedom of Chastelherault. The Queen-mother, after concluding her business in France, passed over to the Court of England, and had an interview with

Edward VI. She returned to Scotland in the end of November, 1551.²⁰

In 1552, the queen-mother accompanied the regent on a judicial circuit through the country. She then reminded him that the time was come when he had promised to demit his office; but he declined to resign the government into her hands, and nearly a year was spent in recriminations. The regent's party, however, dwindled away till only his brother, the primate, remained. Accordingly the regent resigned in April, 1554, and the queen-mother was proclaimed Regent of Scotland amid public rejoicings. Mary of Lorraine, as she was familiarly called, was a woman of exceptional talents, and she had acquired some knowledge of the habits and character of the Scots; but she had many adverse circumstances and influences to contend against. Herself a Catholic, the most perplexing of all things was the steadily growing strength of the reformed party; on the whole she ruled with remarkable moderation, and exhibited a sagacity and tact of a high order. As yet the Protestants had not obtained toleration, and for some years they gave her government little trouble.²¹

Edward VI. died in July, 1553, and the throne of England was soon after occupied by Mary, a daughter of Henry VIII. She was a staunch Roman Catholic, and married the King of Spain. During her brief reign the Protestants in England were subjected to an extremely severe persecution. Mary busied herself in restoring the ancient system and faith to their pristine glory, and inflicted enormous suffering upon the English people; many of her worst and best subjects were mercilessly sacrificed. A number of Englishmen, and Scotsmen who had formerly fled across the Border, now returned to their own country, where they were comparatively safe under the mild government of the

²⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 108; Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, pp. 238-240; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 50.

²¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 600-603; Buchanan, B. XVI., chs. 2, 3; Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, p. 249.

queen regent. Among those came William Harlaw, he was born about the beginning of the century; and had been originally a tailor in Edinburgh; but he afterwards went to England, and had been ordained a deacon in the English Church, and was employed as a preacher during the reign of Edward VI. Harlaw on his return began to preach in Edinburgh and in other parts of the country. John Willock was a native of Ayr, and at first belonged to the order of friars, but he had cast off the monastic habit, and was employed as a preacher in St. Catherine's, London, and also as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. He visited Scotland in 1555 concerning some matters of trade, and he took the opportunity of preaching to the people. Knox himself arrived in Scotland about the end of September the same year, and came to Edinburgh where he was warmly welcomed by the Protestants. At this time some of the Protestants still continued to attend mass and to join in the worship of the Catholic Church, partly to allay suspicion and to avoid giving unnecessary offence. But Knox was opposed to this, and the point was debated at one of their meetings; he, however, would listen to no compromise even for the sake of safety.²² Though the time was not come for an open manifestation of contempt of the old worship, and possibly the noble disciples of the honest reformer were not as yet prepared to follow a course which might bring their lives and estates into jeopardy.

Knox at the request of John Erskine of Dun, passed to Forfarshire, where he preached every day to many of the chief men of the county. He then recrossed the Forth, and lived at Calder House in West Lothian; while there some of the nobles came and listened to his teaching, and among them the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray. In the end of the year he taught mostly in Edinburgh; after Christmas he went to Kyle, and preached in the houses of the local gentry, in the town of Ayr, and sometimes dispensed the sacrament of our Lord's

²² Knox, Vol. I., pp. 244-248; *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, Vol. I., pp. 261-263.

Supper. Shortly after Easter, he passed to the family residence of the Earl of Glencairn, where he preached and administered the communion, whence he again visited West Lothian and preached to the people. He again went to the Laird of Dun, and proclaimed the opinions of Protestantism with more freedom than before; and many of the gentry of the Mearns embraced the reformed doctrines.²³ It should be observed that it was chiefly among the nobles and gentry that Knox preached, and in their own houses; the reformed party were not yet strong enough openly to announce their views; and probably it may have been the perception that the movement was not rife for immediate and open action which induced Knox to leave Scotland.

The Catholic clergy had become thoroughly alarmed, and Knox was summoned to appear in the church of the black friars at Edinburgh on the 15th of May, 1556. He resolved to appear, and Erskine of Dun and other barons who adhered to the Protestant opinions met in Edinburgh; whether this was intended to overawe the authorities, the reader must determine for himself. The citation of Knox however was abandoned, and on the day that he should have appeared before the court, he preached in Edinburgh to a larger audience than had hitherto attended to hear him. For ten days he preached in Edinburgh twice a-day, and on this occasion his followers met in the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodgings. In the month of July, 1556, Knox left Scotland, and passed to Geneva to take charge of the English congregation in that city.²⁴

Immediately after Knox's departure the bishops again summoned him, and when he did not appear, sentence was passed against him and his effigy burned at the cross of Edinburgh. But the reformed doctrines still continued to spread. Besides the preachers already mentioned, John Douglas, a reformed friar, under the protection of the Earl of Argyle, preached in Leith and Edinburgh, and Paul Methven, originally a baker, preached in

²³ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 249-351.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 251-254.

Dundee, and several others in various parts of the kingdom exhorted the people. They read the Scriptures to those who assembled to hear them, and used the English Prayer Book of Edward VI. in their worship. A number of the landed aristocracy for purposes of their own had come to an understanding with each other, as adherents of the Reformation movement; they had cast their longing eyes upon the property of the Roman Church, and this more than anything else stimulated them to hasten on the revolution. In the beginning of December, 1557, they resorted to one of the familiar expedients which they had been in the habit of adopting for centuries when any great enterprise had to be undertaken; they entered into a bond of man-
rent to assist each other in forwarding the reformation of religion. This was the first of the new religious covenants, and those who subscribed it took to themselves the name of the Congregation. Among the names of those attached to the document were the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton; the Lord of Lorne, and John Erskine of Dun. It is an extremely vehement piece of writing, and it distinctly proceeded on the ground that they were the true Congregation of Christ, while of course the Romanists were the very limbs of Satan.²⁵

After consulting together, the Lords of the Congregation agreed to two resolutions for promoting the reformation of religion throughout the country. It was deemed requisite that in all the parish churches the common prayers should be read on Sundays and on festival days, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; it was also thought to be necessary that doctrine, preaching, and expounding of the Scriptures, should be used quietly without convening great bodies of the people, until God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.²⁶

²⁵ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 256, 273; Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*

²⁶ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 275-276. It is understood that the Book of Common Prayer mentioned in the text was the liturgy of Edward VI.

The queen-regent acted with great calmness in the trying position in which she now found herself placed, and she manifested a disposition not to push matters to extremes. But it was impossible to hold the balance evenly between the Protestants and the Catholic clergy, especially as the latter naturally became much alarmed and excited. The images began to be stolen away and religious buildings damaged; in Edinburgh the great image of St. Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards burned, incidents which raised an unusual stir in the capital. The Protestant preachers were summoned, and they resolved to appear accompanied by their adherents; but when the authorities saw such a multitude as approached Edinburgh, a proclamation was issued commanding all those who had come without liberty to proceed at once to the Borders and remain there for fifteen days. The gentry were not disposed to submit to this, and they forced their way into the regent's presence to remonstrate; and James Chalmer of Gadgirth addressed her in the following strain:—"Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of the jezwellis and that bastard (meaning the Archbishop of St. Andrews) that stands by you. We vow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants for feeding their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, Madam, it shall not be;" and therewith every man put on his steel bonnet. There was nothing heard of the queen's part but, "My joys, my hearts, what ails you? Me mean no evil to you nor your preachers. The bishops shall do you no harm. Ye are all my loving subjects. Me knew nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and me will hear the controversy that is between the bishops and you. They shall do you no wrong." "My Lords," said she to the bishops, "I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." And to the gentlemen, who were wondrously moved, she turned again and said—"O, my hearts! should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all

your mind? and should you not love your neighbour as yourselves?" With these and the like fair words she kept the bishops from buffets at that time.²⁷

In the month of April, 1558, Walter Mill, who in early life had been a priest, but who had abandoned the Catholic faith in the days of Cardinal Beaton, and he was now a very old man, was apprehended at Dysart and carried to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the primate's castle. Mill was tried before the spiritual court, convicted of heresy, and sentenced to death; and on the 24th of April, he was burned at St. Andrews. This was an act of cruelty only equalled by its folly. The execution of an old decrepit man for heresy was not at all likely to enhance the respect of the people for the Catholic clergy or the creed of the Church. Indeed his execution strengthened the position of the Protestant party, and they at once sent a remonstrance to the queen-regent, charging the Church with cruelty. They also demanded a reformation of abuses, and the establishment of religion according to their own views; and she received their requests with the regard which the gravity of the subject urgently required: she promised to tolerate their preachers if they would abstain from holding public meetings in Leith and Edinburgh.²⁸ The moderation which she showed deserves the highest praise; for according to the constitution and laws of the kingdom, the Lords of the Congregation had put themselves into a state of open rebellion; and however far we may sympathise with the cause of the reform party, this should not blind us to their real attitude in relation to the government of the time.

It could hardly have been expected that the Church and the Government would abdicate their functions at the command of their enemies. Those who talk of the obstinacy of the Roman Catholics should remember that the holders of power

²⁷ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 256-258; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 251-252.

²⁸ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 302, 312, 550-555.

have always and everywhere endeavoured to retain it to the last. In the end of November, 1558, parliament met at Edinburgh, and the Lords of the Congregation then tendered a protest to the effect:—"that seeing they could not obtain a reformation of religion according to God's word, they asked liberty to worship in their own form; until their adversaries proved themselves to be the true ministers of Christ's Church. They next gave open warning that if any tumult should arise among the people owing to difference of opinions about religion, and if it should happen that the abuses in the Church were reformed by violence, the responsibility of it must rest upon the shoulders of those who now refuse all reform, and not upon those who are meanwhile struggling to reform all things according to order; and, finally, they professed to be acting simply from the promptings of their consciences, with no other aim but the reformation of religion, and therefore they called upon the government to protect them from the rage and oppression of their enemies." This protestation was read in parliament, but it was not inserted in the record.²⁹ It is plain that the Reformers here intimated to the authorities that force was contemplated; and it is probable that the leading men among them already saw that if once the passions and feelings of the people were fully aroused, it would be utterly impossible to restrain their riotous excesses.

Meanwhile important events were passing in other countries which affected the contending parties in Scotland. On the 11th of October, 1558, Mary of England died, and she was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth; but for some time it seemed doubtful whether she would declare herself on the Protestant side or not. One of Elizabeth's first acts was to notify her accession to the Pope, and there was negotiation touching her marriage with the King of Spain. But the Pope, Paul IV., whom we have before met under the title of Cardinal Caraffa,

²⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II.; Spottiswood, pp. 119-120; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 312-314.

was by no means well qualified for winning to his own side a doubtful monarch like Elizabeth ; he was incapable of moderation, and instead of attempting to conciliate the queen, he returned a contemptuous reply to her ambassador : " first of all," said he, " she must submit her claims to the decision of our judgment".³⁰ Now this would certainly have been the last thing in the world to which the daughter of Henry VIII. would have submitted. There were, however, various considerations which may have weighed with the Pope ; the French wished to prevent a marriage between Elizabeth and Philip ; the Guises were especially interested in this affair, as when the claims of Elizabeth were rejected by the Holy See, Mary Stuart, Dauphiness of France and Queen of Scotland, would then possess the title to the English crown. If her right could only be established, the Guises might reign supreme in her name over the three kingdoms. What a grand prospect was spread out before the imagination of a pious pope and the grasping ambition of the house of Guise ; sometimes it seemed as if this dream was to be realised, and it was always kept in view by these parties, and was pursued even when it had become entirely hopeless.

But it was the force of circumstances more than her own disposition that caused Elizabeth to take the side of Protestantism. Her own heresy, save on one or two points, was not of a very decided character ; but it was sufficient to complete the separation of England from Rome. Hence Queen Elizabeth became an object at whom the Roman Catholic powers were extremely anxious to strike a blow ; and many schemes and conspiracies were concocted for her destruction, which all failed, and England at last emerged from the struggle victorious.

The influence of France was brought to bear upon the Queen Regent, and she then acted with more coldness towards the Lords of the Congregation ; and they began to see that they were losing her countenance. Still attempts continued to be made to

³⁰ Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I., pp. 238-239.

molify the Protestants, by propositions for reforming the more flagrant abuses of the Catholic clergy. Early in 1559 the Lords of the Congregation had begun to think of an alliance with England.³¹

Everything indicated that the crisis was at hand; the preachers were intently occupied in spreading the new opinions; the old clergy were frightened, and only making feeble efforts to outdo their rivals by preaching and celebrating masses themselves. The Queen Regent had informed some of the Lords of the Congregation that they must desert their principles, as her line of policy was to be shaped according to instructions which she had received from France. Four of the chief Protestant preachers were cited to appear before the Court of Justiciary at Stirling, on the 10th of May, 1559, for convening the people and preaching erroneous doctrines to them, and exciting them to seditions and tumults. The Lords of the Congregation resolved to protect the preachers, and they assembled their feudal followers at Perth. John Knox had landed at Leith on the 2nd of May; he stayed two nights in Edinburgh, and then proceeded to Dundee, and joined his brethren. He received a warm welcome and went to Perth with his friends. In order to prevent a collision, Erskine of Dun passed forward to Stirling and endeavoured to effect an agreement with the queen-regent; while the Lords of the Congregation and the preachers remained in Perth. But he was unsuccessful, and when the accused preachers failed to appear on the 10th, those who had become sureties for them were fined; and the preachers were proclaimed rebels. The multitude had been gradually becoming more and more excited, and their feelings and passions had already risen to a pitch which neither the preachers nor the magistrates could regulate, nor could they prevent them from wrecking the monasteries.³²

³¹ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 159-160; Knox Vol. I., pp. 314-316.

³² Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 406-407; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 314-319; *Wodrow Society Misl.*, Vol. I., p. 57.

On the 11th of May, Knox preached a vehement sermon against idolatry in the parish Church of Perth. He enlarged upon the abomination of the mass, and all the accompanying trumpery of the Roman Catholic form of worship. His hearers had been before much excited, but their passions and cupidity were now roused to a point far beyond the bounds of control. Meantime a priest utterly incapable of understanding the state of the people's minds, uncovered the altar to say mass; it was an exceedingly rich altar-piece, in which the history of many of the saints was carved: there were a number of Protestants present, and a youth at the top of his voice, exclaimed,—“this is intolerable, when God by His word hath plainly damned idolatry, that we should stand by and see it used in dispute”. The priest gave him a blow on the ear, and he threw a stone at the priest, but it struck the tabernacle and broke one of the images; and in an instant the whole multitude cast stones, and proceeded to tear down the altars and to destroy every vestige of the ornaments of the Church. When it became known in the town that such work was going on, an uproarious mob assembled, and they attacked the four monasteries of Perth and for two days the work of destruction went on, and only the naked walls remained.³³

The Protestant reformers have been severely blamed for these excesses and the destruction of religious buildings. Each party has striven to lay the blame upon the other, and to exaggerate or extenuate these excesses, according to their respective standpoints. But it should have been remembered that there never was a revolution without excesses, and the reason is not difficult to find. The amount of excess and the destruction of property which a revolution may entail mainly depend on the strength and completeness of the organised moral force in the country at the time of its occurrence. If the moral sentiments and ideas of the nation are but imperfectly formed, the guiding and restraining feelings and influences only partly developed through

³³ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 320-323; Buchanan, B. 16, ch. 28; Spottiswood.

the social organisation ; and when the intelligence of the people is very limited and dim, and only as it were, awakening to a consciousness that they have been long deluded ; then in such circumstances a revolution cannot be effected without anarchy and enormous excesses in various forms. The same undeviating principles comes into play here as in everything else : when the moral organisation of a nation is sufficiently developed and ripe, the desired and needful reform is gradually brought to pass by peaceful means. But, from the information we now possess, to talk as if a peaceful and harmless revolution had been possible in Scotland at the middle of the 16th century, is only a sign of much ignorance. It is well known, how easy it is to arouse the cupidity of a class, and how eagerly any body of men pursue a course which promises rapid and great profit ; and how easy it is to raise a mob, especially when the near prospect of great advantages is held out, as the reward of following a certain line of action : once more, how fierce the storm of wrath when the result fails, as it almost always does, to answer the expectations which had been raised.

The example shown at Perth was followed in the town of Cupar-Fife, there the people destroyed all the altars and images in the Church. Shortly after the Abbey of Scone was burned ; and the monasteries throughout the country were in an incredibly short time either defaced or demolished.³⁴

When the Queen Regent heard of these proceedings she was naturally much offended ; and she threatened to take a severe vengeance on the guilty parties. But this was a difficult matter to accomplish, and she soon discovered that her power was not commensurate with her wishes. The Lords of the Congregation issued several manifestoes to the regent, to the French commanders, and to other persons in authority. These documents are all pervaded by an absolute and dogmatic conviction of the truth of their cause ; they breathe a spirit of uncompromising resolution and defiance, and a determination to carry out their

³⁴ Knox, Vol. I., p. 361, *et seq.* ; Buchanan, B. 16, ch. 33.

views of reform at all hazards : they are extremely vehement, and even coarse and rude in expression. Many examples are drawn from the Old Testament of how God and His people had punished unjust and ungodly kings, and these were pressed home as applicable to the existing circumstances of Scotland. They conclude one of their manifestoes thus—"Yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites ; that is, contract of peace shall never be made, till ye desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this we signify unto you in the name of the eternal God, and of His Son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and whose Gospel we will have preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatry. Take this for advertisement, and be not deceived." ³⁵

At this time the Lords of the Congregation had entrenched themselves in Perth ; and the regent's army, mostly composed of Frenchmen, had approached within twenty miles of them. The Congregation had a considerable force, but an arrangement was made with the regent, mainly through the influence of the Earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews. The agreement was to the effect that both armies were to be disbanded, and the town of Perth left open to the regent ; none of the inhabitants were to be molested for the late alterations in religion ; that no Frenchman should enter the town, nor come within three miles of it ; and when the queen retired no French garrison was to be left in the town ; and all other controversies were postponed to the next Parliament.³⁶ This arrangement was concluded on the 28th of May, 1559 ; and the Lords of the Congregation then retired from Perth. The Queen Regent entered Perth surrounded by a body of French troops which she called her body-guard ; and the Protestants considered this to be a violation of the agreement.

³⁵ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 334-336.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 336-341, *et seq.* ; Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*

The Earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews then left the regent, and joined the Congregation. Numbers of the people from various parts of the kingdom gathered round the Lords of the Congregation, and they went boldly on with their work. They invaded St. Andrews, where the primate had thought of resisting them, but he was forced to flee. On the 11th of June, Knox preached one of his seething sermons in St. Andrews. He entreated his hearers to eject the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, according to the Gospel of Matthew and John; and with all the force of his nature, he applied his examples to the surrounding circumstances. The altars and the images, the monuments of idolatry, as they called them, were quickly destroyed in all the churches of the city.³⁷ The regent's army approached but found the Congregation too strong; and another arrangement was made between the contending parties, which was again soon broken off. The regent was expecting more assistance from France to crush out the heresy in Scotland. Meanwhile the heretics were making head. One part of the Congregation re-entered Perth on the 25th of June; and the other portion under the Earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, took possession of Edinburgh on the 29th of June: and the regent retired to Dunbar.³⁸

The Congregation demolished the monasteries of Edinburgh, and seized the irons of the Mint. A sort of truce was concluded between the conflicting parties, and the Regent returned to Holyrood. Both parties sent forth proclamations and appeals to the people. The regent said she would grant liberty for the exercise of the Protestant religion, provided that wherever she was dwelling, the preachers should cease, and the mass be maintained. This was the difficulty, neither party could tolerate the worship of the other unless at a respectable distance, Knox and his followers upon no consideration would tolerate manifest idolatry; his aim as he expressed it, was to "establish God's eternal verity

³⁷ Knox, Vol. I., 336-350.

³⁸ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 53-269; Knox, Vol. I., pp. 350, 359, 362

within the realm". While these absorbing matters filled the mind of the nation, the intelligence came that Henry II. of France was dead, and the husband of the Queen of Scots then succeeded to the throne of France. This event foreboded mischief to the Congregation; and the reformed party in Edinburgh soon found themselves in great straits. They departed from the capital on the 26th of July, and passed to Stirling: and there on the 11th of August they issued a short manifesto in which they bound themselves to stand true to each other. The Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lord Boyd, and other barons, then marched to Glasgow and reformed the city of the West according to the accepted style.³⁹

✓ John Willock was left in Edinburgh to keep alive the Protestant opinions, lest the idols might again raise their heads in the capital. He continued to preach in the Church of St. Giles till the month of November. In the end of August a thousand armed Frenchmen arrived and disembarked at Leith, and with the army already there they began to fortify the position. On the 24th of September other two thousand French troops came over to assist the queen-regent in the struggle to uphold the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. The Frenchmen shortly made Leith so strong that the Congregation could no longer hope to be able to drive them out of it.⁴⁰ But the leaders of the Congregation took a bold step. They re-entered Edinburgh in October, and on the 21st of that month they met in the Tolbooth to deliberate concerning the government of the kingdom, Lord Ruthven introduced the business of the meeting by asking:—"Whether she who so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born councillors of the realm, being also but a regent, whose pretensions threatened the bondage of the whole community, ought to be suffered so tyrannously to rule above them?" As this question had not been debated before in an open assembly, it was deemed right that the opinion of the

³⁹ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 263-334.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-399; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. VI., pp. 163-167.

preachers should be required, and John Willock was called upon to express his sentiments on the point. He said—"That though magistrates were granted power and authority from God, yet this power was limited by the word of God; as subjects are commanded to obey their magistrates, so magistrates must discharge their duties to their subjects, and the office of both is prescribed in the word of God. Though God had appointed magistrates on the earth and honoured them, yet he never did establish any one, who for just reasons might not have been deprived. That in deposing princes and those who had been in authority, God did not always employ his immediate power, but sometimes other means which His wisdom thought good and justice required." And therefore he concluded—"That since the queen-regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was to administer equal justice to them, to preserve their liberty from the invasion of strangers, and to suffer God's word to be freely and openly preached among them; seeing moreover that the queen-regent was an open and obstinate idolatress, a vehement maintainer of superstition and idolatry; and finally, that she utterly despised the council and requirements of the nobility, he could see no reason why they, the born councillors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her of regime and authority among them." The opinion of Knox was then asked, and he concurred with Willock, adding that the iniquity of the regent ought in no way to withdraw their hearts nor the hearts of other subjects from the obedience due to their sovereign, and that when she was deposed, if she repented and submitted, she might be restored to her former place and honour. Then every one present was requested to express his opinion freely and to vote according to his conscience. A document was drawn up and agreed to, deposing the queen-regent of all authority within the kingdom; and it was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh.⁴¹

⁴¹ Knox, Vol. I., pp. 437-452; Spottiswood.

After this, skirmishing immediately began between the Frenchmen at Leith and the Congregation. In these encounters the forces of the Congregation were generally defeated; and they were again forced to retire from Edinburgh on the 7th November, 1559, and they retreated to Stirling. The undisciplined followers of the Lords of the Congregation were unable to cope with the efficient and well handled French troops; and the Protestant party were reduced to extreme difficulties. The voice of Knox, however, never ceased to exhort and encourage them; he called upon them to put their trust in "the Eternal God, the Lord of Hosts," and that in the end they would assuredly prevail; he pointed out to them the examples in the Old Testament touching the sufferings and the afflictions of God's people for their sins. In concluding one of his sermons at Stirling he said—"Whatever shall become of us and our bodies, I doubt not but this cause, in spite of the devil, shall prevail in the realm of Scotland. For as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it prevail, however for a time it be impunged. It may be that God shall plague some, because they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly considerations they seem to pursue it. Yea, God may take some of his dearest children away before their eyes see greater troubles. But neither shall the one nor the other hinder this action, but in the end it shall triumph." ⁴²

The Protestant party now found it absolutely necessary to make more urgent requests to the English Government for assistance. They had long been in communication with the leading men in England, but something effective was required; and they therefore sent William Maitland of Lethington to London, with instructions to explain their condition to Queen Elizabeth and her Council. Long before this time Knox himself had been in constant communication with the chief ministers of Elizabeth, and had very earnestly urged upon them the wisdom of rendering support to the Protestant party in Scot-

⁴² Knox, Vol. I., pp. 452-473; Sadler's *State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 554.

land, in order to enable them to overcome the schemes of the Roman Catholic powers.⁴³

The negotiations with the English Government proceeded favourably, notwithstanding the natural reluctance of Elizabeth to lend assistance to rebellious subjects. The chief men of England were well aware of the relative position and state of parties in Europe at this momentous and critical period; hence they were extremely anxious and determined to come to an understanding with the Protestants in Scotland. Knox exerted himself to the utmost to secure their aid, and in no stage of his life did he act with greater wisdom and discretion. Those who find fault with the Reformer for interfering in this matter completely misconceive the spirit of the 16th century, and the position and the necessities of the Protestants in Britain. On the 23rd of January the English fleet appeared off the coast of Fife, and rendered effective aid to the Congregation. After much diplomatic talk, the treaty of Berwick was concluded on the 27th of February, 1560, between the English Government and the Lords of the Congregation: its avowed purpose was to expel the French from Scotland, and it was as much calculated for the safety of England itself as for the liberties of the former kingdom.⁴⁴

The English army, six thousand strong, entered Scotland in the end of March, 1560, and they were soon joined by the Scots who adhered to the Lords of the Congregation. The English proceeded to besiege Leith, and skirmishing ensued between them and the French. The French had made their defences very strong, and the attacks of the English and Scots were repeatedly driven back with great loss. The Frenchmen exhibited more skill than the besiegers; months passed and still little progress was made towards the reduction of Leith.

⁴³ Knox, Vol. VI., pp. 15-21, 28-29, 31-32, 35-36, 40-43, 45-59, 63, 63-71, 74, 79, 81, 89, 91, 92, 98, 101, 109; Sadler's *State Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 601-604.

⁴⁴ Federa, Vol. XV., p. 569; Calderwood's *Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 574-578; Knox, Vol. II., pp. 13, 38-45.

But the current of events was working changes in other quarters; the critical condition of France itself soon began to tell upon the course of affairs in Scotland, she was not prepared to declare war against England, and she could not afford to send more reinforcements to Scotland. Negotiations were commenced to bring the war to an end, but the circumstances were of a peculiar character, and the preliminaries required much discussion and deliberation.⁴⁵

The queen-regent had removed into the castle of Edinburgh on the approach of the English army. She was worried and wearied with the responsibilities of her position, and worn out, she died on the 10th of July, 1560. On her death-bed, she showed a nobleness of feeling and a magnanimity of soul which moved the minds of the hardest reformers; she called for Willock the reformed preacher, and freely and cheerfully heard such exhortations as he deemed suitable for the occasion;⁴⁶ and thus she gave an example of religious humility and liberality unmatched in that fierce intolerant age. The important place which she naturally assumed in Scotland at this crisis, and the attitude which various associations and influences led her to take up, have often been overlooked in the heat of controversy; and she has been blamed for not doing things which her position and the circumstances of her connexions precluded her from attempting; even apart from her hereditary tendencies and her domestic feelings and sentiments. She had often said that, if she had been permitted to act according to her own wishes and judgment, she would have ended the dissensions and settled the kingdom in peace.

The negotiations above mentioned resulted in the conclusion of the treaty of Edinburgh on the 6th of July, 1560. This treaty dealt with a variety of matters touching France and

⁴⁵ Hayne's *State Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 272-273; Buchanan, B. XVI., Chs. 55, 57, 58; Knox, Vol. II., pp. 66-72.

⁴⁶ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 29; Buchanan, B. XVI., Ch. 61; Knox, Vol. II., p. 71.

England, some of which were never ratified. The parts of it immediately affecting the cause of the Congregation were mainly these—the French troops to return home, that no foreigners hereafter should be employed in Scotland without the sanction of the parliament; that an act of oblivion should be passed for all injurious deeds committed against the laws of the kingdom, from the 6th of March, 1559, till the 11th of August, 1560. That a general peace should be made among the lords and all the subjects of the kingdom, so that those who were of the Congregation, and those who were not, should have no cause of quarrel with each other for the things done since the 6th of March, 1559. That a parliament should be held on the 10th of July, and adjourned to the 11th of August; and that this parliament should be as valid as if it had been expressly summoned by their majesties the king and queen, provided that nothing be treated before the 1st of August.⁴⁷ Peace was proclaimed on the 8th of July, and a few days afterwards the French and English troops departed from Scotland.

The reformed preachers, most of whom were in Edinburgh, were actively engaged preparing matters for the parliament. They met in St. Giles's church on the 19th of July, and offered up solemn prayers for their deliverance.⁴⁸ About the 20th of July, the first appointment of ministers and superintendents to the chief towns and districts of the country was made.

The parliament met at Edinburgh in the beginning of August, 1560. All had been invited who had a right by law or custom to be present, and there was an unusually large attendance. Some time was spent in discussing whether it was a legal meeting of the Estates. The leaders of the Reformation had prepared a document containing what they deemed necessary for strengthening the lines of the Protestant faith, and put it in the form of a petition before the parliament. It was a rather sweeping production and extremely vehement in

⁴⁷ *Fœdera*, Vol. XV., p. 593, *et seq.*; Keith, Vol. I., pp. 298-306.

⁴⁸ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 84-87.

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 expression. One part of it referred to the patrimony of the Church, but the parliament waived this important and practical question of dealing with the revenues of the hierarchy; and then requested the Reformers to lay before the House a summary of the doctrines which they proposed to establish. ✓
 The party selected for this task proceeded rapidly with their work; and in four days they produced a Confession of their Faith which touched upon many subjects, and delivered opinions upon some of the most difficult and speculative points which have ever tasked the powers of the human mind. It was, however, only a body of doctrines, and when on the 17th of August this Confession of Faith was read in parliament, it was adopted without hesitation "as wholesome and sound, and grounded upon the infallible truth of God's word". Only three earls voted against it, on the ground that they would believe as their fathers believed before them, and no otherwise. ✓
 The spiritual estate, the bishops and the clergy, said nothing.⁴⁹ And there is some reason to believe that they had not formed any adequate conception of the immense issues of the revolution which was being enacted before their eyes, snapping the stakes and rending the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church.

560. ✓
 This parliament passed an act against the mass, and another abolishing the authority of the Pope within Scotland. By the first act, any person who said mass or attended to hear it was liable to have all their moveable goods confiscated, and to be otherwise punished at the discretion of the magistrate; for a
 p. 187.

⁴⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 525-534; Knox, Vol. II., pp. 89-92, 220-222. A far greater number than usual of the lesser barons attended this parliament; their names are inserted in the roll after the commissioners of the boroughs. The Roman Catholic clergy were represented in it by twenty-eight names among whom there were six bishops. A contemporary chronicler makes the following mention of the Confession: "And upon the 20th day of the said month, the whole Lords passed to the Tolbooth, and there, after long reasoning of sundry matters concerning the commonweal of this realm, the ministers presented in the same a tractate called the Confession of our Faith, which being read was received and admitted therein".—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 279-280.

second fault, banishment ; and for the third, the punishment of death. It was declared that in future the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, should have no jurisdiction in Scotland, nor should any bishop or persons whom he may appoint dare to act, under the penalty of proscription and banishment out of the kingdom.⁵⁰ The Scottish nobles had now done their work. They had at last laid the church of their fathers in the dust ; hereafter we shall find out what was the real depth of their religious feelings and convictions, and how true and faithful they were to the religion which they had professed to fight so hard to establish.

⁵⁰ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 534-535.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CREED AND ORGANISATION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

✓ THE Confession of Faith ratified by the Parliament of August, 1560, was composed by John Knox, John Winram, John Spottiswood, John Willock, John Row, and John Douglas. It consists of twenty-five very short chapters, and a brief preface; setting forth that the Scottish Reformers had long desired to proclaim to the world the sum of the doctrine which they professed, and for which they had sustained danger and infamy. In this preface it is stated:—"If any man will note in our confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's holy word, we humbly request him to admonish us of the same, in writing, and on our honour we faithfully promise him satisfaction from the Scriptures, or else reformation of what is proved to be amiss". This is an indication of fairness and reasonableness; but it must be regretted that the reformers seldom acted in the spirit of the rule which they here recognised. The preface concludes—"And therefore by the assistance of the mighty Spirit, our Lord Jesus, we firmly purpose to abide to the end by this Confession of our Faith".¹

The Confession begins with the belief in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. God is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, and invisible; one in substance, and yet divided into three persons. It sets forth concisely the creation of man, his fall, and original sin; the promise of a Saviour, and the continuation of the faithful from Adam to the coming of the Messiah. The Incarnation of Christ, truly God and truly man, two perfect natures united in one person; and

¹ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 95-96; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 14-22.

on this belief they condemned—"The damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius, and all others who deny the eternity of His Godhead, on the verity of His human nature, or confound them, or divide them". This wonderful conjunction of the persons of the Godhead, "did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence also our salvation springs and depends. For God, the Father, of His mere mercy had elected us in Christ Jesus, before the foundation of the world was laid, and appointed Him to be our Head. So we confess and undoubtedly believe in His Passion, Death, and Burial; his Resurrection and Ascension, His session at the right hand of God, whence He shall visibly return at the day of judgment."

There are chapters on the Holy Ghost, the cause of good works and in what they consist, the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man; on the true Church, the power and the authority of General Councils, and the authority of the Scriptures; the immortality of the soul, the sacraments and their right administration, the gifts freely given to the Church; and on the civil magistrate.

The Confession recognised empires, kingdoms, and cities, to be distinct realities and ordained by God. And emperors, kings, dukes, and magistrates of cities, each in their proper rank and place, must be regarded as the holy ordinance of God, established for the manifestation of His own glory, and the good of mankind. So those who go about to destroy the existing constitution of the state, or to confound the government of a kingdom, are not only the enemies of mankind, but they also wickedly fight against the expressed will of God. Such persons therefore as are placed in authority should be loved, honoured, feared, and held in the most reverent estimation. But then it is the duty of kings and magistrates to reform and purge religion, and to suppress all idolatry and superstition, according to the examples of the Old Testament, as in the case of David, Ezechias, Josias, Josaphat, and others, most worthy of being imitated.

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p. 140

“Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confounded: Let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godly name: give thy servants strength to speak thy word in boldness: and let all nations attain to thy true knowledge.”² Amen.

135.
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p-145
The six men who drafted the confession of faith, also composed the First Book of Discipline; but it never received the sanction of the government. It is divided into nine heads, and treated of doctrine, polity, discipline and education.³ It is a production embodying views on various important points that penetrate deeply into the strata of society, and wield a far-reaching influence over its destiny.

✓ The first head announced that the Gospel should be freely and openly preached in every church and assembly of the kingdom; and that all doctrine repugnant to this should be utterly suppressed, “as damnable to man’s salvation”. That the Book of the Old and New Testament contained all things necessary for the instruction of the Church, and for perfecting of the man of God. All laws and constitutions imposed upon the consciences of men, without the expressed command of God’s word, such as vows of chastity, celibacy, superstitious observance of fasting days, keeping of saints’ days, prayer for the dead, and other feasts, are therefore declared to be abolished within Scotland: and the obstinate maintainers of these abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

The second head asserts that there are only two sacraments, Baptism⁴ and the Lord’s Supper. That the people should be instructed in the language which they understood before participating in the sacraments. In Baptism the element of water only is to be used, oil, salt, wax, conjuration, crossing, and all inventions of men are forbidden. At the Lord’s Supper, sitting

² Knox, Vol. II., p. 120.

³ The *First Book of Discipline* is printed in the second volume of Knox Works, pp. 183-257: it is also included in the *Collection of Confessions*, published in 1722.

⁴ The Canons of the Roman Scottish Church on Baptism may be seen in the *Statuta Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, Vol. II., pp. 174-175, 307-309.

at a table is declared to be most convenient, and because our Lord Himself sat with His disciples. The people should partake both of the bread and the wine: the minister is to break the bread, and distribute it to those next to him commanding the rest, every one with reverence and sobriety, to break with each other. During this action, some comforting passages of Scripture should be read which bring to mind the death of Christ Jesus, and the never-ending benefit flowing from it to mankind.

The third head required the abolition of idolatry with all its monuments. Such as abbeys, monasteries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral kirks, canonries, and colleges, excepting those used as parish churches and schools, and all the mansions and dwelling places attached thereto, with the gardens and orchards. It should be observed that it was only the monastic system, and the extinction of its pertinents, which was really a consequence of the establishment of Protestantism; not at all the mere wanton destruction of the buildings: in the circumstances it was necessary to remove the ornaments and the internal furniture of the Roman Catholic churches and establishments of every description, as these things were all intimately connected with the worship of the system. It is always easy for people to be wise after the event, but if they had been upon the ground at the time their wisdom would have proved of little avail. Under idolatry was included the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images; and finally, all honouring of God not authorised in His holy word.

The fourth head deals with the ministers and their lawful election. In a reformed church none ought to preach or to administer the sacraments, till he be called. The ordinary vocation of a minister is said to consist in election, examination, and admission. It pertains to the people and to each congregation to elect their own minister. Examination must be in public, by the ministers and elders of the Church: the applicant must be examined openly in the presence of the people that all may hear and understand, on all the points of controversy be-

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tween the Protestants and the Catholics, Anabaptists, Arians, and other enemies of the Christian religion. After he has given evidence of his soundness in doctrine, and evinced his ability to convince the gainsayers; he must then appear before the congregation whom he intends to serve; and in the presence of his flock to deliver several sermons, touching the articles of faith, justification, the office of Christ Jesus, the number, the effect, and the use of the sacraments; and finally, to explain the whole Protestant conception of religion. But great care must always be taken not to thrust any man upon a congregation, if they be not satisfied with him; this point is repeatedly stated in the First Book of Discipline.

Touching the form of admission of ministers to their charge, a sermon is to be preached by some specified member concerning the duties of the office; and an exhortation is to be given both to the minister to be admitted and to his congregation. Any other ceremony is deemed unnecessary, only the approbation of the people, and the declaration of the presiding minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve his particular church. Although the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing that the miracle is ceased, this ceremony is unnecessary.

The Scottish reformers experienced much difficulty in the work of organising their Church, from the paucity of qualified ministers then in Scotland. To overcome this, they adopted the only expedient open to them, by employing other two classes of persons in the work of religious instruction, called exhorters and readers. In churches where no ministers could be had, readers were to be appointed, persons who could read distinctly the common prayers and the Scriptures; and afterwards, some of these if found qualified, might be advanced to the degree of ministers. The exhorters were a class between the readers and the ministers, and as the name imports, they gave some explanation or application of the parts of Scripture which they read to the congregation.

The fifth and sixth heads are very important ; they related to the distribution of the possessions, rents, and patrimony of the church, and provision for the ministers. It was exactly in these matters that the strength and the weakness of the reformation spirit in Scotland would be tested ; it is therefore necessary to indicate the scheme proposed by the leading men among the Protestant clergy. It is very obvious from what has already been stated, that some of the expedients which they adopted were merely intended to meet the exigencies of the circumstances, and to carry them over the great difficulties springing out of the revolutionary changes of the religious movement. Owing to the scarcity of qualified ministers the reformers had recourse to the expedient of selecting a number of persons with power to plant and erect churches, and to appoint ministers within the bounds of their respective provinces. To effect this they divided the country into ten districts, each to be under a superintendent. These men were not to live idly as the bishops had often done ; they were required to preach themselves three times every week, and to labour incessantly and travel from place to place till all the churches within their district were provided with ministers or at least with readers. Till they had gone over their district, they were not to remain longer in one place than thirty days. They had to examine into the life and diligence of the ministers and readers, the order of their churches, the manners of the people, the state of the poor, and the instruction of the young.

It was proposed to regulate the scale of stipend according to the condition and circumstances of the ministers. The superintendents were to get more than the ordinary minister of a parish, a minister more than an exhorter, and the reader less than either. Proposals were made for securing provision to the wives and families of the ministry ; and burghal privileges were demanded for their children, and a special preference to be accorded to their sons in the schools and colleges, with regard to the presentation of bursaries. Thus far, touching the personal wants of the new clergy and their families.

It was proposed that a portion of the property of the Church should be applied to national education. "Seeing that all men came into the world ignorant, and God had ceased to illuminate them miraculously, a system of education for the whole people was therefore a necessity." A school was to be attached to every church, and when a schoolmaster could not be got, then the minister or the reader must teach the children and the young of the parish, and to instruct them in the rudiments, especially in the Catechism as now translated in the Book of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva.⁵ They further proposed that those who were unable to keep their children at the school should be assisted out of the funds of the Church, especially the people in the landward parts of the country.

⁵ The reference here is to the translation of Calvin's Catechism. In another part of the first book of discipline it is called the most perfect catechism that ever was used in the Church. It was approved and adopted by the reformed Church of Scotland, and commonly printed with the Book of Common Order. A translation of this catechism was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1564, and it was long and widely used among the Protestants of Scotland. There is a notice of early editions in the sixth volume of Dr. Laing's collected edition of Knox's works, p. 341. Calvin's Catechism is divided into fifty-five parts, one for every Sunday, so the whole of it was gone through in little more than a year. It contains three hundred and seventy-three questions and answers.

The Palatine Catechism used by the reformed churches of Germany, and taught in the schools, was translated into English, and printed in 1591 by public authority for the use of Scotland; and it was sometimes printed with the Book of Common Order and the Psalm Book. This catechism had three chief headings—"1. Of Man's Misery; 2. Of Man's Deliverance; 3. Of Man's Thankfulness." It is divided into fifty-two parts, one for each Sunday of the year, and it contains one hundred and twenty-nine questions and answers. It was printed in the *Collection of Confessions*, published at Edinburgh in 1722, Vol. II., pp. 273-352.

There was a little catechism in Latin which was taught in the grammar schools. It embraced forty-one questions and answers. In 1592, the General Assembly authorised a catechism, which was drawn up by John Craig, with the assistance of Robert Pont, Thomas Buchanan, and Andrew Melville; its title is—"A Form of Examination before the Communion". The Assembly ordered it to be used in families and to be taught in schools. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 574, 784, 788. It is known by the name of Craig's Catechism. It has twelve headings, and contains ninety-six questions and answers. The eighty-sixth question is this—"What is the office of the Christian magistrate in the Church? A. He should defend the true religion and discipline, and punish all troublers and contemners of the same."—*Collection of Confessions*, Vol. II., pp. 363-377.

The state of the poor labourers of the ground is noticed, with the remark that they had been long oppressed. The reformers were grieved to see that some of the barons were so cruel to their tenants, and extorted from them as much, and even more, than the priesthood had done; and they argued earnestly that this class should now be relieved of a part of the burdens which had so long pressed upon them. It was also firmly maintained in the First Book of Discipline that the poor and the helpless ought to be supported and sustained from the property of the Church.

The seventh head treated of ecclesiastical discipline. A distinction was drawn between crimes which should be punished and put down by the State and those which fall under the discipline of the Church. All capital crimes ought to be punished by the civil power; but drunkenness, excess in eating, oppression of the poor by cruel exactions, or cheating them in buying and selling by the use of wrong measures, properly appertained to the Church to punish as God's word commands. Owing, however, to the confusion introduced by the Roman Catholic system: "The Church of God is compelled to draw the sword against such open and manifest offenders, cursing and excommunicating all such, as well those whom the civil sword ought to punish as the others, from all participation with her in prayers and sacraments, till open repentance manifestly appears in them. As the form of proceeding in excommunication ought to be grave and slow, so when once it is pronounced against any person, whatever their rank and condition may be, it must be kept with all severity. For laws made and not kept engender contempt of virtue, and bring in confusion and liberty to sin." The same sharp and inflexible rules of discipline were to be applied to all ranks in the kingdom, to the rulers as well as to the ruled, and even to the preachers themselves as well as to the humblest in the nation. Here at least there is a rough recognition of equal justice and no respect of persons.

The eighth head related to the election of elders and deacons.

The most intelligent, faithful, and honest men that could be found within the church should be nominated for election, and their names publicly announced by the minister to the whole congregation. Regarding the form of voting, so that every man might give his vote with freedom, each congregation was left to adopt such rules as seemed most likely to attain the end. They were to be chosen yearly, but those in office the preceding year might be re-elected. The elders were to assist the minister in all public affairs of the church, in judging causes, and in admonishing the licentious; for by the gravity of the elders, the levity and unbridled life of the immoral should be corrected and restrained. The elders were to observe the life, diligence, and study of the minister himself, to admonish and correct him, and when necessary, with the consent of the congregation and the superintendent, they may depose him. The office of the deacon was to receive the rents and gather the alms of the church, and to keep and distribute them as should be appointed. They were also to assist the minister and elders in deciding causes, and they might be admitted to read publicly, if required, and found fit to perform that duty. The deacons themselves must be sober, humble, lovers of concord and peace, and examples of godliness to all. The elders and deacons were to receive no stipend, because they held office only from year to year, and because their services to the church did not prevent them from attending to their private business.

The ninth head referred to the polity of the Church, which embraced those things that might bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, inflame the learned to greater fervency, and to retain the church in good order. It is then stated that there are two kinds of polity, the one necessary, the other merely expedient and amenable to circumstances. The first required that the word should be truly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, and common prayers publicly offered; that children and rude and ignorant persons should be instructed in the chief points of religion, and offenders punished, as without these

there is not the face of a visible church. The second touched upon such matters as that psalms should be sung, that certain portions of Scripture should be read when there was no sermon, and that on this or the next day of the week, few or many, the congregation should meet for worship : regarding points of this kind each congregation was permitted within limits to frame rules suitable to their circumstances. It was, however, required that in all the chief towns there should either be a sermon or common prayers every day, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. In every notable town it was also required that there should be sermon and prayers on one day of the week, besides Sunday ; and during the time of this service both masters and servants must cease from their business and labour. In all places the Sunday was to be regularly kept : in the forenoon the Word was to be preached, the sacraments administered, and marriage solemnised ; and in the afternoon the children must be taught in their catechism and examined in the presence of the people, as thereby the old as well as the young may be better enabled to understand the questions and answers propounded, and the doctrines of Christianity. To promote this great end every church must have an English Bible, and the people were commanded to convene at befitting times and hear it read and interpreted, and thus by degrees to dispel the grovelling ignorance and thick darkness which had so long enslaved their bodies and minds.

Concerning marriage, it was found that the existing relations of the different sex were of the most lax and immoral character. Under the Roman Catholic system, the practice of divorce, of dissolving marriage by granting dispensations on various grounds, tended to foster immorality and encourage crimes of the most atrocious description, and especially among the upper classes.⁶ The reformers, therefore, endeavoured to frame regulations calculated to remedy this class of social evils. Henceforth marriage must be public in the face of the Church ;

⁶ *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 130-131, 297.

and to avoid all suspicion, the banns should be proclaimed on three successive Sundays. On no consideration was secret marriages to be permitted; the ceremony must be solemnised publicly; and thus to cleanse the nation and free it from innumerable troubles, that the people may enjoy peace and happiness, to the honour and glory of God.

Touching burial it is stated :—"In all ages it has been held to signify that the same body that was committed to the earth should not utterly perish, but should rise again". From what immediately follows, it is pretty clear that the Reformers were reluctant to abolish all the forms and ceremonies till then associated with the burial of the dead. But this is not surprising, as veneration for the memory of the departed is one of the strongest and deepest sentiments of human nature; it touches those tender strings of the heart which are at once the source of the purest emotions and the noblest feelings of our common humanity. In Scotland, as elsewhere, from the earliest period there is evidence of this homage for the memory of the deceased on all sides, and it was keenly felt by the reformers themselves. Although they were more strongly impressed by the baneful results which superstitious notions and practices had produced; and thus without much discrimination they put a ban on the expression of one of the most effective features of human character, when to avoid all superstition, they ordained—"that the dead should be conveyed to the place of interment with some honest company of the Church, without either singing or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony hitherto used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety as those that be present may seem to fear the judgment of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death".

The First Book of Discipline concludes with an article concerning the punishment of those who profane the sacraments and condemn the Word of God. It suggested that very severe measures should be adopted for the repression of all such

abuses within the kingdom. This Book of Discipline was not sanctioned by parliament, but it was approved by an act of the Privy Council in January, 1561, and about thirty of the nobles and gentry subscribed it. The Reformers failed to obtain any settled provision or adequate allowance for the new clergy out of the confiscated lands of the Church; and none of the acts of the parliament which abolished the Roman Catholic religion were ever sanctioned by Queen Mary.

The Book of Common Order, mentioned in the First Book of Discipline, was a kind of directory of public worship.⁷ It contained a form of prayer for the ordinary meeting of the congregation; at that time extempore prayer was not common in Scotland nor anywhere else among the reformed clergy. It gave directions for the administration of the sacraments; a form of marriage; a prayer to be said at the visitation of the sick; and instructions on the order of ecclesiastical discipline.⁸ There are other two treatises, the one on fasting, and the other on excommunication, but it was a few years later ere they were written and adopted by the Church, and they will fall to be noticed in connexion with other social influences which affected the people.

The system of doctrine and polity of the reformed Church of Scotland as presented in the Confession, the First Book of Discipline, the Catechism, and the Book of Common Order was pretty distinct, although on several points extremely crude and imperfectly developed. The doctrines of Calvin were adopted

⁷ This Book of Common Order was an adaptation of the Order of Geneva—the forms of worship which had been received by the English congregation in that city. Of this congregation Knox was for some time pastor, hence it was sometimes called the Order of Geneva. The Geneva edition of 1558 was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1562, and again in 1564, and it was approved and sanctioned by the General Assembly; the subsequent editions are numerous, and commonly printed with the old metrical version of the psalms. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 30, 54. In Dr. Laing's edition of Knox's Works, accurate and minute details on these points will be found.

⁸ *Collection of Confessions*, Vol. II., pp. 382, 468; 1722. Knox's Works, Vol. VI., pp. 275-333.

by the Scottish Reformers with little modification and it was at this time that Calvinism seized the minds of men with irresistible power.⁹ The Calvinistic modes of belief were decidedly more opposed to the Roman Catholic tenets than the doctrines of Luther; and of this fact, the Catholics themselves were well aware; hence the intense bitterness that eventually prevailed everywhere when Calvinists and Romanists came into conflict with each other. In Scotland among the Protestants themselves heresy for a long time was altogether unknown; the disputes which arose within the reformed Church in this country were always about points of polity or external forms, or the limits of the liberty and power of the Church. The first burst of the battle was directed against the Roman Catholic system; and it is vain and untrue to deny that the Protestants persecuted the Catholics. The moral ideas and sentiments of the 16th century were comparatively narrow and imperfectly developed; Knox and his associates would most assuredly not have taken it as a compliment, if they had been told that they tolerated the Catholics; the Reformers distinctly, emphatically, and constantly, proclaimed that it was the duty of the State and the Church to punish and extinguish the confessors of the mass and other forms of idolatry. The proceedings of the General Assemblies, the Acts of Parliament, and other national records, contain endless evidence of this: what else could have been expected? A nation does not spring up to an elevated moral position in a day or in a few years; and the ultimate results of a great revolution cannot justly be measured by its immediate effects; on the contrary, the movement must be followed century after century ere its truth and its glory can be fully apprehended.

⁹ On the re-establishment of Protestantism at the accession of Queen Elizabeth the English bishops would have gladly dispensed with Episcopacy, and the ceremonies which the Queen imposed were barely tolerated. In regard to the great question of the real presence the majority of the bishops agreed with the Swiss Reformers. Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, Vol. I. pp. 39-41. For further evidence of the influence exerted by Calvin on the Reformed Church, see Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Vol. II., 178-183, and Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*. Blunt. *Dict. of Doctr. and Hist. Theol.*

The first General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 20th of December, 1560. There were only a few ministers present, but a number of lay commissioners attended. The Assembly enumerated and recorded the names of those who were deemed best qualified for preaching the word and administering the sacraments, and reading the common prayers in all the churches. The ministers and readers both did not exceed sixty in number; and it can easily be seen that the difficulties and obstacles which the leaders of the Protestant revolution had to overcome, were something enormous; but they boldly proceeded to meet the necessities of the circumstances, in the way already indicated, by placing a man over a district to organise and appoint readers and exhorters to the churches where ministers could not be got.¹⁰

Another General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 26th of May, 1561. It passed an act for the suppression of the Catholic worship throughout the kingdom; and measures were proposed for strengthening the hands of the superintendents. A supplication was sent to the government calling on them to take order—"With the pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist within the realm, who was again threatening to erect their idolatry." The Privy Council acceded to their request and passed an act thereon; and the Protestants went forward with their work of suppression and reorganisation.¹¹

¹⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 3-6. The names of the persons chosen as superintendents were John Carswell, for Argyle and the Isles; John Erskine of Dun, for Angus and Mearns; John Spottiswood, for Lothian and Tweeddale; John Willock, for Glasgow and the West; and John Winram for Fife—five in all. As this number of superintendents was never increased, the General Assembly from time to time appointed commissioners or visitors for special districts. Their duties, as indicated in the text, were of a very arduous nature. Their stipends were not great, they had no superiority over their brethren, and like other members they were entirely subject to the General Assembly. Their office and their task was to plant churches, and assist in the great labour of organisation. At this time three or four churches were grouped together, having a minister in one and readers in the others, under the superintendent; and this continued for many years, till a sufficient number of qualified ministers could be obtained.

¹¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 8-10.

CHAPTER XVI.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

WHILE the Protestants were still uneasy and somewhat alarmed by the intelligence that France had firmly refused to confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh, or to ratify any part of the proceedings of the last parliament, the welcome news reached Scotland that Francis II. had died on the 6th of December, 1560. The death of the young king was hailed with undisguised satisfaction by the leaders of the Protestants, as this event broke and limited the sway of that scheming and ambitious house of Guise. The work of the Reformation in Scotland proceeded without serious interruption from any quarter; and the nation began to look for the early return of their queen without misgiving.

A considerable section of the people still professed to adhere to the old religion, and they were headed by the Earl of Huntly. This noble was then almost the supreme ruler in the north and northwest of Scotland; and he put himself forward as the representative of the Roman Catholics. John Lesly, the parson of Oyne, and afterwards bishop of Ross, was deputed in April, 1561, to pass to France and represent the views of the Catholic party to Queen Mary. He suggested that she should land at Aberdeen, where twenty thousand troops would be ready at her command; and with these a blow might be struck against the Protestants. This plan was not attempted by the queen; but it has some connexion with events which happened shortly after her return to Scotland.¹

The prior of St. Andrews, Lord James Stuart, the queen's

¹ Lesly's *Hist. Scot.*, p. 294; Dr. Burton's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IV., p. 166.

natural brother, passed through England on his way to France, as the deputy of the Protestant Lords; and he was warmly received by the queen. After many interviews between her and him, concerning the state of Scotland, Mary informed him that she intended to return to the home of her ancestors. She embarked on the 14th of August, 1561, and landed at Leith on the 19th of the month. Her arrival was announced by the sound of cannon; and all ranks of the people hastened to meet her and to welcome her home. The loyal citizens of Edinburgh endeavoured to enliven her first night at Holyrood house by a musical performance in which fiddles with three strings were the leading instruments. This serenade seems to have grated on the ears of her French attendants; indeed the whole people and their surroundings must have offered a strange contrast to the luxury, the external polish, and the enchanting pleasures which encircled Mary during the palmy days of her life in France. Many of the citizens of the capital, however, were anxious to show their goodwill towards her; and on the 2nd of September they presented to her a cupboard which cost two hundred marks: the expense of the town in connexion with the banquet, the triumph, and gift to the queen on the occasion amounted to four thousand marks.²

The exceeding interest of the events crowded into the history of the next seven years, the tragic, and often dark character which they assumed; and the vital importance of the main issue involved, have induced me to attempt a concise explanation of the causes which controlled the current and led to the flight of Queen Mary into England. This part of our history has often been ably treated in the narrative form, and in every point of detail, with special reference to the character of Queen Mary herself; but in nearly all the writings on this period there is rather much of the partisan spirit, and too keen a tendency to rest the issue of the momentous revolutionary movement on

² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 119-122; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 67-69; *Knox*, Vol. II., pp. 269-270.

points of merely secondary weight and import. As on questions whether there is evidence that Mary was implicated in the plot to murder her husband, as to whether this or that noble was concerned in the plot to murder Riccio, and Darnley; and whether Mary's marriage with Bothwell, was voluntary or forced by violence: then how this king or queen struggled to outwit and befoul another; how this statesman and that confounded each other, by framing misrepresentations—these are the questions and matters which mostly fill the literature on the reign of Queen Mary, and without ignoring by any means its relative value, the aim of this chapter is to reach the underlying ideas of the Reformation movement.

It is quite unnecessary to dwell on the charming beauty, the varied accomplishments, and the unquestionable talents of Mary Stuart, Queen of France and Scotland. But once for all it must be stated that I am not a hard and fast apologist of Mary throughout her chequered career; although on the other hand, I have been unable to discover that she was so deceitful, immoral, and wicked, as she has often been painted. If she be measured by the standard of morality among her contemporaries of the 16th century, she will not suffer by a comparison with the best of them: the cupidity and faithlessness of the royal families and many of their counsellors, who were then trying to sway the destinies of Europe, had reached a height of enormity which would be incredible, if it were not attested by piles of unimpeachable evidence. Everywhere the suffering of the lower classes had become almost unbearable; and this was a time of destruction, of revolution, and of renovation. In these circumstances it is unjust and historically false to single out Queen Mary because she was unfortunate, as baser and worse than her compeers.

The Scottish nobles had long been accustomed to fight against the Crown; and they had at last laid one of the strongest arms of the throne in the dust. They had abolished the old Church and seized its landed property; and what they had thus taken

they intended to retain, and eagerly looked for more. Most of them had joined with the Reformers for no higher aim than the enlargement of their estates; and the whole of their subsequent proceedings were quite consistent with the origin of their reforming spirit. John Knox was smarting under the sting of blasted hopes and defeated schemes. He at least acted from honest intention and firm conviction; he believed that he was following out the will of God, and delivering His message to Scotland; and the heart and soul of the Reformer was therefore in his work, and he struggled with all his energy to enforce what he deemed to be "the eternal truth of God". Yet like other men, he was intolerant and overbearing and greedy of power: the party who faithfully adhered to him were naturally suspicious and dreaded that a reaction might be attempted; and for the protection of their own lives, and the safety of the reformed faith, they were always on the outlook and ready to frustrate the machinations of the enemy. They were well aware that the utmost vigilance was necessary for the success of their cause. Their scheme of life was narrow, and many of their ideas extremely crude; but the Reformation embraced the elements of a social and religious revolution; it went to the roots of evil; it stirred the inmost thoughts of men; and it aimed at the elevation of society from the humble tiller of the ground upwards to the throne. Underneath all the rudeness of the reformed preachers, there was the moving, invisible flow of the moral principle—the consciousness of a God before and above all, and the consciousness of the justice of their cause; they believed that the decrees of the Almighty were irresistible in their sweep. It was chiefly in the "eternal decree" that the intensity of Calvinism rested; and this absolute dogma was the secret of the influence which Calvin so long wielded over the minds of men: so long as there was no question touching the power of the mind to discover this decree, its influence had full swing, and remained unimpaired.

The nobles and barons had gathered from all quarters to welcome Queen Mary; but the trying circumstances in which

she was placed soon became apparent. On Sunday, four days after her arrival, when the preparations began to be made for the celebration of mass in the royal chapel, the Reformers were greatly offended. The more zealous of them openly asked whether this idol should be again suffered, even in the queen's chapel; and it appeared that there would be an attack upon the priest, but the queen's brother, the Lord James, guarded the chapel door during the service. After it was over, John and Robert Stuart, other two natural brothers of the queen, took the priest between them and conducted him safely to his chamber.³

Next day a proclamation was issued, announcing that the queen was to make no alteration in the form of religion which she found existing when she returned to her Kingdom, without the consent of parliament. The people were enjoined to make no attempts either publicly or privately to change the form of religion; but at the same time the proclamation commanded that no one should molest any of the queen's French followers or servants, for any cause whatever, under the penalty of death.⁴ On the following Sunday Knox inveighed against idolatry, and declared what terrible plagues God had sent upon the nations who indulged in this false worship. He had a special hatred at the mass, and he dreaded the effects of allowing the queen to engage in the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship; and in the circumstances there was reasonable ground for his apprehension.⁵

But naturally, Queen Mary was extremely annoyed at the outspoken proceedings of the preachers, and she resolved to try the effect of her wit upon Knox himself. The Reformer had a long dialogue with the queen which he reported in his history. The queen tackled him on a variety of points, chiefly political; and it must be confessed that Mary held her own in argument, and showed at every turn a quickness of perception and a dia-

³ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 270-271.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 266-267; 1877.

⁵ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 276-277, *Anderson's Collections*.

lectic tact which brought out the unyielding and intolerant features of Knox's character.⁶

Mary's government, notwithstanding the alarm of the Protestants, was for some years conducted with unusual success. Her brother, Lord James, was placed at the head of affairs, and in September she made a progress to Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews, and was everywhere well received by the citizens. She returned to Edinburgh in the end of September; but Knox complained that she had polluted all those places with idolatry. Means were taken to punish the lawless Borderers and to restore order among them, but with little success.⁷

The Reformed Church as yet was merely on sufferance; the head of the State was a confirmed Roman Catholic; and there was no provision made for the Protestant preachers. Knox and other ardent reformers had been much mistaken when they supposed that the Lords of the Congregation who had so actively assisted to cast down the Roman hierarchy, would also be ready to transfer its property to the new Church; the preachers had rather foolishly imagined that the nobles, who at first had stuck so close to the good cause, were really actuated by pure religious motives and honest convictions; but when the practical proposals for the disposal of the lands and the wealth of the old establishment came under consideration their eyes were opened. The reformed clergy desired the queen to ratify the First Book of Discipline, but the reforming lords now asked in jeering tones—"How many of those who subscribed that book would be subject to it?" Maitland of Lethington said—"Many subscribed it in *fide parentum*, as the bairns are baptised." In the face of the remonstrances of Knox himself, another of the lords said—"Stand content, that book will not be obtained". Then said Knox, "Let God require the lack which this poor common-

⁶ Knox, Vol. II., 277-286.

⁷ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 69; Knox, Vol. II., p. 287; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 163-165, 167, 168, 184.

wealth shall sustain of the things therein contained from the hands of such as stop the same".⁸

✓ By an Act of the Privy Council, 22nd of December, 1561, it was proposed to appropriate a third of the revenue of all the benefices in the kingdom to the Crown. Thus the Catholic bishops and clergy still in possession were to retain the rents and proceeds of their benefices, except this third which was to be applied to the purposes of the queen and the government of the country, and a reasonable provision for the Protestant ministry. ✓ The rentals of all the benefices in the kingdom were ordered to be given in at a specified time, that the amount of the thirds might be ascertained and the arrangement carried out. ✓ A Royal Commission was appointed with power to carry the act into effect, but difficulty in this was soon found. On the 12th of February, 1562, the Council complained, "That the queen's majesty and the Council, and others appointed by her for receiving the said rentals, have continually since the said 24th of January awaited upon the receiving thereof; yet only a very small number of them have produced their rentals, contemning thereby not only her grace's ordinance and proclamation, but also herself and her authority, like as if they were princes and not subjects, expressly against reason, equity, and justice." Her majesty and the Council therefore resolved to appoint factors to intromit, gather, uplift, and receive these rentals in all cases where they had not been given in according to the ordinance.⁹ The reformed clergy were extremely displeased with this arrangement; and Knox expressed his opinion on its defects as usual with great freedom: "Well, if the end of this order pretended to be taken for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment faileth me; for I am assured that the Spirit of God is not the author of it; for, first, I see two parts freely given

⁸ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 295-298.

✓ ⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 192-194, 196, 199, 201-203, 204-206. Among the public records there are several volumes of accounts of the collectors of the thirds of benefices, beginning in 1562.

to the devil, and the third part must be divided between God and the devil. Well, be witness to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the devil shall have three parts of the third; and judge you then what God's portion shall be." Many were offended at this language, and some were not ashamed to affirm that, "After the ministers were sustained the queen will not get at the end of the year as much as to buy her a pair of new shoes".¹⁰ Knox was pretty near the truth, for by grants of lands, long leases, alienations, actual seizure by force, and other means, the nobles and gentry swallowed up the greater part of the property and the revenue of the Roman Church.¹¹

The stipends granted to the reformed ministers were not large. The sum appointed for the ordinary ministers was to range from one hundred marks to three hundred. But from various causes even this small sum was very irregularly paid to the ministers, and they were constantly complaining in the General Assembly; and some persons had the audacity to tell them that many of the barons had not so much to spend as they had; but this comparison was deemed unfair and inapt, as a baron might augment his rents by engaging in other business, while the minister had no other source of income but his stipend, and he required books, quietness, study, and work, in order to edify the Church of Christ. When the clergy laid these reasons before the authorities and complained of their poverty, they were told that the queen could not spare greater sums. The preachers, however, often sounded into their ears—"O, happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ, if after this life there was not a hell and a heaven! For to the servants of the devil, to your dumb dogs, and horned bishops, to one of these idle bellies ten thousand a-year was not enough; but to the servants of Christ that laboriously preach the Gospel, a thousand pounds; how can that be sustained?"

¹⁰ Knox, Vol. II., p. 310.

¹¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 287-288, 412-413, 477-479, 487-488, 573-575, *et seq.*

Lethington, the queen's secretary of state, said that the ministers were paid so much every year by the queen, and he asked, "Was there ever a minister that gave thanks to God for her majesty's liberality towards them?" Then "one smiled and answered, Assuredly, I think that such as receive anything gratis of the queen, are unthankful if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and speech; but whether the ministers be of that rank or not I greatly doubt. Gratis, I am assured, they receive nothing, and whether they receive anything at all from the queen wise men may dispute. I am assured that neither the third nor two parts ever appertained to her predecessors within the realm these thousand years bypast; neither has the queen a better title to that which she usurps, be it given to others, or taken to herself, than such as crucified Christ Jesus had to divide his garments among them. And if the truth may be spoken, she has not so good a title as they had; for such spoil used to be the reward of such men, and in that point these soldiers were more gentle than the queen and her flatterers, for they parted not the garments of our Master till that he himself was hung upon the cross; but she and her flatterers part the spoil while poor Christ is yet preached amongst you. . . . Let the Catholics, who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten abbacies and feu lands, thank the queen, and sing *Placebo Dominæ*. The poor preachers will not yet flatter for feeding their belly."¹²

But dissatisfied as the Protestant ministers were with Mary, the magnate of the north, the Earl of Huntly, was probably more displeased with her proceedings. The Earldom of Moray was detached from Huntly's possessions and conferred on Lord James, who was henceforth known as the Earl of Moray. Huntly had not changed his religion, but throughout the religious struggle he had played fast and loose; his chief aim was to retain his vast territories and his influence in the north.

¹² Knox, Vol. II., pp. 311-313; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 16, 17, 23, 30, 47, 48.

Various incidents point to the fact that Moray had resolved to crush him. The house of Huntly had long ruled supreme over the smaller chiefs in the northern Highlands, and had committed many acts of extreme cruelty and injustice among them. In August, 1562, the queen and Moray moved northwards; Huntly suspected that mischief was brewing against him, and he sent his wife to Aberdeen to meet the royal party and to ascertain their purpose. The Countess invited the queen to Strathbogie, but Mary declined, and passed on with her company to Inverness. Some of the clans who had before submitted to Huntly now when they had an opportunity deserted his standard; the Clan Chattan, the Frasers, and the Monros all joined the queen. But the gates of the Castle of Inverness was closed against her, and a siege was begun, and it was soon taken and the garrison hanged. When the queen and Moray returned to Aberdeen, Huntly followed them, and an engagement between his followers and the royal army ensued on the Hill of Corrichie, about sixteen miles west of Aberdeen; the royal party was victorious, and Huntly himself was found dead upon the field. Thus the power of the greatest noble on the north side of the Forth was shattered, and the champion of Catholicism laid in the dust.¹³ The queen left the north, and proceeded by Dundee, Perth and Stirling, to Edinburgh, on the 21st of November.

The court remained in Edinburgh the greater part of the winter, and the preachers found occupation in declaiming against its vices. They were especially outspoken and vehement touching the excessive banqueting and the dancing among the attendants of the queen and her court. Probably something should be allowed for exaggeration in the fiery sermons of the preachers. It was already noticed that dancing was popular in the court of our kings long before¹⁴ the days of Queen Mary; and I have no sympathy with those who strive to proscribe this

¹³ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 218, 219, 220, 222; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 73, 74; Buchanan, B. XVII., ch. 36, 37.

¹⁴ Mackintosh's *Hist. of Civilis. in Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 526, 547, 548.

innocent amusement. It has been said, however, that some of the dances then fashionable in the queen's court were indecorous and immoral in their tendency, and that it was mainly against these that Knox raised his voice.¹⁵ This might be some extenuation of the Reformer's fierce denunciations; but it cannot be doubted that from the first the reformed clergy of Scotland went rather far in limiting the amusements of the people. Effusive display is equally as necessary as religion; and nothing is gained, although much may be lost, to the sum of human enjoyment by a stringent discipline of curtailment. Though some individuals may take no interest in any kind of amusements, nor derive any pleasure from art in any of its forms; such persons have no right to make their ideas, imperfect sentiments, and narrow sympathies, a standard to deprive other people of their lawful enjoyments; indeed persons of such stunted and dwarfed humanity must be poorly qualified for framing and laying down the laws of a community.

But Knox had a suspicion that the Queen Mary's dancing was the expression of her heterodoxy and malignancy. As, "among other things, he was assured that the queen had danced excessively till after midnight, because she had received letters that persecution was began in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tails, and to trouble the whole realm of France". When the queen heard of this sermon, she sent for Knox; and he was accused of having spoken irreverently of the queen, and for endeavouring to make her an object of hatred and contempt among her people; and that he had exceeded the limits of his text. Then the Reformer proposed in self-defence, to rehearse from memory what he said in the pulpit; and he proceeded to deliver one of the most plain and vehement harangues ever sounded into the ears of a monarch. "The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, to wit: That violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here in this earth: for, while murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors,

¹⁵ Burton's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IV., p. 209; Knox, Vol. II., pp. 367-369.

and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say? But that the devil has taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed. And how can it be otherwise? For princes will not understand; they will not be learned as God commands them. But God's law they despise. His statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand; for in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised than in reading and hearing God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonition might beat down into them some part of that vanity and pride whereinto all are born, but in princes it takes deep root and strength by wicked education. And dancing, Madam, I said, that albeit in Scripture I find no praise of it, and in profane writings, that it is termed the gesture rather of them that are mad and in phrensy than of sober men: yet I do not utterly condemn it, provided too vices be avoided; the former, that the principle vocation of those who use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing, and secondly, that they dance not, as the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people." The queen looked around and said—"Your words are sharp enough as you have spoken them; but yet they were told to me in another manner. I know that my uncles and you are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, albeit you have no good opinion of them."¹⁶¹

The idea of religious toleration was not adopted by the Protestants in practice, any more than by the Roman Catholics; the only difference between them was, that the first had introduced a principle which would ultimately develop a spirit of toleration; whereas on this point the principle of Romanism never changes, however circumstances may modify its practical operation. As might naturally be expected there was still a consi-

¹⁶ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 330-335.

derable section of the people unconverted to the Protestant opinions; in the north especially where the power of the local Catholic ruler was only newly broken, and in several other parts of the kingdom, the influence of the chief was on the side of the old religion, and there the Catholic worship prevailed. The Protestant clergy insisted that the laws against the Romanists should be enforced; but the government was negligent, and the preachers threatened to take the matter into their own hands; as they firmly believed themselves justified according to the command of God to extinguish all idolatry. They apprehended some priests in the west, and intimated to others that punishment awaited them. The queen again sent for Knox and once more tried her wit and policy upon him; and this time she managed him far better than usual; the two parted on the very best terms. She promised to summon the offending Catholics, and to show the Reformer that she should administer justice; and he blessed her and departed.¹⁷

The Catholics were accordingly summoned to appear at Edinburgh before the Justiciary Court on the 19th of May, 1563. There were about forty-eight persons brought before the court, and among the number the Archbishop of St. Andrews. They were accused of celebrating and attending mass. The most of them were imprisoned in Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and some in other places; none of them were executed.¹⁸ It need hardly be said that the queen was unwilling to punish the professors of her own religion, but she had yielded to the clamour of the Protestants thus far, for the sake of other advantages.

Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 26th of May, 1563, but it did little to strengthen the walls of the reformed Church. Articles were presented for moderating the excess of dress, and for the reformation of other enormities; but they were all shuffled aside. The acts of 1560 which abolished Catholicism

¹⁷ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 370-376; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 75-76.

¹⁸ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., p. 472; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 75; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 160-161.

were not even mentioned. But an act was passed which gave full protection to all those who had been connected with the rebellious proceedings between the 6th of March, 1558, and the 1st of September, 1561. This act afforded much satisfaction to many of the nobles, as it in a measure secured to them the lands which they had taken into their hands during the period of conflict and confusion: but the preachers were not pleased with it, nor with any of the acts of this parliament. Other enactments were passed, touching the punishment of witchcraft, adultery, and the restitution of the glebes and manses to the ministers of the Church;¹⁹ yet this did little to appease the wrath of Knox. Before parliament dissolved, he preached a sermon in the presence of the nobles, and spoke very plainly. "The queen, say ye, will not agree with us: Ask ye of her that which by God's word ye may justly require, and if she will not argue with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and ye shall prosper in your enterprises. But I can see nothing but such a recoiling from Christ Jesus, as the man that first and most speedily fleeth Christ's banner, holds himself most happy. Yea, I hear that some say, that we have nothing of our religion established either by law or parliament. Albeit that the malicious words of such can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us who thereupon depend, yet the speaker for his treason committed against God, and against this poor commonwealth, deserves the gallows. For our religion being commanded, and so established by God, is accepted within this realm in public parliament; and if they will say that was no parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, that that parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it within this realm And now, my Lords, to put an end to all, hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren, to emperors and kings, strive all for the best game; but this, my Lords, will I say (note the day, and bear witness after) whensoever the nobi-

¹⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 536-538.

lity of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consents that an infidel, (and all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do so far as in ye lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye shall do small comfort to your sovereign." ²⁰

This comes rather near an assumption of the gift of prophecy. There is an element of supreme boldness, intense earnestness and not a little arrogance in it. But Knox had unquestionably a clearer view of the real difficulty and danger which was menacing the reformed Church, than any other man in Scotland. That his language was strong, seething, and sometimes rebellious, must be admitted; yet underneath it all he had an unbending, unswerving, and true moral conviction, which he followed with an unflinching resoluteness of will rarely equalled. He was well aware that Catholicism in other countries was beginning to show unmistakable signs of new activity and power; it had reorganised its armies, and it was rapidly recovering from the affects of the first shock of the Reformation; indeed in many points Catholicism itself had been reformed. The fascinating smiles and enchantments of Queen Mary had won the hearts of many in Scotland, but over Knox she failed to cast her spell. Day by day the prospects of the Protestants were becoming darker; and Knox adopted a special form of prayer for the conversion of the queen, the good of the kingdom, and the preservation of the light of the word of God.²¹ The prayer for the queen is couched in an extreme strain of phraseology, and it is not surprising that it offended her.

The current flow of events in Scotland seemed likely soon to engulf the Protestant party and their Church in a sea of trouble. The queen was breaking the ground for her marriage with a branch of the Lennox family. The Earl of Lennox after twenty years of banishment, arrived at Edinburgh on the 23rd of

²⁰ Knox, Vol. II., pp. 382-386.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 387-392, 428.

September, 1564; and a parliament met in December and restored to him the family estates and titles. In the end of this year the General Assembly met at Edinbnrgh, and petitioned the queen to put the laws in execution against the sayers and hearers of mass, who were then so numerous throughout the kingdom.²²

Henry, Lord Darnley, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, came to Edinburgh on the 12th of February, 1565. In a few days after, he visited the queen at Wemyss Castle, in Fife; and soon found himself at a height of fortune far too dazzling for his poorly gifted nature and slender talents. Darnley was quite a youth, blooming and handsome, vain and full of ambition, but utterly void of ability and moral character; and before he had been many weeks at the Scottish court, he had made the Protestant lords his enemies. The Earls of Moray, Morton, and Glencairn, disliked him; Moray who had been at the head of affairs since the return of the queen from France, now began to feel that his influence and power was slipping away. Darnley was a Roman Catholic, and this further intensified the complications throughout the nation. The Earl of Moray began to concert measures to prevent the marriage of Darnley with the queen.²³ A special meeting of the nobles and the chief officers of State was held at Stirling in May, 1565; and to this assembly Mary announced her intention to marry Darnley. The Protestants became alarmed, they seemed to think that a reaction was setting in, and that at any moment the queen might proclaim the restoration of Catholicism. The queen had intended to hold a parliament at Perth to sanction her marriage; but the attitude which Moray and his party had assumed, rendered that step unsafe.²⁴

²² *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 77; Keith, Vol. II., p. 228; 1845. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 53.

²³ Keith, Vol. II., pp. 263-265, 268-275.

²⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 334-336; Knox, Vol. II., pp. 478-482.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 23rd of June, 1565, and at once proceeded to adopt measures for the suppression of the mass and other Catholic practices. They demanded that all popery, idolatry, and jurisdiction of the Pope should be utterly extinguished throughout the kingdom, not only among the people but also in the queen's own person and household, without any exception. Mary answered this demand very candidly. She said, that she did not believe in the Protestant religion, nor that there was anything wrong in the mass, that she believed the Catholic religion to be well grounded; and therefore she desired her subjects not to press her to receive any religion against her own conscience; as she had never pressed them they should not press her now. She also stated that if she was to change her religion, she would lose the friendship of the King of France, and other great princes, who were her firm confederates, to whom she could look for support in all her necessities and difficulties; and indeed she would be loth to hazard the loss of all these in an instant. But, as in the past she had not sought to impose her religion upon her subjects, so in the future they might worship God as they pleased; but not to insist on her to offend her own conscience.²⁵

The Earl of Moray had broken off from the court, and meditated a rebellion. On the 15th of July 1565, Moray and his party met at Stirling to consult upon their project; and the same day the queen issued a proclamation at Edinburgh announcing that she intended to make no change in religion, and intimating to all her loyal subjects to prepare themselves to attend her for fifteen days in the field, and to be ready to appear the instant that they were charged. The queen and her adherents were too active and numerous on this occasion for Moray and his party. A general muster of the Crown vassals was ordered on the 22nd of July. Offers were made to Moray to appear before the council and obtain satisfaction. The intended marriage was

²⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 59, 67.

publicly proclaimed; and on the 29th of July the queen and Darnley were joined in wedlock amid rejoicing at Holyrood.²⁶

Various rumours were afloat, some said that the strife arose from envy, ambition, and hatred, rather than from religion. The newly married pair, however, began their reign by adopting vigorous measures. Moray and the Protestant nobles who had joined him were declared rebels; and to crush them swiftly, the feudal vassals of the Crown were at short intervals summoned anew to muster and rally round their king and queen, and in this way the government was enabled to keep a force in the field. Their majesties also raised considerable sums of money from the citizens and burgesses for licences to absent themselves from the army. The disloyal nobles, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Moray, Glencairn, Argyle, Rothes, and other barons, had gathered together about a thousand of their followers; but they soon found that the queen and her party were too strong for them. Mary at this time was exceedingly well served, and the action of her government was prompt and decisive.²⁷

The provost of Edinburgh was an adherent of the Protestant Lords, and the queen at once commanded the town council to discharge him from his office, and named another to be elected in his place. About the same time the court had ordered the magistrates of the capital to suspend Knox from preaching, but the council firmly refused to do this; and several of the citizens fled to the banished Lords. On the other hand, Lord George Gordon was restored to honour and to the Lordship of Gordon, by royal proclamation at Edinburgh. The rebellious Lords after

²⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 339, 343, 345, 346; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 79-80.

²⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 347, 348, 349, 350, 353-363; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 198, 200, 201, 202-203. This old feudal mode of raising an army now began to be felt a severe burden, and people in business were glad to pay a sum of money to be allowed to remain at home. But those who remained away from the army without licence, were brought before the courts and fined; and it appears that a number of persons had not answered the queen's calls to join the host. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 80-81; Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I.

various moves and efforts found themselves unable to face the royal army in the field; and they retired to Dumfries, whence they issued a manifesto on the 8th of September, 1565, called upon the Protestants to rally round them. But they failed in gaining recruits, few of the people joining their standard. They had calculated rather rashly on assistance from England, none came; and on the approach of the queen's army, they disbanded their followers, and retired to England.²⁸

The queen and her government were now victorious, and many of the Protestants dreaded that the Reformation would soon be extinguished in Scotland. At that time there were schemes and plots on hand among the Roman Catholic States of Europe, and more in the fountain head—the Curia of Rome—either hatched or in process of hatching, for the total overthrow of heresy and all its works. Spain was deeply interested in the recovery of Scotland to the Holy See.²⁹ These matters filled the minds of the rulers of the world; but the sweeping current of events shortly quashed the dreams that Britain, or even Scotland, would be early restored to Catholicism.

The marriage of the queen with Darnley turned out to be an extremely unfortunate affair. She discovered when too late that her husband was a vicious, vain, and childish fool; and a man utterly unfitted to be a companion and guide to the sharp-witted and polished Mary Stuart. Their domestic quarrels quickly became notorious. The queen had several foreigners in

²⁸ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 369, 372, 379, 383; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 80-84. In regard to Knox the town council of Edinburgh came to this conclusion—"On the 23rd of August, 1565, the bailies, council, and deacons, being convened in the council-house, after long reasoning upon the discharge of John Knox, minister, to forbear preaching, during the stay of the king and queen in this town, all in one voice concluded and delivers that they will in no manner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closed or he discharged from preaching the true word, and therefore willed him at his pleasure, as God should move his heart, to proceed forward in true doctrine as he had done before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end."—*Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 199-200.

²⁹ Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I., p. 406, *et seq.*

her service, and one of them named Riccio acted as her foreign secretary; he seems to have enjoyed her confidence, and she consulted him occasionally on important matters; which was all reasonable within the limits of honourable and faithful service to his employer. Darnley, however, began to think that Riccio was his enemy, and that he had prevented the queen from granting to him the Crown matrimonial; and from one silly thought to another, he ran to the conclusion that Riccio had frustrated his end.³⁰ This is a characteristic of all weak-minded and naturally vain persons; they fancy that some one purposely sets himself to defeat them; while all the time it is their own defects which is the cause of their defeat. The Scottish nobles at once saw Darnley's weakness, and as they wanted a plot for restoring the rebel Lords, they fixed upon him as their tool, and on Riccio as their victim.

A parliament had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 4th of March, 1566, in which it was intended to confiscate the lands of the banished lords. These lords, however, had many friends in Scotland, and even in the government; and they had been making incessant efforts to obtain pardon and to be restored to their places, but the queen still held out against them. The Scottish nobles have never been deficient in devising bold plots for the overthrow of their enemies and the attainment of their ends. Morton the Chancellor, Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and others, entered into a bond with Darnley for the murder of Riccio, and to secure the restoration of the banished Lords; while they undertook to procure for him the Crown-matrimonial, on which he set so much store.³¹ But it is plain that Darnley was made the mere plaything of the nobles; they had no intention of elevating him to the throne; their chief aim was to prevent the meeting of parliament, and thus preserve intact the estates of the rebel Lords: and probably they foresaw that Darnley would prove false, and throw himself outside the bond.

³⁰ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 132-134, 136-140; 1827.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148; Keith, Vol. III., pp. 260-263.

The plot was exceedingly well matured and everything prepared for its realisation. On the 7th March, 1566, parliament was opened by the queen in person, but Darnley instead of accompanying her, rode off to Leith to enjoy himself among his companions. By this time the exiled nobles were moving towards Edinburgh; in fact, the first business of the parliament had been to summon them to appear on the 12th of March. The evening of the 9th of March was fixed on for the consummation of the dismal deed. The Earl of Morton commanded a body of one hundred and sixty armed men, and took possession of the inner court of the palace and secured all the gates; a party of these men took up their position in the royal audience chamber on the ground floor; thence Darnley ascended to the queen's apartments and Lord Ruthven followed him. They found their victim sitting with his cap on his head in her majesty's presence. Some parley and sharp talk passed between the queen and Ruthven; but suddenly more of the conspirators rushed in, the tables and chairs were instantly overturned in the scuffle, and David Riccio was seized and dragged to an outer room, and there stabbed to death. A guard was placed over the queen; but in spite of their vigilance several gentlemen escaped, and warned the citizens of Edinburgh. The common bell was rung, and the people rushed to the palace with torch lights, and demanded the instant deliverance of the queen; but she was not permitted to speak to them: Darnley assured the citizens that she was in safety, and commanded them to go home. Darnley and Ruthven prepared two proclamations to be issued next day in the name of the king, the one ordering the citizens of Edinburgh to keep order in the streets, the other dissolved the parliament, and commanded all the members to leave the city within three hours, except those whom the king might require to remain. Lord Ruthven placed men to watch the gates and all the private passages, but the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly managed to escape.³²

³² Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 149; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 89-90; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 214; Keith, Vol. II., pp. 414-418.

The following day, Sunday, the banished Lords arrived in the evening, and were ready to make the most of the peculiar circumstances. In fact, they had taken possession of Edinburgh, and frustrated the proceedings of parliament. But Mary soon disengaged her husband from the nobles who had murdered her favourite, and there can be no doubt that he was duped by the queen as well as by the nobles: Darnley had neither the ability, the resolution, nor even the recognised rough honesty of his day, to carry him through such a plot. Mary and he, however, slipped out a little past midnight on Thursday morning, and rode to Seton House, whence they were escorted to Dunbar Castle.³³

The confederate nobles rose in the morning and found that they had been completely outwitted, and were in imminent danger. A large force quickly rallied round the queen, who advanced upon Edinburgh. The opposing party of the nobles had no means prepared to meet her army, and they dispersed; Morton and Ruthven fled to England, others fled to the Highlands, and some of them went home to their estates. After a short time, the queen pardoned Moray, and some of his associates; but on those directly concerned in the murder of Riccio, she seemed determined to be revenged. Her husband exhibited the baseness of his nature by loudly denouncing his fellow-murderers; this hapless man had been fancying that by such action he was winning the esteem and regaining the love of his wife; although it is certain that he was only making himself loathsome to her, and employing the very means to make himself an object of utter contempt and hatred among the nobles.³⁴ When the queen returned to the capital, Knox left it and passed to Kyle. Many persons were apprehended in Edinburgh and accused of being concerned in the murder of Riccio, but only two men were executed for this crime—Thomas Scott, Sheriff-Depute of Perth, and Henry Yair.³⁵ On the 8th of

³³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 92-93; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 151.

³⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 446-437, 456-457.

³⁵ *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 480, 481.

June, 1566, the Council passed an act commanding the people not to receive or entertain the Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, the Master of Ruthven, and other thirty persons named, because they were implicated in the vile and treasonable slaughter of David Riccio, her majesty's French Secretary. All these and some more of their accomplices were denounced rebels and put to the horn, for not appearing before the Council and answering to the charges against them.³⁶

✓ The queen retired into the castle of Edinburgh, and on the 19th of June, 1566, James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was born, and there was rejoicing in the capital and throughout the kingdom. After this event, the queen began to be disposed to listen to the suggestions for a reconciliation with the nobles who had rebelled against her ; although Bothwell and Huntly were at the head of the Government, Moray, Argyle, Glencairn, and others of the Protestant party, were re-admitted to a share in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom.³⁷ Bothwell had speedily risen to an important position in the state.

But the series of events leading up to the murder of Darnley, the marriage of the queen with Bothwell, and her subsequent imprisonment, have often been detailed at great length, and all that can be attempted here is to indicate the motives of the chief actors and the circumstances which controlled the form of the drama. On the one hand we have the queen and her husband ; Mary was a good Catholic and really wished to stand well in the eyes of the Pope and the other Catholic rulers of Europe. She was a woman of great energy, and gifted with remarkable talents, and up to the time of the birth of her son, she had acted in the government of the country with surprising moderation and fairness, when everything is taken into account. But her feelings were extremely keen, her sentiments tender and kindly, her emotions and passions strong ; withal she was

³⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 462-464.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 374, 464, 468 ; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 219.

a woman of exceptional polish and commanding presence. Now Darnley had acted in a very singular way towards his wife. He had exhibited so much folly, falsehood, depravity, and such utter stupidity, that it must have completely alienated the queen from him; while on the other side, he had unpardonably offended the pride and aroused the hatred of a party of the nobles, whose revenge was deep and never slumbered, and his doom was therefore settled. In fact, the aristocracy had long been following a line of policy which directly tended to depress the the authority of the Crown, and they were not likely to let the opportunity which a concurrence of circumstances then offered slip past without turning it to their own advantage.

The plot for the murder of Darnley was soon concocted. According to custom a bond was drawn up by Sir James Balfour, an experienced lawyer, and a firm friend of Bothwell. This bond declared that Darnley—"was a young fool and tyrant, and unworthy to rule over them". They therefore bound themselves to remove him by some means or another, and each engaged to stand true to the other in this deadly enterprise. The bond was subscribed by the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Morton, and others who joined in the conspiracy. Their victim had become sick, and he was visited by the queen at Glasgow, whence he was conveyed to Edinburgh on the last day of January, 1567. He was put in a house close to the city wall, called Kirk-of-Field, and here the queen was very attentive to him and for several nights before the murder she slept in the room below him. At last everything seems to have been prepared, and the evening of Sunday the 9th of February, was fixed for the murder of Darnley. All things about the court were going on in the most natural and joyful fashion; that evening the Earl of Moray left the court to join his wife at St. Andrews; and the same night a marriage was to be celebrated between two of the queen's servants. Meanwhile the servants of Bothwell and the Earl himself were intently engaged in making the final preparations for the horrible deed. The conspirators had

resolved to blow up the house by powder, and after dark they placed a large quantity of this destructive element in the room below the king, and Bothwell superintended the operations. About ten o'clock in the evening the queen passed from Holyrood to join her husband; she passed the door of her own bedroom and entered the apartment of the king. There was some agreeable conversation between them; then the queen recollected that she had promised to attend the ball to be held that night in honour of her two servants' marriage. She therefore bade the king farewell and departed, with Bothwell and Huntly and her attendants to Holyrood; and apparently only two of the conspirators remained about the king's lodgings. In spite of all the care that had been taken by the contrivers of this dolesome plot, there appears to have been a hitch in their proceedings. It is pretty evident that Darnley and his servant had discovered their danger and attempted to escape, and had got some distance away when they were caught in the garden and strangled. Bothwell with a company of his followers returned from the palace about midnight, and joined the other two conspirators, who had already lighted the train. The explosion shook the earth for miles around, and all the inhabitants of Edinburgh were aroused from their sleep. The murderers had to escape swiftly, and Bothwell ran to his apartments in the palace and immediately went to bed, only to be awakened as if from slumbers half an hour afterwards, by a message informing him of the tragedy: and he then like an innocent man shouted "treason! treason!" and along with the Earl of Huntly called on the queen to tell her what had happened.³⁹

At the time it was well known that Bothwell was the chief actor in this great crime, but at the moment no one would have been safe to accuse him. Many of the nobles were directly,

³⁹ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 173, 174; Keith, Vol. II., pp. 501-507; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 105, 106; Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I.; Chalmers's *Life of Queen Mary*, Vol. I. And a very full account of all the proceedings in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots*; 1870.

and others indirectly, implicated in the conspiracy ; the confused state of feeling, of belief, and the traditional policy of the nobles introduced a variety of motives which animated the breasts of these desperate men.⁴⁰ The murder caused great excitement

⁴⁰ "The conduct of the leading nobility of Scotland in the reign of Mary Stuart has no parallel in the history even of that turbulent country. We have seen that during her residence in France, they assumed the right of disposing of her Crown. We find them afterwards rising in rebellion against her because she married Darnley ; and yet a few months later, we find the very same men conspiring to dethrone her and to bestow the Crown upon her husband. Failing in this, they next resolved to murder him ; and after they effect their purpose, they first recommend their chief accomplice as a new husband for their queen ; and they then combine to punish him for the murder. But it is easy to perceive that the conduct of the great nobles, which at first sight appears so inconsistent, and even inexplicable, was guided throughout by a fixed determination to depress the authority of the Crown. . . . James V. had, during his brief reign struggled manfully against the common oppressors of the people and the Crown, but he perished in the unequal struggle. The duty of reducing the nobles to obedience next devolved upon his daughter ; and although possessing many qualities for the task, she too found at last that it was beyond her strength. So long as she suffered the dominant faction to exercise the whole powers of the government, she was allowed to reign in peace ; but as soon as she adopted an independent course by determining to marry, they turned immediately against her, under the pretence that their religion was in danger ; and we find them engaged in one desperate conspiracy after another, until they finally succeeded in depriving her of her Crown. We have no example, in ancient or modern times, of men so utterly unscrupulous as those by whom this revolution was accomplished. Combining as they did all the energy of the North with more than the perfidy of the South, courted at the crisis of the Reformation as well by England as by France, they were equally ready to clutch the bribes and betray the interests of both. At home the circumstance of two minorities following in succession had greatly aided their power, and they now had every prospect of a third. It was only necessary to destroy the reputation of the queen in order to secure the triumph of the ruling faction for many years."—Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots*, Vol. I., pp. 331-332.

Again, speaking of the murder of Riccio—"Machiavelli never conceived—he has certainly not described—a plot more devilish in its designs than that which was devised by the more knowing of the conspirators ostensibly for the death of Riccio, but in reality for the destruction both of Mary Stuart and her husband".—*Ibid.*, p. 142. These are certainly very plain and serious charges against the nobility of Scotland ; yet it seems to me that Mr. Hosack's statements are rather absolute and sweeping. He misses or at least greatly underestimates the most important principle which was mixed up in the struggle. What Mr. Hosack states touching the customary turbulence of the nobles is just and true within limits ; but the main question and difficulty of Mary's reign was not a political one merely, the principle and opinions of the Reformation were

among the people, which was more owing to the unusual way in which it was committed, than from feelings which revolted at bloodshed. Voices were heard at night in the streets of Edinburgh denouncing the murderers. On the 12th of February, a statement emanated from the Privy Council and announced "that two hours after midnight, the house where the late king's grace was lodged, was in an instant blown in the air,

distinctly involved in it. In brief, the vital issue consisted in this—Mary Stuart was a Roman Catholic—it was then an article of that religion to exterminate heretics—there was no middle term admitted in the sixteenth century—Mary herself avowedly held and believed that the Church of Rome was the true one—but the people of Scotland had newly embraced the reformed faith—therefore, according to the recognised standard of that age she could not be a safe ruler for them. This was the real cause of Mary's fall, however much it might be mixed up with other matters, and it was sufficient of itself to have overturned her in Scotland. It was quite unnecessary to attempt to prove that she was always in the right, and her nobles and people always in the wrong; that is a question which has long ago decided itself. At that time the people of Scotland and their leaders came to the conclusion that Protestantism could not be maintained in the kingdom, while there was a firm and able Roman Catholic Princess on the throne; and whether this was a wise and logical inference admits of a pretty distinct answer. Mary was indeed placed in a difficult and trying position; but as far as I have been able to discover, she never recoiled from it, she always firmly adhered to the Catholic faith.

Mary's reign in Scotland cannot be judged upon purely political grounds, as the matters which most urgently demanded recognition and treatment were more religious, moral, and social, than those which had hitherto occupied the attention of our princes and legislators. But, when Mary came to the throne she was not in a position to deal with these pressing subjects; to have done so, would have been contrary to her education, to her own religion, to her ideas of authority, to her notions of propriety, and finally contrary to the wishes of the Pope, and all her Roman Catholic allies. Thus, it is not surprising to find that she failed to hold the reins of government in Scotland; it is unnecessary to go about to prove that the nobles must have been instigated by the devil in their proceedings towards her. The inevitable course of events had been cast before she came to the throne, the influences of Protestantism, though sometimes almost invisible, controlled the movements of her reign, and finally became supreme. The point before the historian, is not that the queen was wrong in holding to her own religion, she was perfectly right and consistent in that; but the circumstances and the sentiments of the people precluded the possibility of her holding the Crown of Scotland, and still retaining her Catholic faith. At the time this was the fact, however we may regret it, and call it bigotry, intolerance, prejudice, ignorance, and so on, it will ever remain a memorial that kings and queens must rule for their subjects, and not for themselves.

while he was sleeping in his bed, with such force and vehemence that the whole lodging was destroyed and driven to dross to the very ground stone; and not long thereafter the bodies of his grace and of a servant were found dead within a short space of the same lodging". A reward of two thousand pounds and a grant of lands was offered to any one who should discover the murderers of the king; but no one ventured to claim the reward by an open accusation, although a bill was fixed to the door of the parliament house, naming Bothwell, Balfour, Chambers, and John Spense, as the guilty party; and another placard enumerated others of the inferior actors in the tragedy. On the 14th of the month the remains of the king were privately interred in the Chapel of Holyrood. The following day the queen, with Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, removed to the house of Lord Seton; and it was observed at the time that more inquiry was made for the authors of the placards than for the murderers of the king. Bothwell himself, surrounded by fifty armed men on horseback, rode from Seton to Edinburgh, paraded the streets, and, with hideous oaths and furious gestures, openly declared "that if he knew who were the authors of the bills, he would wash his hands in their blood".⁴¹

Touching the never-ending question of the guilt of the queen in connexion with the murder of Darnley, it must be confessed that many of her enemies in Scotland were prepossessed against her, and some of them eager to assume her to be guilty. There is some evidence that she was informed of a proposal which had been under the consideration of a party of the nobles for removing the king out of the way; but no direct evidence has ever been found that she gave any encouragement to the plot or in any way sanctioned it. The point has been often fully argued on both sides; but much of the whole evidence which has been from time to time handled, is utterly worthless and

⁴¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 498, 500; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 106; *Tytler's Hist. of Scot.*, Vol. VII., p. 90.

✓ irrelevant. After a careful examination of the case I have been compelled to state that the circumstantial evidence is strong on the count that Mary knew something about the plot to put Darnley to death : but that she ever encouraged or sanctioned it is not at all probable, and there is not a shred of evidence against her in that direction : indeed, she had too much judgment to commit herself to anything of this nature ; and a mere silent acquiescence in what was to be done, was in all probability the relation which Mary held to the murderers of her husband.

Rumours immediately began to arise that the queen would marry Bothwell, and that Mary herself was not innocent of the king's death. A correspondence was opened between her and the Earl of Lennox ; he naturally insisted that the parties who had murdered his son should be brought to justice, and distinctly called upon the queen to take steps to effect that end. At last, Lennox himself was charged to attend the trial of Bothwell, as a party to the action ; and on the 28th of March, 1567, the queen consulted the Council concerning the application of Lennox, as to the trial of Bothwell and others for the murder of the king. The Council ordered them to be tried by a jury ; and accordingly the trial of Bothwell was fixed to be on the 12th of April.⁴² But his trial, which was held on the appointed day, was a mere farce. The court sat in Edinburgh, and that day Bothwell had three thousand of his armed retainers on the streets of the capital. Certain forms of law were gone through, but no witnesses appeared against him, and he was of course acquitted. Bothwell then at once published a challenge, boldly offering single combat to any one, noble or common, rich or poor, who dared to affirm that he was guilty of the murder of the king. Here at least is a touch of rather grim humour ; and as no one responded to his challenge, he might now aver

⁴² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 504 ; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 175.

that he had satisfied the law and the ancient custom of his country.⁴³

Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 14th April, two days after the trial of Bothwell, and he bore the crown and sceptre before the queen when she rode to the parliament house. A number of acts were passed, chiefly relating to ratifications of grants of land: John Erskine got a ratification of the earldom of Mar, the regality of the Garioch, and other lordships; there were also ratifications of lands to the Earls of Huntly, Moray, Crawford, Morton, Rothes, and other barons, and formal reductions of the forfeitures against the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, and other gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were gone through. Bothwell got a grant of lands with the castle of Dunbar; and an act was passed against the makers and upsetters of placards and bills which had given Mary and Bothwell so much annoyance. An act was also passed which purported to recognise religious toleration.⁴⁴

The relations of the queen and Bothwell quickly developed. On the day after the parliament rose, Bothwell invited the nobility to a banquet at a hotel in Edinburgh; and a large party of the nobles responded to his hospitable call. After the red wine had been freely quaffed which warmed all their hearts and quickened the circulation of their blood till their faces smirked with joy, he laid before them a bond and kindly requested them to subscribe it. This document sets forth that some of Bothwell's ill-willers and private enemies had malignantly slandered and accused him of being art and part in the heinous murder of the late king; but now that he was acquitted and had also according to ancient custom offered to prove his innocence by way of single combat, and having a due regard to the nobleness of his house, and the good and honourable service rendered by his predecessors, and more especially by himself to her majesty the queen, "in the defence of her realm

⁴³ Keith, Vol. II., p. 563; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 107-108.

⁴⁴ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 545-590.

against the enemies thereof"; considering that it was ruinous to the kingdom for the queen to remain a widow, the bond went on to recommend himself, Bothwell, a married man, as the most suitable match she could obtain among her own subjects. All those who subscribed the bond undertook upon their honour and faith—"to promote, further, advance, and set forward the marriage to be solemnized and completed between her highness and the said noble lord, with our votes, counsel, strength, and assistance in word and deed, at such time as it should please her majesty to fix, and how soon the law shall allow it to be done". All the nobles present, except the Earl of Eglinton who managed to slip away, signed this bond; and thus bound themselves to risk their lands and goods and their lives against all who might seek to oppose the marriage of Bothwell and the queen.⁴⁵

On the 21st of April the queen went to Stirling to visit her son, and remained there two days. When she was returning to Edinburgh on the 24th she was met on the way by Bothwell at the head of a company of his own retainers, and was conveyed to the castle of Dunbar. Whether the queen was taken by Bothwell against her will and forcibly detained by him, is a point which has long been vehemently contested. Both sides have argued their special views at great length, but with little decisive results.⁴⁶ Without venturing to pronounce any absolute opinion on this dismal affair; it should be remembered that in those days there was hardly anything too daring for a Scottish noble to undertake, when there was a chance of success and the object interesting and important; obstacles which would now be deemed insurmountable, were then often disregarded, and the main aim pursued with a recklessness of consequences almost incredible. A little attention to this feature of the character of

⁴⁵ *Keith*, Vol. II., pp. 562-565; Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots*, Vol. I., pp. 301-304.

⁴⁶ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 109; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 177; *Birrel's Diary*.

the aristocracy might tend to clear the capture of Mary of some of its difficulties ; we should be prepared to see that neither honesty nor consistency were essential elements of the aristocratic character of the age, and allowance should be made for the play and action of this throughout the revolutionary movement. But when all the circumstances are taken into account, and every corollary duly weighed ; it is difficult to believe that Mary was not aware of the intention of Bothwell to lead her to Dunbar. If she had not been so, there was no necessity for her yielding to him at the bridge of Almond ; nor even when she was in the castle of Dunbar, was she so utterly at his mercy ; if it had at all been against her own disposition, a woman of her mental resource could have shortly discarded him without leaving any disgrace upon her brow. Although Bothwell was a profligate and unscrupulous man, it is not in the least likely that he would have taken the queen's life, if she had resisted his advances.

Bothwell conducted the queen to the castle of Edinburgh on the 29th of April, and preparations for the coming event were rapidly pushed forward. He obtained a divorce from his own wife on the 7th of May, 1567, upon the ground of consanguinity and for adultery on *his* part. The banns of marriage between him and the queen were proclaimed on the 12th of May, and on the 15th of the month their marriage was celebrated in the palace of Holyrood.⁴⁷

But unfortunately the stream of events soon began to disturb the happiness of the newly wedded pair. It surely was a cruel destiny that so swiftly overtook them, and led to their final separation. For three weeks after their marriage, they remained at Holyrood, and on the 4th of June the Privy Council passed an act in the form of a declaration from the

⁴⁷ Sir James's Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 178, 179 ; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 111. For full accounts of the divorce between the Earl of Bothwell and his wife, see Anderson's *Collections* ; Keith, Vol. II., pp. 571-575 ; and Riddell's *Peer, and Consistorial Law of Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 392-394, 433, 434, 437.

queen, upon the groundlessness of the rumours and fears of the people. "Her Majesty, considering and thinking upon her own state, and the government of her realm, over which Almighty God has placed her supreme head and lawful inheritor, and moreover, recalling what great alterations and strange accidents has from time to time occurred during her Majesty's reign ; but especially since her highness entering to this realm and took the management and government of the affairs thereof on her own person, which, all praise be to God, were happy and quietly settled down by her majesty : And God so prospered the work in her hands, as well to her own honour as the satisfaction and contentment of all her good subjects, that all the time of her majesty's personal reign, they have never felt the force of foreign enemies, but lived in good peace . . . so that they may justly compare their state during her majesty's reign to the most happy time that has occurred within the memory of man. But as envy is the enemy of virtue, and that seditious and unquiet spirits for ever seek occasion to stir up trouble and strife ; so however sincerely and uprightly, or however perfectly her majesty direct her doings, instead of thankful hearts and good obedience, her highness' clemency is commonly abused and recompensed with thwartness and ingratitude ; and when she is thinking least of any innovation, always some clamour is raised that alterations are to be introduced, and the people persuaded to believe it ; as if her highness' care of the nation were lost, that she meant to subvert the laws, to reject the counsel and assistance of her nobility, and to handle all things without discretion, and contrary to the ancient customs. But last, it is most grievous and offensive of all, when it is said, that the health, preservation, sure custody, and guardianship of her most dear and only son the prince, now in his infancy, has been neglected by her highness."⁴⁸ Most people will be ready to exonerate the queen from the foolish slanders that she ever intended any harm to her infant.

⁴⁸ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 514-516.

This declaration plainly shows that troubles had been gathering around the unhappy queen. She had ordered the feudal array to assemble at Melrose on the 15th of June, for an attack upon the insolent and disorderly borderers; but there was no appearance of the order being obeyed. In fact, the ball was taking another turn. The queen and Bothwell left Edinburgh on the 7th of June, and passed to Botherwick Castle, a place of great strength about ten miles south of the capital. The insurgents, the Earl of Morton and Lord Hume, with a considerable force appeared before the castle, and Bothwell and the queen with difficulty escaped to Dunbar. The pair were now much alarmed, and they issued a proclamation commanding the Crown vassals of the region to muster immediately. The insurgents took possession of Edinburgh, and proceeded to make themselves secure: and having managed to come to an understanding with Sir James Balfour, the governor of the castle, they at once assumed all the functions of the government. They issued a proclamation from the Canongate on the 11th of June, touching the crisis of affairs and ordering the people of all ranks but especially the burgesses and inhabitants of Edinburgh, to muster and assist in rescuing the queen from thralldom, "to preserve the prince's most gracious person from all such as would invade him, and to try and purge the kingdom of the most cruel and abominable murder of his late father," by bringing the guilty parties to punishment.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the queen and Bothwell had mustered between two and three thousand men, and advanced on Edinburgh. The confederate lords resolved to meet them; and the two parties came in sight of each other near Musselburgh. After a day's manœuvring and treating, the queen surrendered herself to the nobles, and Bothwell was allowed to ride off in the direction of Dunbar. The queen was taken to Edinburgh, and when she at last saw herself a prisoner in the hands of a party

⁴⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 516, 517, 519, 520; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 114; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 231.

of the nobles, she was extremely displeased. She surrendered on the 15th of June and on the 17th she was conveyed a captive to Lochleven.⁵⁰

The confederate nobles soon developed their scheme, and it was in harmony with their traditions and previous history. It consisted in taking the rights of the Crown into their own hands. They ordered all the members of the Court of Session to resume their business; they sent forth proclamations against Bothwell, and demanded the surrender of the Castle of Dunbar; they gave instructions that those who were suspected of being concerned in the king's murder should be tortured; and all this was done by men who were themselves more or less implicated in the murder of the king, and many of whom had sanctioned the marriage of the queen with Bothwell. They issued a proclamation against the inhabitants of Crail for abetting Bothwell and furnishing him with boats; and the bishop of Moray was punished for harbouring him in the Castle of Spynie.⁵¹ Yet, for all this noise it may be doubted if the confederate nobles really desired to take Bothwell; he would have been a very dangerous prisoner in their hands, and they merely wanted to drive him out of the country, and in this they succeeded.

The plans which the party at the head of affairs had determined upon rendered it necessary to treat the queen with great severity. They had resolved to depose her, place the crown on her infant son, and appoint the Earl of Moray regent during the minority. On the 23rd of July they presented two documents to the queen, which they requested her to subscribe, the one a renunciation of her crown and the other appointing Moray to the regency. These were hard terms for a young and high-spirited princess; but the pressure put upon Mary brought her to sign the two deeds, and Parliament ratified them. When Queen Elizabeth heard of the treatment which the Queen of

⁵⁰ Teulet, Vol. II., p. 313; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. VII., pp. 135-137.

⁵¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 523-525, 526-528, 530, 531.

Scots had received at the hands of her rebellious subjects, she was extremely wroth and threatened to inflict condign punishment upon them, but her boasting ended where it began—in nothing. For some time after her imprisonment in Lochleven Mary was very strictly guarded, and hardly any one was admitted to visit her.⁵²

The General Assembly held two meetings in the summer of 1567, and the reformed clergy threw the whole weight of their influence and power on the side of the confederate nobles. They first met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, and George Buchanan was chosen moderator. Knox, who had been for some time absent from the chief centre of activity, now returned to Edinburgh; and the members of the Assembly resolved to meet again on the 20th of July, and in the meantime to send letters to all the earls, lords, barons, and other brethren, to attend upon that day. The letters sent out to the nobles indicated the matters which it was intended to treat and conclude upon at the ensuing Assembly. It met at the appointed time, and John Row, minister of Perth, was elected moderator. The Earl of Argyle sent in a letter to the Assembly, stating that as he had not joined the confederate lords, who were then surrounded with an army in Edinburgh, he could not attend the meeting of the Church; and for the same reason Lord Boyd and the commendators of the abbacies of Arbroath and Killwinning refused to present themselves at the Assembly. In the list of the nobility we find among others the names of the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn; Lord Hume, Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay, Lord Graham, Lord Innermaith, Lord Ochiltree, Sir James Balfour, James M'Gill, Tullibardie, and a large number of the smaller barons and lairds; but the body of the higher nobles as yet stood aloof from the proceedings against the queen. A number of articles were laid before the lords and barons who were present in the Assembly, and they subscribed them, and

⁵² *Register of the Privy Council*, pp. 531-534, 537-541; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 11, *et seq.*; Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. I., pp. 285-287.

then the articles were recorded in the *Register of the Privy Council*. These articles embraced a variety of matters touching religion : the thirds of benefices, the distribution of the patrimony of the Church, and the social state of the people ; it was agreed that at the first lawful Parliament the nobles and barons should exert themselves to the utmost to establish and promote the reformed religion within the kingdom ; and that Parliament must do something to relieve and lighten the extreme burdens of the poor labourers of the ground. That all vice, crimes, and offences against God's law should be severely punished according to the Scriptures ; and that the horrible murder of the king, which was odious in the sight of God and the whole world, should not be hushed up, and therefore they bound themselves to punish all persons who should be found guilty of that crime. In conclusion—"The nobility, barons, and others of the Church under-subscribed, in the presence of God have faithfully promised to convene their power and forces, and there to root out, destroy, and utterly subvert all the monuments of idolatry, namely, the odious and blasphemous mass, and thereafter to go forward throughout the whole kingdom, to all and sundry places where-soever idolatry is fostered, haunted, or maintained, and chiefly where mass is said, to execute the reformation aforesaid, without exception of place or person ; and shall to the uttermost of their power remove all idolaters and others that are not admitted to the ministry of the Church from all function thereof, as well private as public, that they hinder not the ministry in any manner of way in their vocation. And in the place of the premises shall set up and establish the true religion of Jesus Christ throughout this whole realm by planting churches, superintendents, ministers, and other needful members of the Church, then the rest of the lords shall pass through the whole country to this effect, and also shall proceed to the punishment of idolaters according to the laws thereupon pronounced ; and in like manner they shall punish and cause to be punished all other vices that presently abound within this realm, which God's law and the

civil laws of the kingdom command to be punished, and chiefly the murder of the king lately committed. And likewise faithfully promise to reform the schools, colleges, and the universities, and to expel and remove the idolaters that have charge thereof, and others who as yet have not joined themselves to the true Church of Christ, and plant faithful instructors in their places, to the end that the youth be not infected by poisoned doctrine at the beginning which after cannot be well removed away.”⁵³

It is in these proceedings that we see the real spirit which animated the reformed clergy, who had a great influence with the people; it is in this that the cause of the success of the confederate nobles against the queen rested. The infatuation of the queen herself offered a handle which was turned against her; but it is very questionable whether she would have been able to remain upon the throne of Scotland much longer, even though her conduct had been far more exemplary.

The Lords having imprisoned and deposed the queen, their next step according to custom was to place the child upon the throne. The infant king was crowned in the parish church of Stirling on the 29th of July, 1567. The two deeds which Mary signed at Lochleven were publicly read, and the Earl of Morton then took the coronation oath for the prince and Steward of Scotland, after which the bishop of Caithness anointed him “the most excellent Prince and King of this realm”; John Knox wound up the proceedings by a sermon which he delivered in his most vigorous style.⁵⁴ The next day the King’s authority was proclaimed; and the reign of queen Mary in fact and in law was deemed at an end.

⁵³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 93-97, 100-103, 106-110; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 534-537.

⁵⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 537-543; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 118-119; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 238.

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF PROTESTANTISM IN SCOTLAND, AND THE CONFLICT OF THE CLERGY WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

THE nation was much divided; on the one hand there were the Earls of Morton, Glencairn, Athole, Mar, Lord Hume, Lord Lindsay, and others of the Protestant party, and of this party the Earl of Moray was to assume the leadership; and they were firmly supported by the reformed clergy. But on the other hand, some of the Protestant nobles still stood aloof and disapproved of the proceedings against the queen, and this section, was gradually taking a more definite attitude: then there were the Catholics, and they were always active and looking for their opportunity. On all sides there were the elements of a conflict, and any hour might bring surprises, and the development and execution of new plots.

The Earl of Moray arrived in Edinburgh on the 11th of August, 1567. After conferring with the nobles of the king's party, he consented to accept the regency, but before formally assuming the office he wished to have an interview with the queen. He proceeded to Lochleven, accompanied by Morton, Athole, and Lord Lindsay; but the queen naturally desired to see her brother alone, and her request was granted. What may have passed between them, it is rather hard to ascertain. It has been reported that he reproached her about her misconduct in the severest manner, and that the queen was extremely afflicted; and after a long interview he left her to ponder on what had been said. Next morning the queen and Moray again met, when there was a little more sympathy

between them; and at her request he agreed to accept the regency.¹

On the 22nd of August, Moray formally assumed his office in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and took the oath required by the constitution; and he was then proclaimed regent. The following day the Council issued an order calling in all the seals that they might be broken and destroyed, and new ones made with a legend appropriate to King James.² So the Protestant party might at last consider themselves to be fairly in the ascendant.

The new regent exerted himself to restore order and to administer justice to the nation. He commanded the leading men of the Merse to appear before the Council on the last day of August to concert measures for the quiet administration of justice within the East March. The Hamiltons made some opposition to his authority within their bounds but it was easily overcome. Moray's next aim was to get possession of the castle of Edinburgh, which was held by Sir James Balfour; and this man was bought over by a bribe, and the castle was then committed to the laird of Grange. The regent also struggled hard for the castle of Dunbar, and it fell into his hands about the end of September; but the castle of Dumbarton still held out for the queen. Orders were issued for the surrender of many other castles; and great efforts were made to establish peace and order throughout the kingdom.³

Moray summoned a parliament which met at Edinburgh in December, 1567, "to conclude upon the affairs tending to the glory of God, the setting forth of the king's authority, and for establishing good and needful laws in the kingdom". This parliament ratified the most important steps of the Reformation. The acts passed in 1560 which had never received the royal

¹ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 193-194; Hosack's *Queen Mary*, Vol. I., pp. 373-375.

² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 548-551.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 551-576; Stevenson's *Selections*, pp. 283, 291-294.

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p. 13
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assent, were now confirmed, and the Confession of Faith inserted in the record of the parliamentary proceedings.⁴ Henceforward the great revolution which had substituted Protestantism for Romanism in Scotland might be regarded as secured; though there were still many weighty and interesting matters relating to the polity and rights of the reformed Church, and the claims of her clergy, remaining to be settled, and which eventually led to a protracted struggle with the Crown.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 25th of December, 1567. All the members agreed to a proposition that a certain number of the ministers should be appointed to meet at all times with such members of parliament or of the Privy Council as the regent should name, and these together to advise on the affairs of the Church.⁵ The reformed Church gave the regent a firm and undivided support; and his government required all their aid. We are told that he took great trouble to pounce upon the thieves and vagabonds who distressed the people, and held justice courts throughout the country; but that he took no care to settle the differences and whims of the nobility, and thus failed to draw them into obedience to the king. For all the regent's energy and the success of his government, on the 14th of February, 1568, the army still required to be kept in the field; even the lead on the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin had been partly stolen away, and the whole of it was now ordered to be stripped off and sold, and the proceeds applied to maintain the king's troops.⁶ The queen's party were exceedingly active at this time, and the regent was often warned of what was brewing; and it must have been evident that there was a section of the people dissatisfied.

In the beginning of May, 1568, the queen escaped from her imprisonment in Lochleven, and proceeded to Hamilton. In a

⁴ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 3-45.

⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 113.

⁶ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 198-199; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 599, 608-614.

few days she was at the head of a force of four or five thousand armed men. Her chief adherents were the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Rothes, Cassillis; the Lords Harris, Livingston, Fleming, and Claud Hamilton; and several of these men were Protestants.⁷ The regent was at Glasgow holding justice courts when the intelligence of Mary's escape reached him. On the 3rd of May he ordered a muster of all the Crown vassals, for the preservation of the king's authority and person, and for establishing justice and peace in the kingdom. He resolved at once to meet the danger, and marched out of Glasgow and took up a position at Langside. On the 13th of May the followers of the queen gave him battle; but they were completely defeated, and Mary herself fled towards England.⁸ In an unhappy hour she determined to throw herself upon the hospitality of the queen of England.

After the flight of the queen, the regent continued his endeavours to keep order in the kingdom. But this was a difficult task as he had a host of enemies, and he was always making more; for the peculiar position into which he had allowed himself to be put, necessarily multiplied his foes. He summoned a parliament to meet in July, 1568, which intensified the keenness of the struggle, as it became known that the enemies of the regent's government would be subjected to forfeiture. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had been cited to appear before the Council and having failed to comply, he was declared a rebel and put to the horn. The Earl of Crawford and others were also proclaimed rebels. The parliament met at the appointed time, but it was continued to August, when proceedings of forfeiture were to be begun against the opponents of the government. From motives of policy only a few were actually condemned, and hopes were held out to the others with the view of inducing them to submit.⁹

⁷ Keith, Vol. II., pp. 797-799.

⁸ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 620-622.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 624-634, 638; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 47-58.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 1st of July, 1568, and John Willock was chosen moderator; and the members proceeded to the business before them. They presented a number of articles to the regent and craved reform of abuses. Among other things they complained that their stipends were not fully paid; that the College of Aberdeen should be reformed, the corrupted office-bearers removed and others appointed in their places, so that the youth might be instructed in letters and godliness. They desired him to adopt means for the suppression of vice, that the plague of God might thereby be withdrawn from the nation. The regent listened with respect to their requests and returned a favourable answer. This Assembly concluded that all the Catholics, who after due admonition refused to join themselves to the Reformed Church, should be cast out of the society of Christ's body and excommunicated. But the Assembly which met in February the following year presented to the regent a series of similar articles praying that remedies might be adopted; and in reference to the regent's former proposal touching vice and crime, they added—"If his grace send us to the Justice-Clerk, experience has sufficiently taught us what he has done in any such matters."¹⁰ They mean that he did nothing at all.

In the end of September, 1568, the regent, accompanied by the Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, and other leading men of his party, passed to England to attend the conference at York touching Queen Mary. But it does not fall within the scope of my work to follow the story of the unhappy queen after her flight to England; although it has been intensely interesting to some minds, it is not sufficiently important in its bearing upon the main subject to justify its introduction.¹¹

The regent returned from England in the beginning of February, 1569, and he then found his position in Scotland to

¹⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 123, 126-129, 139, 140.

¹¹ This matter is treated in the histories of Tytler, Burton, very fully in Hosack's *Queen Mary*, and in many other works which need not be enumerated.

be one of extreme difficulty. The queen's party in the interval had become more powerful and restless, and they employed every means to harass his government and the unhappy people. Moray, however, always continued to act with energy, but some of his supporters deserted, and his enemies multiplied. Maitland of Lethington had fallen under the suspicion of the regent, and he joined the Laird of Grange, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and both these men threw in their lot with the cause of Mary, and thus the strongest and most important fortress in the kingdom passed into the hands of her party. It was mainly owing to this circumstance that the supporters of the queen were able to hold out so long in Scotland; the other centres of her party were Huntly and the Gordons in the north, the Hamiltons and Argyle in the west, and some of the border clans. The regent thus hemmed in began to be hard pressed, but he struggled on, and with the assistance of the money of England probably he would have overcome his enemies if his career had not been cut short. In the beginning of the year 1570, as the castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of the queen's adherents, the regent set out for Stirling; and on the 23rd of January, while he was passing through Linlithgow, he was shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The bullet passed through his body, and he died in a few hours. His loss was bewailed by the people and by the reformed clergy, who both regarded him as the arm of their safety.¹² The death of Moray was a severe blow to the party of the young king. The regent, indeed, had been an unscrupulous man, and his character will not bear close inspection; but he had great energy and some of the qualifications of a successful ruler; he struggled bravely and worthily to keep order and to administer justice with such means as he could command.

For several years after the death of Moray, the factions of the king and queen kept the country in an incessant turmoil.

¹² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 259; Buchanan, B. XIX., chs. 51-54; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 644-649, 654, *et seq.*; Vol. II., pp. 11, 20, 25, 37-44, 51, *et seq.*

The adherents of the queen still held the castle of Edinburgh ; and in May, 1570, the English Government sent a small force to Edinburgh, but they did little to restore order ; in fact they merely added to the general wretchedness of the people. The passion and hatred of the opposing parties grew hotter and hotter, till the enthusiasm of the queen's followers spent itself. The Earl of Lennox was elected regent in July, 1570, with the approval of the English Government, and he had the unswerving support of the reformed clergy. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 5th of July, and they passed an act commanding all the ministers throughout the kingdom to pray publicly in their churches for the preservation of the king's person and authority, and to proclaim to the people that he should be universally obeyed. The Assembly further unanimously agreed to appoint a commission of their brethren to attend any conventions of the nobility which might be held, and to assist and consent to everything that should be treated there, which tended to the glory of God, the preaching and ministering of the true religion, the authority of the king, and the common good of the nation. The Assembly also having regard to the troubled state of the kingdom, ordained a number of their brethren to be sent to all the earls, barons, and gentlemen who had fallen off from the king's authority, and by every lawful means to endeavour to win them back and to reconcile them to the government of his majesty.¹³

In the midst of the strife in Edinburgh, about the middle of October, 1570, Knox sustained a shock of apoplexy, which impaired his speech ; but he recovered so far as to be able to preach on Sundays. In one of his sermons in the month of December, he passed some personal remarks on the proceedings of the Laird of Grange, the governor of the castle, which led to a bitter quarrel between him and his old friend. Knox defended himself and insisted on his freedom of speech in the pulpit, but

¹³ Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 23-28 ; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 177-178, 182 ; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. VII., pp. 327-329.

anonymous libels were circulated against him; he was accused of not praying for the queen, and for maligning her name and all her adherents. His brethren and his friends prevailed on Knox to leave Edinburgh for his own safety, and he passed to St. Andrews early in May, 1571. The bishop of Galloway, Alexander Gordon, then filled his pulpit in Edinburgh, and preached in a strain more acceptable to the queen's party. He prayed for the queen on the ground of her extreme wickedness. "All sinners ought to be prayed for: If we should not pray for sinners, for whom should we pray, seeing that God came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. St. David was a sinner, and so was she: St. David was an adulterer, and so was she: St. David committed murder in slaying Uriah for his wife, and so did she: but what is this to the matter; the more wicked that she be, her subjects should pray for her, to bring her to the spirit of repentance."¹⁴

The castle of Dumbarton was taken from the queen's party in the beginning of April, 1571; and Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, was among the prisoners who surrendered. The regent Lennox brought him to Stirling, where he was tried, condemned, and hanged on the 7th April. He was the last Roman Catholic bishop of St. Andrews. He had never ceased to assert his rights, and so he was obnoxious to the reformed clergy and to the king's party. He was active and able in public life; and Lennox was glad of the opportunity to put him out of the way; but his execution was an act of cruelty and gross injustice.¹⁵

Both parties sent forth proclamations and counter-manifestoes, and there was much skirmishing about Edinburgh, which had little result. The regent summoned a parliament to meet at Stirling in August, 1571. While the General Assembly met in that town on the 6th of August, Knox being unable to attend

¹⁴ Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 54, 70-88, 107-120, 139-141, 144; Dr M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 250-256; 1855.

¹⁵ Buchanan, B. XX., ch. 34; Dr. Grub's *Eccles. Hist. Scot.* Vol II., pp. 168-169.

the meeting sent a letter to his brethren. He referred to the graceless libels which his enemies had raised against him, and called on the Assembly to judge the matters as they would answer to God. As his natural strength was daily decaying, and he was looking for a sudden departure to that land where the weary find rest; he earnestly exhorted his brethren to be faithful to the flock over which God had placed them, and to resist all tyranny to the last. The battle, he said, would be hard, "but they must withstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church. . . . God give you wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause, and me a happy end."¹⁶ This Assembly repeated the injunction that prayer should be offered up for the king and the submission of the people to his authority. Complaints were made, touching the oppression of the ministers and the people in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, by the Earl of Huntly and his servants; in those parts of the north where he ruled the stipends of the ministers had not been paid for a long time.¹⁷

The parliament met at Stirling on the 25th of August; but about the same time the queen's party held their parliament in Edinburgh. On the queen's side sentences of forfeiture were passed against the Earl of Morton, and other chiefs of the king's party. In the king's parliament an act was passed which ratified all the former acts in favour of the liberty and freedom of the reformed church. Acts were passed in favour of Morton and Lord Lindsay, as a reward for their resistance to the open enemies of the king; and also in favour of those who took the castle of Dumbarton from the enemy. When they were thus helping themselves and mutually congratulating each other, on the 4th of September a company of the queen's adherents under the command of the Earl of Huntly and Lord Hamilton marched from Edinburgh upon Stirling, and surprised them and slew the

¹⁶ Knox Works, Vol. VI., pp. 604-606; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 198-199; Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. I., pp. 290-291.

¹⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 201.

regent Lennox. Within ten days after the death of Lennox, the Earl of Mar was chosen regent; but the Earl of Morton had by this time become the real leader of the king's party.¹⁸

The regency of Mar was of short duration; he died on the 28th of October, 1572. The Earl of Morton was then elected regent; since the death of Moray he had been the ruling spirit of his party. Morton had been more or less deeply implicated in all the great plots and murders for the past twenty years. He was ambitious, greedy, crafty, and unscrupulous; but brave and determined like all his ancestors. He courted the friendship of the English government, and in the spring of 1573, he concluded an arrangement by which fifteen hundred English troops and a train of artillery entered Scotland, and assisted to reduce the castle of Edinburgh. The queen's party throughout the country was broken up, and most of the leaders had submitted to the regent. But her adherents in the castle held out bravely, though at last they were reduced to despair, and surrendered in the end of May, 1573. The common soldiers were dismissed. But Lethington, who had served so many masters, and attempted to play so many parts, a man more remarkable for hatching plots than for anything else, at last, to save himself from the gallows, committed suicide, in imitation of the old Roman, who "threw down his dagger and dared depart, in savage grandeur home". The laird of Grange, the governor of the Castle, was tried, condemned, and hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh.¹⁹ This was the fashion in which one noble sometimes served another; and Mary's party in Scotland never after raised their head.

The polity of the Reformed Church so far as yet developed, tended to leave a blank in the chief council of the nation. As

¹⁸ *Acts Parl. Scot.* Vol. III., pp. 58, 61, 65-78; *Bannatyne's Journal*, pp. 247, 255-258, 260; *Calderwood*, Vol. III., pp. 136, 138-141. Calderwood says that the rebels in their parliament at Edinburgh forfeited upwards of two hundred persons.

¹⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 77, *et seq.*; *Calderwood*, Vol. III., pp. 281-285; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 213-219, 236, 237.

the bishops, abbots, and other orders of the Roman clergy died out, there was no provision in the new polity for representing the spiritual estate in parliament. Knox was not decidedly opposed to a graduation of rank among the ministers of the church; the democratic polity of presbyterianism was not matured in the First Book of Discipline, nor in any work emanating from the Reformed Church of Scotland in the reformer's lifetime. At this stage, however, the most interesting point centred around the territorial possessions and the wealth of the ancient hierarchy. The nobles, the old orders of clergy, and the reformed preachers, were all scrambling according to the measure of their power and opportunity for what each imagined to be their share of the large stock which the piety of bygone generations had consecrated to religion. For all the preaching against idolatry and the monuments thereof, there was one idol not as yet extinguished—the golden calf. The aristocracy had recourse to various expedients to reach the revenues of the great benefices, and it must be confessed that in the end they succeeded.

To smooth this matter, an extraordinary meeting of the barons, superintendents, and ministers, was held at Leith in January, 1572. They assumed the powers of a General Assembly, and resolved to hand over the business to a committee, authorising any four of them to meet with those who might be appointed by the Privy Council, and to ratify whatever they might determine agreeable to their instructions. The joint committee met on the 16th of the same month, and agreed upon a form of polity for the church, known as the Leith Concordant. It was agreed that the names and titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of the dioceses, should not be altered, at least until the king's majority or the parliament consented to another arrangement. The document went on to state, that persons promoted to bishoprics as far as possible should have the scriptural qualifications; that they should be elected by a chapter or assembly of learned ministers;

that archbishops and bishops should have no greater jurisdiction than the superintendents already had, and that they should be subject to the church and the General Assembly in spiritual matters, as they were to the crown in temporal. That in the admission of persons to spiritual functions in the church, they should at least take the advice of six of the best learned of the chapter. That all the archbishoprics and bishoprics then vacant or which afterwards became so, should within a year and a day after the vacancy be filled up with qualified persons not under thirty years of age. That the dean, or failing him, the next in dignity among the chapter, should be vicar-general during the vacancy.

Concerning the abbacies, priories, and nunneries, it was concluded that no disposition of these benefices should be made, nor any grants out of the funds of the same till it was ascertained what portion of the rents consists in churches and tithes, and what portion of temporal lands, and until provision was made for the ministers properly belonging thereto. Touching the person holding the title and receiving the fruits of the benefice, he should fill the place of one of the ecclesiastical estate in parliament, and have the style of abbot, prior, or commendator; these persons should be learned and qualified for their office, and to secure that end, on the recommendation of the king, they should be tried and admitted by the bishops. When the present members of the convent were all departed this life, the ministers of the churches belonging to the abbey or priory should then act as the chapter of the commendator in the administration of the property and rents of the establishment; and if these commendators be found worthy, they may be promoted to act as senators for the spiritual estate in the Court of Session.

There were proposals for dealing with the rights of lay patrons, with benefices in the patronage of the crown, and for the disposal of the smaller benefices throughout the kingdom. That the inferior benefices should only be conferred on duly

qualified ministers, that the churches throughout the realm should be planted, residence secured, and pluralities prevented. It was proposed to apply the revenues of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries in college churches, if founded upon lands or annual rents, to the maintenance of bursars at the grammar schools and the universities. There were various articles for the reformation of general abuses, and a form was set forth for the election and appointment of bishops. In fact, a pretty elaborate scheme of external polity was sketched out for the church;²⁰ but the events already past, and the influences then in operation among the people combined to render it abortive.

These articles were immediately confirmed by the regent and the council, and the government soon began to carry out the scheme. On the 6th of February, 1572, the chapter of St. Andrews met and elected John Douglas to be archbishop of this ancient see. Douglas was also rector of the university and provost of St. Mary's College, and besides he was a man advanced in years. Knox merely protested against the accumulation of offices in the person of one man. Some of the other sees were filled up, but the new bishops were simply the tools of their patrons. They had consented to assume the title with only a very small portion of the episcopal revenues, the greater part being retained in the hands of their masters—the nobles.²¹ It was to secure the richest portion of the benefices to the court, the nobles, and their friends and dependents, that was the mainspring in originating the whole scheme; and if the

²⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 203-205, 207-232. It is very justly observed by Dr. Grub, that the scheme agreed on at Leith bore a remarkable resemblance to the external polity of the church as it existed before the Reformation in Scotland. *Eccles. Hist. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 179. Regarding the confused anomalous points of the system as then proposed from the Episcopalian standpoint, see Russel's *Hist. Church Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 300, and for a strictly Presbyterian view of the matter, compare Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 145-151.

²¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 241; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 205-207; Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 259-285, 286, 323, 324.

reformed church had submitted to it, it must inevitably have destroyed her usefulness, and ended in a despotism of a degraded character. But there was a strong party of the clergy thoroughly opposed to the scheme, and although the struggle between them and the crown was protracted and severe, yet eventually the liberties of the church and the freedom of the nation triumphed.

The Articles of Leith came before the General Assembly which met at Perth in August, 1572. The assembly unanimously concurred that such names as archbishop, dean, archdeacon, chancellor, and chapter sounded scandalous to the ears of many of the brethren, and recalled the ring of popery, and they protested that though recognising the names, they did not mean to ratify, consent, or agree to any kind of superstition, and rather wished such titles to be changed for others less offensive. The Assembly also protested that the articles and heads of the Leith Concordant were only to be received as interim, till a more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the king, the regent, and the nobility, for which they will press whenever opportunity occurs.²²

Knox sent a letter containing a number of suggestions to this Assembly. He exhorted them to contend earnestly for the truth and for the liberty to express it, and to endeavour to recover the patrimony of the church; to petition the regent to have all the vacant bishoprics filled up according to the order agreed on at Leith, but especially to complain that the bishopric of Ross was given to Lord Methven. That the Assembly should pass an act ordering all the bishops admitted under the new articles to give an account of the whole rents of their see and their intromissions therewith once every year. That the present Assembly should determine the jurisdiction of the church, as that part of polity had long been postponed.²³

²² *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 244, 246.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-250; *Knox's Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 619-622.

Knox had been in feeble health for sometime, but his spirit was vigorous to the last. As we have seen he had retired to St. Andrews when the strife between the two contending parties was at its height; but he had returned once more to Edinburgh in the end of August, 1572, and resumed his preaching in St. Giles. When the intelligence of the massacre of the Protestants in Paris on the 24th of August came to Scotland, Knox was deeply moved, and a proclamation was issued in the regent's name, calling on the Protestants to meet at Edinburgh on the 20th of October. It went on to state, "That in respect of the great murders and more than beastly cruelties, inflicted and put in execution against the true Christians in different parts of Europe, proceeding no doubt out of that unhappy, devilish, and terrible Council of Trent; and intended, not only to be executed in foreign countries wherever their power and treason may reach, but also intended to be prosecuted and followed forth with the like or greater cruelty, if that were possible, against the true Christians here in Scotland". Every congregation in the kingdom was directed to send one or more commissioners to the meeting which was to be held at Edinburgh; and there to consult and deliberate upon such matters and overtures as may be proposed, tending to protect and mutually to defend the professors of the Gospel within the kingdom, "from the furious rage and lawless cruelty of the bloodstained and treasonable Catholics, the executors of the decrees of that devilish and terrible council of Trent".²⁴ On the appointed day a number of the ministers and barons assembled, and among other things, they proposed that a national fast should be held, to begin on the 23rd of November and be continued to the end of the month; and that thereby the wrath of God might be mitigated. They desired that all the Catholics without exception should be summoned before the Council and the commissioners of the Church, to give confession of their faith, and all who did not conform to the reformed

²⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 168-169.

religion, to be punished according to the acts of parliament. For resisting the Catholics in and without the country, they proposed that a league should be made with England and other reformed kingdoms, for their mutual defence, and the maintenance of the true religion against all its enemies; as it was only by banding themselves together that they could hope to thwart and frustrate the endless machinations which were constantly forming against them.²⁵

On Sunday the 9th of November, 1572, Knox officiated at the induction of James Lawson as his colleague and successor at Edinburgh. His voice was now weak, and this was the last time that he appeared in public. On the 11th of the month he was seized with a severe cough. But he continued to be cheerful, attended by his faithful servant, Richard Bannatyne, and surrounded by his family, and visited by many warm friends. He died in peace and full of hope on the 24th of November, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and on the 26th of the month his body was laid in the grave in the churchyard of St. Giles.²⁶

The character of Knox is manifested in his work, although the manner of performing it is a fair subject for criticism. But there is a prior point which must be noticed. In that and in all ages of recorded history, when a revolution is preparing and even after it is carried through, those who had opposed it with

²⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 252-254; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 227-230. "At this time the ministers then in Edinburgh did most vehemently inveigh against this most beastly and more than treasonable fact; whereat the French ambassador, called La Crocke, was not a little displeased, because that his master the king of France should be called a traitor, and a murderer of his own subjects, under promise and trust; but especially against John Knox, who had pronounced in his sermon, and had declared the same to the ambassador to tell his master, that the sentence is pronounced in Scotland, against that murderer the king of France, that God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house, but that his name shall remain an execration unto the posterity to come, and that none that shall come of his loins, shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgments."—Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 401-402.

²⁶ Bannatyne's *Journal*, pp. 252-254; Knox Works, Vol. VI., pp. 634-660. In these full details of the last days of the reformer's life are given.

all their power and still strive to resist its outcome, and those who had struggled with all their energy to hasten and accomplish it, cannot both be animated by identical ideas, principles, and sentiments. The two contending parties must be influenced and swayed in varying degrees according to the strength or the feebleness of their sentiments, the firmness of their belief, the clearness of their ideas, and the grasp which they have of their principles; or their course of action may be partly controlled by the objects and ends towards which they look, as these may be conceived from very different points of view: as when one party regards the commemoration of the saints as an essential article of religion while the other does not, and so on, through many other articles of belief and points of faith. If then the God of the one party is exactly the God of the other, they at least desire to take different ways of approaching Him. It is the distinctive and characteristic glory of Roman Catholicism to proclaim that it has never changed its creed nor its principles; both are constantly assumed to be infallible. But Protestantism admits of change, and recognises the laws of development and progress, of corruption and decay, in religious systems as in everything else; and endeavours by a process of gradual elimination to advance towards the conception of a supreme moral idea to which all theology should eventually subordinate itself.

Those who looked upon the Reformation as an evil, and on Protestantism as a heresy which deserved to be condemned, crushed, and stamped out, could only see in Knox an embodiment of wickedness. For this reason their libels on his character may be justly disregarded. It is a fashionable thing to talk in modern phrases about toleration, and then proceed to stigmatise the reformers of the 16th century for their bigotry, their dogmatism, their narrowness, and their ignorance; but this is not just, nor in accordance with true historical ideas. In the great religious revolutions of the world toleration has had little place; and for ages the expression of difference of religious opinion was punished as a crime. There is only one way of fairly appreci-

ating the character of all great religious reformers. The true standard of historical estimation of character and worth is to know, in the first place, what were the highest ideas and the most elevated sentiments and feelings entertained and felt in the age and nation when the reformer lived ; in fact a thorough knowledge of the state of society and all the associated circumstances, is a preliminary requisite for framing a judgment upon the point. It is in the degree which the reformer's ideas and sentiments rises above those of his own age that his character must be measured, not by the standard of a latter age. That Knox's ideas were higher and purer than those current among the ruling class of Scotland is a question of historical fact, which any one who desires it may verify for himself ; that he was animated by a firm belief in a righteous and just God who rules the universe cannot be doubted. Although Knox's moral ideas were in some respects in advance of his age, yet in themselves many of his ideas were crude, erroneous, and even savage, and as a thinker he takes no rank. Owing, however, to his natural sagacity and shrewd common sense, and his deep feeling of the realities and the responsibilities of human life, some of his practical views were singularly clear, far-reaching, and well developed.

In common with all great men and religious reformers, Knox exercised a wonderful sway over his followers, and inspired them with confidence in the hour of danger and of battle. He always openly avowed his opinions, and acted on them with a bold and fearless independence ; yet in all matters of doctrine he was not rigidly dogmatic. The Reformation Confession of Scotland is remarkable for the acknowledgment of its own fallibility.²⁷ It was only what he emphatically believed to be the inspired word of God, and necessary for the Church and the good of the nation, that he insisted on others to adopt. To blame him for not embracing a tolerant policy is simply to forget the state of society and the circumstances of the times ; and if he had followed such

²⁷ See under p. 134.

a course the Reformation in Scotland would never have been accomplished, and Knox himself would certainly have been crushed. He was greedy of power and impatient of the least opposition. But he believed that he had a message from God, and that it was his imperative duty to proclaim and enforce it, and in this he toiled with untiring industry and energy. There are some of the lighter shades and graces of life which he seems to have been incapable of appreciating, and he certainly showed a disposition to limit the amusements and the enjoyments of others; but this arose from his deep sense of the realities of human life and the gravity of its manifold duties. Among his friends, and in the family circle, he could on occasion unbend and disport himself in an exceedingly social and agreeable manner; he had indeed a humorous and peculiar comic side which comes out in many forms in his own writings.

John Knox, in conjunction with his contemporaries, brought blessings to the people of Scotland which they have never forgotten. Although he was extremely strong in assertion and firm in his own convictions, it should be remembered that he was still stronger in denial and negation. He swept off at once the accumulated mass of legends, traditions, and ceremonies which had enslaved the mind and obscured the glory and the purity and the truth of Christianity.

Much of the energy of the leading men among the clergy was still devoted to the improvement of the polity of the Church, and to the planting and the organisation of congregations throughout the country. As yet the practical establishment of the reformed worship was in many places only imperfectly accomplished. The disorder which accompanied the revolution itself, and the internal struggle of the contending factions of the king and the queen which followed it, had all contributed to leave the people in a state of disorganisation. The new clergy, with all the power and means at their command, were ardently and incessantly labouring to remedy these evils; but they were met at every turn with the inexorable fact, that it is a much

easier matter to destroy the forms and institutions of a religious system than to construct others to replace them. The history of mankind has shown that the genius of destruction is more common than the genius of appropriate construction ; hence the curious spectacle presented in the history of Scotland, the constantly recurring tendency and the efforts of the party at the head of the government to return to the forms and modes of the old system of church polity. As the practical solution of the problem involved great secular issues as well as religious ones, it was hotly contested between the Crown and the clergy for many generations. There was an element of democracy inherent in the very heart of the Reformation ; but the reformers in Scotland went beyond their contemporaries in the admission of democratic principles. Knox maintained that the king and the ruling political powers were responsible to the people, and if they abused the trust committed to them the people might lawfully depose them and appoint others in their place. Similar principles were taught by Buchanan. Thus it was that the Reformation in Scotland assumed an intensely political importance, but always in connexion with religion and the polity of the Church.

The rarity of original construction among the leaders of the revolutionary movement is very remarkable. Even Calvin the greatest master of dogmatic form that the Reformation produced, mixed up religion and secular government and morality in a mash. In fact, it could hardly have been otherwise, for philosophy had no separate and independent existence. A Church distinct from, and independent of, the state was a conception altogether alien to the modes of thinking which prevailed among the reformers ; on the other side, a government distinct and independent of the Church was an idea scarcely entertained by the statesmen of the sixteenth century. They all seemed to be more or less possessed with the notions common to theocracy, that the church and the state as being both under the direction of God, should be associated together. Although

the idea of a theocracy is grand in itself, in practical operation it turns out that the church and the state both claim a supremacy; and they often come to hold very different views as to what is, or is not, the will of God; it is very necessary to have a clear conception of this theocratic principle for the history of Scotland during the next one hundred years. The struggle of the crown to establish episcopacy, and the opposition of the presbyterian clergy; the Covenants, the Solemn League and Covenant, with many of their attendant tragedies, originated in the theocratic notions gathered out of the Old Testament, and on both sides, attempted to be applied to forms of society and in circumstances which were beyond the scope of those principles.

After the fall of the castle of Edinburgh, the regent Morton succeeded in restoring comparative quietness in the kingdom. He was known to be inclined towards the hierarchy of bishops in the church; not from principle but ambition and greed. He had got the management of the thirds of benefices out of the hands of the collectors appointed by the church, and he then united a number of parishes under one minister, who was assisted by readers to whom a trifling stipend was paid. When the church complained of these abuses, he accused the ministers of seditious and treasonable speeches, refrained from attending their assemblies, and began to question their right to meet and pass acts without his express permission.²³ But crafty and astute as Morton was, he had miscalculated the compass of his power, and utterly failed to comprehend the intense earnestness and honesty of purpose which animated the reformed clergy.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh in March, 1574, and concluded that the bishops should be subject to the discipline of the Assembly, the same as the superintendents in all points. Among the evils which this Assembly enumerated and desired the assistance of the government to remedy, there were some

²³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 292-293, 296-305; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 304-306.

books sent out by the Jesuits and others which contained manifest blasphemies against God and His revealed truth ; and these books were daily brought into the country by Poles and others to the offence of the church. The Assembly passed an act against simony in the church, and unanimously declared—“That all such persons as either buy or sell benefices, or use any other kind of bargaining thereon, either directly or indirectly, should be deprived of all function in the church ; and the discipline of the church to be laid upon them with the utmost rigour and severity ; and the buyers and sellers, or otherwise coupers of the benefices to lose the same for evermore.”²⁹ This act was much required, it is reported and recorded in many forms that Morton and the nobles carried the traffic in benefices to an enormous length.³⁰

It was daily becoming more and more manifest that the clergy would throw off what remained of the forms of episcopacy. The existing state of the church was extremely confused and unsatisfactory. A convention of the Estates in the beginning of March, 1575, voted that inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a proper government in the Church ; and they appointed a committee to draw up a form of polity agreeable to the Word of God, and adapted to the state of the kingdom.³¹ The General Assembly met on the 7th March the same year, and appointed a committee of their number to meet with the regent's commissioners, and to reason and concur on the jurisdiction and polity of the Church, and whatever was proposed they were to lay the draught of the scheme before the Assembly. Andrew Melville was a member of this committee, which was reappointed from time to time, and at last produced the Second Book of Discipline.³²

²⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 294, 306, 310-311.

³⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 455, 586-587 ; 184-185, *et seq.*

³¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 89, 90.

³² *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 325-332 ; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 158, 159 ; 1819.

The Assembly met again at Edinburgh in August, 1575, and according to custom the trial of the bishops and superintendents was begun, when John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested that the trial of the bishops should not pre-judge what he and others had to propose against the name and office of a bishop. At a subsequent sederunt Andrew Melville addressed the Assembly in support of Dury's proposition; his speech was attentively listened to, and it produced a marked impression. The question was next proposed, Whether the bishops as then placed in the Church of Scotland had their function in the word of God or not; and whether the chapters appointed for electing them should be tolerated in a reformed Church? For the better discussion of the questions, the Assembly appointed John Craig, minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, minister at Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, principal of the University of Glasgow, on the one side; and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, on the affirmative side of the subject. In two days the committee reported that they did not think it expedient at present to answer the first part of the question directly; but they were of opinion that if any bishop was chosen without the qualifications which the word of God required, he should be tried by the Assembly anew and so deposed. Touching the office of a bishop or superintendent, they reported that the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to have the charge of a particular flock in preaching the word and administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of the elders; and this is the chief function of bishops according to the word of God. But out of this number some may be chosen to visit and oversee such reasonable bounds, besides their own congregation, as the General Assembly shall appoint to them; and in these districts to admit ministers, with the consent of the other ministers, and the approval of the congregations concerned: and also to admit elders and deacons when necessary, with the consent of the

people; and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes, with the consent of their brethren of the province. A full discussion of the report was deferred to the next Assembly.³³ There were six bishops present in the Assembly, none of whom seems to have offered any defence of Episcopacy.

When the Assembly again met at Edinburgh in April, 1576, the question of the bishops was anew discussed. After a long debate the conclusion arrived at by the last Assembly was affirmed; and the bishops who had not as yet received the charge of a particular congregation were ordered to make choice of one. There was much reasoning touching the districts of the various bishops, superintendents, and commissioners; it was agreed that these were too large for them to overtake, and it was arranged to allot only such a district to each as he could duly oversee, and with this aim a new distribution of districts was proposed. The persons who visited such districts whether called bishops, superintendents, or other names, were all overhauled at every General Assembly, and required to render an account of their proceedings.³⁴

Questions and points concerning the patrimony of the church came before almost every assembly. At this time it was asked, whether the assembly may proceed against those who unjustly possess the patrimony of the church and the poor, and if it may, how far? The Assembly unanimously concluded that they might proceed against the unjust possessors of the patrimony of the church, first by way of doctrine and admonition, and if no remedy be got, then to try the censures of the church against them. The Assembly reappointed the committee on the polity of the church, and enjoined its members to hold meetings at St Andrews, Montrose, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and to invite all ranks of the people to attend and give their opinion on the proposed polity.³⁵

³³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 331, 340, 342-343; Spottiswood, Vol. II., 200-201.

³⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 352-356, 358-359.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 360-362.

The French Protestants who had taken refuge in England from persecution, addressed a letter to their brethren in Scotland, bewailing their sad condition and desiring that the money which was collected among the Scots should be sent to them. The Assembly had delayed sending it, because much of what had been promised, was not yet collected ; but it was then resolved to forward at once the sum in hand to the persecuted Frenchmen.³⁶

Two General Assemblies were held at Edinburgh in 1577, and on both occasions the book on the polity and jurisdiction of the Church came before them. The various heads of the subject were put into form and read in the Assembly, and sanctioned by the majority ; but it was still reserved for further reasoning. The regent was asked to attend this Assembly, but he excused himself on the ground that he was otherwise occupied. The Assembly, however, resolved to lay the proposed polity before him. But Morton, who had never been very popular, was now tottering towards his fall. Early in 1578 he resigned the regency ; and the government was committed to a council of twelve men, and the young king then in his twelfth year.³⁷

The popular party of the clergy were very active ; in 1578 they held three General Assemblies. They enacted that the bishops in the reformed Church of Scotland should henceforward be called by their own names, and the chapters were prohibited from making any new elections of bishops, under the penalty of deprivation of their offices. All the bishops were ordered to submit themselves to the General Assembly for reformation, and if they refused after admonition they were to be excommunicated ; indeed the ruling party in the church pursued the bishops with astonishing energy. In the General Assembly which met at Dundee in July, 1580, the subject of bishops was proposed for discussion, and full liberty given to all the members to reason on the matter and express their opinion ; and after this the As-

³⁶ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 356.

³⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 115-117, 120 ; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 677-679 ; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 383-385, 391, 393, 394.

sembly unanimously found that the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, had no warrant nor ground in the word of God. It was therefore declared that this pretended office was terminated as being unlawful in itself—a corruption and an invention of men. All the bishops were charged to demit their office at once, to cease from preaching or administering the sacraments, or in any way exercising the functions of pastors, until they received admission anew from the General Assembly, under the penalty of excommunication. So energetic were the measures of the church that within a year all the bishops had submitted except five ;³⁸ the democratic spirit had become so strong and determined that the Episcopal party had no chance of retaining their position in the church.

In 1579 the General Assembly presented a long address to King James the Sixth, putting him in remembrance of the things pertaining to the advancement of God's glory, the welfare of the church, and the common good of the nation. They laid before him his duties to the church, and warned him of his perils. Referring to the translation of the Bible, which under the direction of the Assembly, had been newly printed, and dedicated to his highness, they went on to say : " That this holy book of God should be set forth, and printed within your own realm, to the end that in every parish church there should be kept at least one, to be called the common book of the church, as a most meet ornament for such a place, and a perpetual register of the word of God, the fountain of all true doctrine, to be made patent to all the people of each congregation, as the only rule to direct and govern them in matters of religion, as also to confirm them in the truth, and to reform and redress corruptions wherever they may creep in ; certainly we have great occasion both to glorify the goodness of God towards this country, and highly to extol and commend your highness's most godly purpose and

³⁸ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 408, 409, 413, 423-425, 432, 433, 453 ; Dr. Grub's *Eccles. Hist. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 210, 211 ; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 162, 163.

enterprise. Oh ! what a difference may be seen between these days of light, when almost in every private house the book of God's law is read and understood in the vulgar language, and the age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city, without the cloisters of monks and friars, could the book of God ever be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarisms, used and read by few and almost understood and expounded by none ; and when the false named clergy of this realm abused the gentle nature of your highness's grandfather of worthy memory, made it a capital crime to be punished with the fire to have read the New Testament in the vulgar tongue ; yea, and to make them more odious to all men, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were called New Testamenters. . . . Call for the wisdom of Solomon to endue your grace with a spiritual spirit, as well in the civil policy as in advancing the spiritual policy of the church ; imitate the fervent faith of Jehosaphat putting his whole trust in the Lord and believing his prophets ; imitate the diligence of Jehoash, in repairing the house of the Lord ; follow godly Ezekias in rooting out all monuments of idolatry, making the book of the law of God, a long time ignored and left in silence, yea, utterly forgotten, to be publicly read and accepted by the people and recommended to their posterity. To such diligence as this did the prophets of Haggia, Zechariah, and Malachi exhort the princes of the Jews. . . . This is a matter most worthy of your royal heart, a purpose proper for the exercise of the vivacity of your divine and high genius. . . . All other glory at last shall decay, and all commendations that results from other princely acts, are either not of long duration, or commonly mixed up with such things as are also deserving of blame ; but the honour of this act shall endure for ever, and shall be fully approved by Him whose judgment must be equal and right, who is the eternal Lord of lords and King of kings ; whom with most humble hearts and instant prayers we beseech to bless your majesty with continual and daily increase of His

abundant blessings both spiritual and temporal ; and to maintain in wealth and prosperity your princely estate to the praise and glory of His holy name, your assured salvation, the comfort and quietness of this country, the overthrow of the power of Satan and the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Amen."³⁹

While the clergy were busy abolishing the remaining fragments of Episcopacy, they were, as we have seen, intently engaged in maturing their own scheme of church polity. It had been laid before several Assemblies, and its various chapters and heads discussed, altered, amended, and rendered as perfect as possible ; it was adopted by the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in April, 1578. This polity, which then became the authorised form of church government in Scotland, is known by the title of the Second Book of Discipline ; it was laid before the king, but it was not ratified by the Privy Council nor by Parliament. The Reformed Church, however, acted upon it, and inserted it in the Register of the Acts of the General Assembly in 1581.⁴⁰

This book of polity is a comparatively short but logical and compact treatise. It contains thirteen chapters, each of which is again divided into a number of short expository statements of the different points of the general heading or opinion to be established. It is essentially a deductive work, and presents an admirable example of that method of exposition. In the general scope and spirit of the book there are many points of difference between it and the First Book of Discipline: the earlier book was a meritorious and comprehensive production, but some parts of it were ill arranged and not fully developed, and several other matters were simply introduced to meet the exigencies of the time. There is a notable difference in the view taken of the authority of the civil power in the two books touching ecclesiastical matters ; in the latter the distinction

³⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 441-448.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 408, 409, 432, 487-512 ; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 414-418 ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 87-116.

between the Church and the State is far more fully wrought out than in the earlier work. The first book, as we have seen, gave a large share of power to the people in the election and control of their ministers; the second book also gave a share of power to the people in the election of their ministers, but divided it between the judgment of the eldership and the consent of the congregation. It deals less with doctrine and more with the external form and order of the church than the first book. In result the church, according to the second scheme, would be altogether independent of the civil government, while that government nevertheless should be subject to the orders of the church. "This power and ecclesiastical polity is different and distinct in its own nature, from that power and policy which is called the civil power, and belongs to the civil government of the Commonwealth; albeit they are both of God, and tend to the same end, if they be rightly used, namely, to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good subjects. This power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God and the Mediator, Christ Jesus, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head in earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of His Church. Therefore this power and polity of the church should lean upon the word of God immediately as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, hearing the voice of Christ, the only spiritual King, and being ruled by His laws. . . . Notwithstanding, as the ministers, and others of the ecclesiastical estate, are subject to the civil magistrate, so ought the person of the magistrate in spiritual matters to be subject to the church, and in ecclesiastical government."

"The Civil power should command the spiritual to exercise and perform their office according to the word of God. The spiritual rulers should require the Christian magistrate to administer justice and punish vice, and to maintain the liberty and quietness of the Church within their bounds. . . . The magistrate ought neither to preach, minister the sacraments, nor

execute the censures of the Church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done, but command the ministers to observe the rule commanded in the word of God, and punish the transgressors by civil means. The ministers do not exercise civil jurisdiction, but teach the magistrate how it should be exercised according to the word." This style of illustration by contrast is much employed in the Second Book of Discipline. "The magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify the jurisdiction of the Church. The ministers assist their princes in all things agreeable to the word, provided they do not neglect their own charge, by involving themselves in civil affairs."

"So it appertains to the office of the Christian magistrate to assist and fortify the godly proceedings of the Church in all behalfs, and to see that the public estate of the ministry be maintained and sustained, according to the word of God. To see that the Church be not invaded nor hurt by false teachers or hirelings, nor their places occupied by dumb dogs and idle bellies. To assist and maintain the discipline of the Church, and to punish them civilly that will not obey the censures of the Church. To make laws and constitutions agreeable to the word, for the advancement of the Church and her polity, without usurping anything that does not belong to the civil sword, but belongs to the offices that are ecclesiastical. . . . And although kings and princes who are godly, sometimes by their own authority, when the Church is corrupted and all things out of order, may place ministers and restore the true service of the Lord, after the example of some of the godly kings of Judah, and divers godly kings and emperors also in the light of the Gospel; yet where the ministry of the Church is once lawfully constituted, and those that are placed in offices perform their duties faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of the Son of God speaking by them." ⁴¹

⁴¹ The *Second Book of Discipline* is printed in the *Book of the Universal Kirk*; in James Melville's *Diary*; and in the third volume of Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*.

This treatise laid down the lines of Presbyterianism, that form of church government and organisation which has taken the firmest hold upon the national mind. For some time the Assemblies had been taking steps and labouring incessantly to complete this organisation, but much still remained to be done and various obstacles had yet to be overcome ; the most pressing difficulty was the want of a sufficient number of qualified ministers. In 1567 there were upwards of a thousand parishes and churches in Scotland under the charge of two hundred and fifty-seven ministers, one hundred and fifty-one exhorters, and four hundred and fifty-five readers ; thus a number of parishes had neither ministers nor readers ; there were only 868 persons, including the superintendents, for all the churches of the country. In 1574 there were two hundred and eighty-nine ministers and seven hundred and fifteen readers engaged in the religious instruction of the people, but there were many complaints that a number of those who had charge of churches were not qualified for the office. To meet the aim of the Presbyterian polity in 1581 a re-arrangement of the parishes was proposed. Excepting the Diocese of Argyle and the Isles, it was resolved to reduce the number of parish churches to six hundred, and to divide these into fifty presbyteries—"twelve churches to every presbytery, or thereabout". But for some time it was found to be impracticable to carry this scheme fully out; although the unwearying perseverance of the leading ministers was rewarded with a considerable measure of success. It was agreed to abolish the office of reader, and gradually to replace it by regularly ordained ministers. As yet, however, there was a lack of qualified ministers, which was owing partly to the small and uncertain provision assigned to the ministry, and partly to the disturbing circumstances of the times ; even in 1596 there were four hundred churches destitute of ministers. In Argyle and other parts of the Highlands the doctrines of the Reformation were only very imperfectly introduced, and in some of these portions of the kingdom the people long remained Roman Ca-

tholics.⁴² Still the means of diffusing religious instruction had been immensely increased since the Reformation; and the facilities of acquiring information were steadily widening.

Although Morton had resigned the regency, he was still greedy of power and struggled to regain it; but his enemies were closing in around him and plotting his ruin. The young king naturally had his favourites, who were constantly with him, and they aroused the suspicion of the Protestants and the clergy. In the year 1579 Eme Stewart, a cousin of the king, arrived from France and was kindly received by his kinsman. He soon became a great favourite with the king, the two were almost always together, whatever interested the king and engaged his attention was sure to interest his cousin; and the result was that Eme Stewart speedily rose to greatness. First he was made an Earl, and shortly after Duke of Lennox; and then he was appointed High Chamberlain; and that his wealth might be commensurate with his rank, the once rich Abbey of Arbroath was freely granted to him; and to complete his influence in the councils of the kingdom he was made governor of the Castle of

* ⁴² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 6-7, 261-264, 351-352; *Woodrow Society Misc.*, Vol. I., pp. 325-328; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 455-457, 479, 480-487, 523, 530-533, 549, *et seq.* The General Assembly of 1580 concluded that all the readers who had been two years in office should be tried and examined by the superintendents and commissioners, and if they were found unqualified to be pastors and to preach the word, to depose them; and in 1581 it was resolved that no new readers should hereafter be admitted in the Church. —*Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 513, 535. We find, however, that there were still readers in the Church at the end of the century. *Ibid*, p. 927. Many of the readers had belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, but they were not allowed to administer the sacraments or to solemnise marriage.

“Besides the Diocese of Argyle and the Isles, of which bounds no rentals were ever given up, there are in Scotland nine hundred and twenty-four churches.” But several of them were very small, and many of the churches were demolished. The Diocese of Argyle and the Isles seems to have stood in a rather distant attitude towards the Reformed Assemblies of the Church. In 1586, one of the petitions presented by the Assembly to the king ran—“That the bishops and commissioners of Argyle and the Isles may be subject to attend upon the General Assemblies, and to keep their synodical meetings as in other parts of the realm, which is a furtherance of the king’s majesty’s obedience, since otherwise they appear to be exempted out of his dominions.”—*Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 661.

Dumbarton. About the same time a Captain James Stewart, another of the king's favourites, came upon the scene. In the spring of 1581 he was elevated to the rank of Earl of Arran, and put in possession of a portion of the estates of the house of Hamilton. These two upstarts were however insecure as long as Morton was at liberty; and they therefore contrived to compass his destruction.⁴³ The new Duke of Lennox was known to be a Roman Catholic, and it was whispered that he had come to Scotland as a secret emissary of the Pope. To allay the suspicion of the clergy he professed that he was converted and joined the reformed Church. But this failed to satisfy the popular mind, which still feared that there was a scheme concocting among those about the court to bring back the old religion; and to calm this apprehension, at the request of the king a document was prepared, and signed by himself, the Duke of Lennox, and the other members of the royal household in March, 1581. Hence this paper has sometimes been called the King's Confession; and in latter times the Negative Confession, from its extremely condemnatory character. It is a most vehement protest and denunciation of many of the tenets entertained by the Roman Church. It concluded with these words "And because we perceive that the peace and stability of our religion and church depends upon the safety and good behaviour of the king's majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country, for the maintenance of His Church, and the administration of justice among us: we protest and promise solemnly with our hearts, under the same oath, hand write, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's Gospel, the liberty of our country, the administration of justice, and the punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within and without this realm, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day

⁴³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 237, 248-254; Spottiswood, Vol. II., p. 266, *et seq.*

of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ : to whom with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally. Amen.”⁴⁴

About the beginning of the year 1581 the Duke of Lennox accused Morton of complicity in the murder of Darnley, the king's father ; and the fallen regent was taken and imprisoned, first in the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards in Dumbarton Castle. He was brought to trial on the 1st of June ; and on his own confession that he was privy to the plot for the murder of Darnley, he was condemned and beheaded on the 2nd of June. Morton faced death as he had faced life, and died with firmness upon his brow.⁴⁵

Lennox and Arran were now supreme in the court and in the government. But as usual in the History of Scotland, a party of the nobles entered into a bond against the favourites to crush them, take the king into their own hands, and then hold the reins of government themselves. Some time however elapsed before the project was matured. This interval afforded Lennox an opportunity of trying his skill in the affairs of the church. On the death of Boyd, the archbishop of Glasgow, the disposal of the see was given to Lennox ; and although the regulations which recognised Episcopacy had been abrogated by the General Assembly, and virtually abandoned by the court, they were then revived by an act of the Privy Council. The Duke offered the see to various ministers upon the condition of their giving over to him the revenues, and agreeing to accept an annual pension ; and at last the offer was accepted by Robert Montgomery, the minister of Stirling. But it was a simoniacal paction and extremely odious to the reformed clergy. The matter came before the Assembly in October, 1581, and in spite of Lennox, the court party, and the king, Montgomery was

⁴⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 515, *et seq.* ; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 501-505 ; *Collection of Confessions*, pp. 101-107. 1722. This confession was drawn up by John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

⁴⁵ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. II. ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 116-118.

subjected by the Church to a form of treatment which made him glad to submit, and in the end to supplicate for permission to take the charge of a congregation, instead of the archbishopric of Glasgow. The king's favourites and the court party had little reckoned on the determined stand which the clergy made against them; and they were greatly enraged at being defeated.⁴⁶

There was a feeling of uneasiness among the people, springing out of a fear that the Catholics were preparing plots. The adherents of the old faith were very active; some of the most ardent Catholics who had fled to the Continent after the Reformation, were now returning to Scotland; while the court was showing a leaning towards Episcopacy. In this state of public feeling, the reformed ministers frequently expressed their sentiments and opinions in the pulpit with irritating plainness. Walter Balcanquhal, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, gave vent in a sermon which he preached in October, 1581, to these expressions—"That within these few years Popery had entered into the country, not only in the court, but in the king's hall, and was maintained by the tyranny of a great champion, who was called Grace; and if his grace would oppose himself to God's Word, he should have little grace." For this sermon he was called before the King's Council, but he declined to recognise their right to try him for anything which he had spoken in the pulpit, and offered to submit the matter to the General Assembly. His case came before the Assembly, and his brethren after inquiry among the preacher's session, unanimously found that there was nothing wrong in his sermon; "but that it was solid, good, and true doctrine".⁴⁷

The ministers of Edinburgh, by the freedom which they took in the pulpit, were extremely annoying to the dominant faction, who had the ear of the king. John Dury charged the King himself to his face for exchanging presents with the Duke of

⁴⁶ Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 104-105; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 524, 525, 529, 532, 539, 541-547, 557-566, 569, 571, 574, 578, 580, 583, 590, 599, 607, 609, 691, 700-701, 709.

⁴⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 527-529, 540, 542-543.

Guise, "that cruel murderer of the saints". When he ascended the pulpit, he made the church resound with his denunciations of the bishops, the king, and his favourites, who ruled the kingdom. Dury was at first an exhorter in Leith, and although not a learned man, he had much energy and intense earnestness of purpose. He was a man who could wield a weapon in the field of battle, as well as preach a sermon in the pulpit. It was on Wednesday evening the 23rd of May, 1582, in the Cathedral Church of Edinburgh, that he made his great attack upon the court faction. "I pray you what should move Guise that bloody persecutor, that enemy unto all truth, that pillar of the Pope, to send this present by one of his truest servants to our King? not for any love, no, no, his pretence is known. . . . What amity or friendship can we look for at his hands who has been the bloodiest persecutor of the professors of the truth in all France, neither was there any notable murder or havoc of God's people, but what he was at in person. And yet for all this, the Duke and Arran will needs have our King to take a present from him. If God did threaten the captivity and spoil of Jerusalem because their King Heskia did receive a lure and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free when committing the like or rather worse?" In his prayers, he prayed that the Lord would either convert or confound the Duke. Dury was called before the Privy Council for this sermon, and was banished from Edinburgh by an Act of Council. When the General Assembly met in June, 1582, he laid the whole process against him before it; and the members of the Assembly found nothing amiss in what he had spoken. "The whole Assembly found nothing in him but sound, true, and wholesome doctrine; and that he was upright and honest in his life and conversation": as the King had banished him from the capital the Assembly gave him liberty to preach wherever providence might cast his lot, until he should be restored to his own flock.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 576, 578, 580; Calderwood, Vol. III., pp. 620, 622-625. Dury was called before the King and Council at Dalkeith—"Where

The plot against the court favourites, the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran, was now ripe. The young king was very fond of hunting, and on the 22nd of August, 1582, he passed to the neighbourhood of Perth to enjoy his favourite amusement. When the sport was concluded for the day, the king went to Ruthven Castle as the welcome guest of its noble lord. Everything passed off in the most agreeable fashion, and his majesty at last retired to rest. Next morning, after he arose and looked abroad, he was alarmed by the throng of armed men around the place, and when he wished to depart, he discovered that he was a captive. The Earl of Arran was seized and imprisoned; and the Duke of Lennox was warned to leave the country without delay. This affair is known in history as "The Raid of Ruthven".

The king was permitted to step about, but he was attended by a body of well-armed followers to preserve his royal person from danger. In a few days he was moved to Stirling; and in October he was removed to Holyrood House. A parliament was then held at Edinburgh, and an act of indemnity, or rather a vote of thanks to the chief actors in the enterprise, was passed: this was a farce which the aristocracy often played. At this time they proclaimed that, under the providence of God, they were moved to attempt the reform of many abuses in the state, which threatened to subvert the established religion, and which were equally perilous to his majesty and the crown of this ancient kingdom.⁴⁹ The most ardent Protestants and the clergy regarded "The Raid of Ruthven" as a deliverance for the Church, and the ministers declared their satisfaction from the pulpits. When the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, in October, 1582, the members heartily approved of the proceedings of the Earl of Gowrie and his adherents; and they passed an act announcing "that the prosecution and following out of he narrowly escaped being slain by the duke's cooks, who came out of the kitchen, with spits and great knives to take his life, as he often told me."—Melville's *Diary*, p. 129.

⁴⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 326-331.

the said good and godly cause, all particulars put aside, is and shall be most acceptable to all that fear the majesty of God aright; and to all who tender the preservation of the king's majesty, most noble person, and estate, and loves the prosperous and happy success of this troubled nation". The members of the Assembly were therefore recommended to explain the affair, and the proceedings of the noblemen connected with it, to the people throughout the country.⁵⁰

During the time that the king was in the hands of Gowrie and the barons who joined him, the government was carried on pretty much in accordance with the views of the Church. When ambassadors arrived from France in January, 1583, the Presbytery of Edinburgh appointed some of the ministers to go to the king and admonish him to beware of them. The king thanked the preachers for their friendly admonition, but said that he must show the common courtesies to the ambassadors of his old ally the king of France; at the same time he promised to use no great familiarity with them. The distinguished strangers were permitted to have the use of the mass; but this excited the popular displeasure. The ministers of the capital declaimed bitterly against them, especially against La Motte, a knight who wore a white cross on his shoulder, which they called the badge of Antichrist. Indeed, the representatives of the king of France could scarcely appear on the streets without being followed by the jeers and hootings of the Edinburgh mob. The king desired the magistrates to entertain the ambassadors at a banquet before they departed; but the ministers were extremely opposed to this, and forthwith proclaimed a fast to be kept on the day of the banquet. On that day, the preachers made the walls of St. Giles resound with their denunciations; three of the ministers, in succession, mounted the pulpit, and, without intermission for four hours, thundered out maledictions

⁵⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 591-592, 594-596; *Melville's Diary*, p. 134; *Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, pp. 282-283.

against the nobles and the magistrates who awaited on the ambassadors, and took part in the banquet.⁵¹

Despite the vigilance of his keepers, the young king contrived to escape in June, 1583, and to throw himself into the Castle of St. Andrews. The power of the Ruthven party was then at an end. The king issued a proclamation, declaring "The Raid of Ruthven" to be treason; but, at the same time, offering a pardon to all who should acknowledge their crime. Before the end of the year most of the nobles implicated in the affair had submitted; although, when the Earl of Arran returned to power, the Government resolved to call the faction to account, and to reduce them to order. The Earl of Gowrie and the other nobles entered into a new plot; but it was discovered, and the rebel lords had to flee into England. But somehow the Earl of Gowrie still lingered in Scotland, and he was seized, brought to trial, condemned, and beheaded at Stirling in the month of May, 1584; and an act of parliament was passed disinheriting all his posterity.⁵²

Meanwhile the apprehensions of the clergy had risen to a height. They had applauded the Raid of Ruthven, and some of them still reiterated their former sentiments on that enterprise. John Dury, who had returned to Edinburgh, was ordered to retire beyond the Tay, and to abide in Montrose. In the middle of February, 1584, Andrew Melville, one of the leaders of the clergy, was cited to appear before the Privy Council, touching seditious language which he had uttered in his sermons. When he came before the Council he at once offered to give an account of the sermon upon which he was accused, and after he had done this, the Council resolved to proceed with the trial. Melville then protested and declined to answer, on the ground that the case ought in the first instance to be tried by the presbytery. The reading of his protest seems to have greatly irritated Arran

⁵¹ *Calderwood*, Vol. III., pp. 694, 697, 698, 699, 700; *Spottiswood*, Vol. II., p. 298.

⁵² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 301-304.

and the king ; and on the second day of the trial Melville lost his temper, he told the king and the council that they had taken too much on themselves to control the servants of a Master far higher than they. That they might see their rashness, he took a Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it down on the table he challenged his judges to try conclusions on that and they would see their folly. The record states that he "proudly, irreverently, and contemptuously declared that the laws of God and the practices observed within the country were perverted and not observed in his case". The court ordered him to enter ward in the Castle of Blackness within ten hours, but Melville preferred to choose his own place of imprisonment, and immediately fled to Berwick, which in those days was the city of refuge.⁵³

The contest between the Crown and the clergy had now reached a crisis. Archbishop Adamson, acting in concert with the king and Arran, was busy concocting a plan for the reintroduction of Episcopacy and the destruction of the Presbyterian polity, which had been rapidly completing its organisation. Adamson drew up a series of articles for the constitution of the church and the acceptance of the Government; and these articles recognised in emphatic terms that the king was the chief head of the church, and therefore it was his prerogative to appoint the order and polity of the church. Under the king the government of the church consisted in the power and authority of the bishops, whose office is of apostolic institution and in accordance with the primitive purity of the church of God. On the other hand it was pointed out that presbyteries, in which barons and other lay persons were associated with the ministers, were in fact nothing but a source of continual sedition. No general assembly should be allowed to meet without a licence from the king.⁵⁴ These were the ideas which were sounded

⁵³ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 141-144 ; Scott's *Narrative*, p. 51 ; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 286-294.

⁵⁴ Calderwood, Vol. IV., pp. 53-55 ; Dr. Grub's *Eccles. Hist. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 232-234 ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 151-153.

into the ears and installed into the mind of the young king at this impressible period of his life, and throughout his career he never ceased to hold them, but endeavoured to carry them into effect with all the means at his command.

Rumours of impending calamities to the church and to the people filled the land. About the beginning of May several of the most energetic preachers deemed it prudent to flee to Berwick, and joined Melville and the banished lords. When Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 19th of May, 1584, these gloomy forebodings were fully realised. A series of acts were passed which placed in the hands of the king a compass of power quite unprecedented in Scotland. One act declared that the king had an absolute power and authority over all ranks in the kingdom, and that he was supreme judge in all matters civil and religious. Another act ordained that to speak against any of the proceedings of the Three Estates henceforward should be accounted treason; a third act announced that all the jurisdictions and judgments of the church courts, if unsanctioned by Parliament, were to be regarded as unlawful; all meetings of the king's subjects to consult and deliberate on any matter, either civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's special licence, were pronounced to be a crime which deserved the severest punishment. A fourth act placed the chief ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the hands of the bishops. A fifth act commanded that no one whatever should dare to comment upon the proceedings of the king and council, either in sermons or declamations, in public, in private, or in familiar conversation; nor at all presume to utter any false and slanderous statements to the reproach, the disdain, or the contempt of his majesty, or to the prejudice and dishonour of his highness and his parents and worthy progenitors, under the penalty of the laws against the makers and tellers of lies. And to preserve these royal prerogatives unimpaired, which by the gift of heaven belonged to his highness and to all his heirs and successors on the throne, it was then deemed absolutely necessary to condemn Buchanan's

History of Scotland and his *Jure Regni apud Scotos*; and therefore all persons in possession of any of these books were ordered to deliver them up to the royal officers within forty days, "that they might be purified of the extraordinary matters which they contained".⁵⁵

The clergy had become aware that these acts were preparing, and some of them went to the parliament house, with the intention of protesting for the rights of the church, but the doors were closed against them. When the Acts were proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, three of the ministers Lawson, Pont, and Balcanquhal, publicly protested against them, as injurious to the former liberties of the church. These acts had been passed in haste, and the king and his favourites made a bold attempt to carry them into effect. For some time there was nothing heard of, but arrests, trials, hornings, and forfeitures. These measures unquestionably expressed the intentions of the party in power; and the government issued orders to apprehend the preachers, who had protested against the acts, but they had saved themselves by flight. Soon after this more than twenty of the ministers took refuge in England; and there was then a pretty large party of the Scots at Berwick, Newcastle, and other parts of that kingdom.⁵⁶

The king and his party having now obtained an ample recognition of their supreme power, resolved to make the rebellious nobles, and the bold preachers, bow their necks to it. Parliament again met in August, 1584, and passed more acts to strengthen the hands of the government. A process of treason against the banished lords and others associated with them was carried through, and their property forfeited to the Crown. An act was passed which required all beneficed men, ministers, readers, masters of colleges, and of schools, to subscribe and faithfully

⁵⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 292-296; Calderwood, Vol. IV., p. 38, *et seq.*

⁵⁶ *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, Vol. I., pp. 411-419; Calderwood, Vol. IV., pp. 64-65, 72; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 167-172.

promise that they would humbly and dutifully submit to the King, and obey the acts of the last parliament; and at once to show their submissive spirit, they were ordered to obey the bishops and the commissioners appointed by the king, to rule over them in all religious matters, under the penalty of forfeiting their stipends.⁵⁷ All the ministers between Stirling and Berwick were summoned to appear at Edinburgh, on the 16th of November, 1584, and there to attest their submission to the will of the king. This was a hard measure, and many of the ministers refused to comply with it. When Craig and other leading preachers were before the court, Arran asked them, how they durst be so bold as to find fault with the acts of parliament; Craig answered that they durst find fault with anything which was repugnant to God's Word. Upon this Arran started to his feet and threatened that, "he would shave their heads, pare their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example to all rebels". After some further debate, Craig and the most of his brethren signed the deed, with a clause which was added—"agreeable to the Word of God". Erskine of Dun, the venerable superintendent, also signed it, and used his influence in persuading others to conform. On the 2nd of January, 1585, it was proclaimed that all those who had not subscribed the acts of parliament, were then offered the last opportunity of doing so; and if they declined their stipends would be withheld, and their persons punished for contempt of the laws.⁵⁸

But neither the rage of Arran, nor the kingcraft of James, could stifle thought and feeling. The ministers however were extremely hard pressed, the laws against them were rigorously enforced; and even the wives of the refractory preachers were turned out of their houses, and commanded to leave the country.⁵⁹ By such means the king and his associates fondly imagined

⁵⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.* Vol. III., pp. 331-333, 336-346, 347.

⁵⁸ Calderwood, Vol. IV., pp. 198-200, 209-211, 246-247; Fifth Report of the Commissioners on Historical MSS., p. 636.

⁵⁹ *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, Vol. I., pp. 432-437.

that they would crush the spirit of the clergy and the people ; and an onlooker might well have thought that the clergy were completely subdued ; but the king with all his craft and acts could not touch the inner springs of the movement. It was here that he failed, he could enforce compliance with certain things ; but it was beyond his power to control the motives, the ideas, and the convictions of the mind, and it is these which ultimately prevail.

One of the inner political peculiarities of the history of Scotland is seen in the rapid rise and fall of the factions of the nobles who ruled the country, or rather ruled the king. This process of action and reaction was always at short intervals producing sudden and unexpected changes at the centre of authority. Looking merely at the external features of these manifestations, they appear to be capricious, irregular, and extremely confused ; but when we extend our view over a series of centuries, and learn to appreciate the position and the power of the aristocracy in the kingdom, these surprising changes in the government become intelligible and full of sequence. In this light, the long series of unforeseen changes in the government, the seizures, the imprisonments, the depositions, and the murders, of the king are seen to be the consequent results of a movement springing out of the social and political organisation of the nation. In other words, the aggregates of society in Scotland had for ages circled round the nobles, but often in separate and conflicting groups ; hence the comparative weakness of the Crown arose partly from its having to contend with the freaks of these natural and traditional centres of power.

Lord Maxwell had been for many generations the leading local noble in Dumfries and its neighbourhood. He was known to be a Roman Catholic ; and for this or some other reason, the king and Arran encroached upon Maxwell's supremacy in the town of Dumfries. Through their influence and interference one of the Johnston's was on the eve of being elected provost in the capital of Maxwell's kingdom ; and he was therefore

naturally at war with the king and his government. Maxwell had a thousand armed men in the field, and the banished Lords at once saw their opportunity, and joined him. In the beginning of November, 1585, the Lords entered Scotland and collected their adherents; they met Maxwell at Selkirk, thence they marched on Stirling eight thousand strong. The king and Arran were at Stirling when the rebels appeared before it; Arran fled towards the Highlands; while the king notwithstanding all his craft and the astuteness of his favourites, had no alternative but to receive the proffered homage of his rebellious nobles, and to pardon them.⁶⁰

Most of the exiled preachers had returned with the nobles, and the hopes of the Protestant clergy were at once brightened. But if they had expected much aid from the party whom they had befriended, they were quickly disabused. The nobles told them that first of all their own estates must be restored, and then they would work wonders for the church. This was the characteristic form of the policy of the aristocracy towards the reformed clergy throughout the struggle between the church and the crown; when a faction of the nobles had interests and objects of their own at stake, they were always ready to promise assistance to the clergy, although excepting a few individual nobles who appeared from time to time, there was no real religious principle or living conviction among the aristocracy from the beginning to the end of the conflict. The clergy themselves however continued to struggle on, and fought hard for the redress of their grievances. The parliament met in the beginning of December, 1585, and restored the estates of the rebels who had been disinherited for their rebellion; there is a long list of ratifications to nobles and barons who had been lately outlawed, the list also included the names of hundreds of their retainers. But the despotic acts of 1584 were left untouched. The only act in favour of the church was one which restored all the

⁶⁰ Bannatyne *Miscellany*, Vol. I., p. 119; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 223-225; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 384-385.

ministers and masters of colleges to their places and possessions.⁶¹

It had become apparent that the king had got an enormous amount of conceit into his head; and that he was filled with a passion for polemics. He had been so much flattered and puffed up by those who had lately associated with him, that he verily thought he could settle theological questions, make a commentary, or handle a text, better than all the preachers and professors of the kingdom. About the beginning of the year 1586 the king attended worship in the high church of Edinburgh, and Balcanquhal the minister, made some derogatory remarks touching the authority of bishops; when James immediately rose from his seat and asked him what Scripture he had for that assertion. The preacher said that he could adduce sufficient proof from Scripture for what he had stated; but the king vehemently denied this, and pledged his kingdom that he would prove the contrary: and he added that it was the practice of preachers to busy themselves with such matters in the pulpit, but he was aware of their intentions and would look after them. This interlude continued for a quarter of an hour, after which the king resumed his seat and heard the sermon to the end. But he sent for the minister, and in the palace his majesty had the satisfaction of engaging him for more than an hour.⁶² It should however be stated that the preachers sometimes provoked the king. A short time before this incident, James Gibson, the minister of Pencaitland, preached a sermon in Edinburgh, and uttered the following statement—"I thought that Captain James Stewart, Lady Isabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it was the king himself. As Jeroboam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true worship of God, so I fear that if our king continue in his present course, he shall be the last of his race." Gibson was brought before the Privy Council and imprisoned,

⁶¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 383-387, 395.

⁶² *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 340-345.

but afterwards liberated; and for a time placed under suspension by the General Assembly.⁶³

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh in May, 1586, and the king attended at the election of the moderator, and gave his vote in favour of David Lindsay, the minister of Leith, who was in consequence chosen. There had been no General Assembly for a long time, and there was much business before it; but the proceedings ended in a sort of compromise which was not satisfactory to either party. There were discussions concerning the office of a bishop, the discipline of the Church, the limits of the jurisdiction of the synods and the presbyteries, and a scheme for the division of the whole country into a system of regular synods and presbyteries was adopted. The king's commissioners and the members of the Assembly held long communings; the king had one chief object always in view—to keep the episcopal element in the Church. Bishop Adamson, who had been irregularly excommunicated by the synod of Fife, appeared before the Assembly and submitted; he promised to behave himself for the future, and to endeavour to be a faithful bishop according to the example of St. Paul, and to submit his life and doctrine to the trial and the judgment and censure of the General Assembly, and upon this and no other condition were bishops to be recognised in the Church.⁶⁴

But the nation was not as yet fully under the discipline of the Reformed Church; a considerable portion of the people still adhered to the Roman Catholic religion in the remote districts of the West and North. Then, as we have seen, there was a lack of qualified ministers to overtake the work throughout the country. The reformed system of organisation had scarcely come into full operation when the diverging views of

⁶³ *Records of the Privy Council*, December, 1585; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 688, 690, 699, 709-712.

⁶⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 645-684. "In this Assembly was first seen what fear and flattery of the Court could work among weak and inconstant ministers." *Calderwood*, Vol. IV., p. 583. Compare Melville's *Diary*, p. 249.

the king and his government began to obstruct, to hamper, and to cramp the effectiveness of the Protestant Church.⁶⁵

At this time a number of French Protestant ministers had taken refuge in Scotland from the severe persecution which was raging in their own country. The General Assembly employed Andrew Melville to write a letter assuring the exiled preachers that the Assembly would do everything in its power to assist them and to render their sojourn agreeable. The magistrates of Edinburgh allowed the French refugees to meet for worship in the common hall of the College, and also allotted stipends to their ministers; and collections for them and their brethren in England were made in the parishes throughout the kingdom.⁶⁶

When it became known in Scotland that Queen Mary was to be executed, the king issued an act of council ordering the ministers at all their preachings and common prayers to pray for his mother in this form, "The Lord illuminate and enlighten her spirit, that she may attain to the knowledge of His truth, for the safety of soul and body, and preserve her from the present peril". Some of the ministers, especially those of Edinburgh, refused to pray but as the spirit moved them. The king seems to have been disappointed at this, and on the 3rd of February, 1587, he appointed Archbishop Adamson to preach in St. Giles, and after a little scene, the bishop was allowed to go on with his prayers and his sermon. The truth is, that James was far more concerned and interested about his own succession to the English throne than about his mother's death.⁶⁷

The unfortunate queen herself was gifted with a courage and a spirit which at the hour of her death, in the final scene of her chequered career, astonished and dismayed all her enemies. Never had martyr on the cross exhibited a grander

⁶⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 658-661.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 655-657.

⁶⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, Calderwood, Vol. IV., pp. 606-607; Moysie's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*.

spectacle of fortitude than did Mary Stuart in the closing act of her fitful life ; and she has had her reward, as the rays of glory which she shed around the departing scene of her eventful life has been transmitted by her admirers even to this day. But among the people of Scotland at that time the execution of Mary was little regarded.

The parliament met at Holyrood House in July, 1587, and ratified all the acts passed in favour of the reformed religion during the minority of the king. At the same time an act was passed against seminary priests and Jesuits, and all the enemies of the reformed religion. The temporal lands of the bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, which then remained unappropriated, were annexed to the crown ; but the nobility were the chief gainers by this act, as it secured to them the lands which they had obtained during the revolutionary changes of the Reformation. Whether the king perceived it or not, it gave a severe blow to Episcopacy, as it really divested the bishops of the right to sit in parliament, which was founded on their landed titles, and thus cut off the strongest ground for their continuance.⁶⁸

The Presbyterian clergy persevered in their attacks on the bishops, and were fast becoming masters of the field. They were also making incessant efforts for the utter suppression of the adherents of Catholicism. An extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly was convened at Edinburgh in February, 1588, for the purpose of arousing the nation to a sense of its danger from the threatened Spanish Armada. Andrew Melville, as moderator of the last Assembly, opened the proceedings with an address, in which he explained the reasons for their meeting: the alarming nature of the crisis had brought together a great concourse of members who were animated with one spirit. They drew up an extremely dark picture of the state of the kingdom: " It was an exceedingly great grief to all such as have any spunk of the love of God and his Christ, to see Jesuits,

⁶⁸ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 429-437.

seminary priests, and other teachers of popery and error, to be so long suffered to pollute this land with idolatry, corrupt and seduce the people, and spread abroad their poisonable doctrine ; to see practisers and traffickers against the true religion, and the present liberty of this realm, to be received, maintained, and entertained ; to bring to pass their most dangerous devices and plots, and the receivers, the entertainers, and the maintainers, and the professed favourers of both the one and the other, so to abound everywhere ; and not only to be tolerated with impunity, without executing of the laws of the country against them, but also to have special credit, favour, and furtherance, at the court, in the session, in the burghs, and throughout the realm, in all their affairs. And, on the other hand, to behold the true Word of God contemptuously despised by the great multitude ; His holy sacraments horribly profaned by private, corrupt, and unlawful persons ; the discipline of the Church disregarded, the persons of the ministers and the office-bearers within the same stricken, menaced, and shamefully abused, themselves beggared, and their families shamefully hungered. And yet, notwithstanding, neither the laws against idolatry nor vice were put into execution, neither sufficient laws made for the liberty and welfare of the Church, nor such as are made put into effect for removing of these fearful enormities." The record enumerated a number of Catholics by name who were spread throughout the country. In the north, where the Earl of Huntly was supreme, the reformed religion had as yet taken comparatively little hold upon the people ; many of the parishes in this region had no ministers, and even where there were readers and pastors, they found it extremely difficult to perform their functions. At this time, in Lennox, there were twenty-four churches, and not four ministers amongst them all.⁶⁹ The Assembly appointed a commission to visit the north, south, and west, to introduce order and discipline, plant qualified ministers, and establish the authority of the Church.

⁶⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 703, 715-724.

The Scots made every preparation which their limited means afforded to defend themselves, if the Spaniards should attempt to land in Scotland. For some time great uneasiness was felt among all ranks of the nation. Time passed on, and the Spaniards at last landed in Scotland, but not in the character of a conquering army. Early one morning, before the fate of the Armada was known, James Melville, the minister of Anstruther, was informed that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour, and the authorities requested his advice how to act towards the shipwrecked supplicants. The principal inhabitants of the town were at once assembled, and when the real condition of the Spaniards was ascertained, the Scots treated them with all the kindness and hospitality in their power. Afterwards they obtained a licence and safe conduct from the king to return to their own country.⁷⁰

But the reformed clergy never relaxed their endeavours to put down the Jesuits and seminary priests, who were protected by some of the local nobles. A convention of the chief ministers was held at Edinburgh in January, 1589, to devise and recommend measures to the government. Andrew Melville was chosen chairman of the meeting, and his nephew James acted as clerk. The meeting petitioned the government to purge the land of all Jesuits and priests. And before separating they appointed a number of their brethren as commissioners to meet every week in Edinburgh, and consult upon matters relating to the church. In the spring of this year the Earl of Huntly and other Catholic lords broke out into rebellion. They collected their followers and met at Aberdeen in April, but the king in person marched against them, and the insurrection was for a time suppressed.⁷¹

The Presbyterian party of the Church was now almost master of the position. The synods and assemblies were pro-

⁷⁰ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 260-264.

⁷¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 740-744 ; Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. II., p. 171, *et seq.* ; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 54-55.

ceeding to enforce the discipline of the Church with a firm hand; they demanded conformity of polity and doctrine, and the discipline was brought to bear upon the highest in rank as well as upon the humblest persons in the land.⁷² The ministers were extremely outspoken in the pulpit, and freely rebuked the king and the heads of the government. Mr. Robert Bruce, when preaching a sermon in Edinburgh in the presence of the king, said—"What could the great disobedience of this land mean now while the king was at home, seeing that some reverence was borne to his shadow when he was absent? He answered, it meant a universal contempt of the subjects; therefore he willed the king to call to God, before he either ate or drank, that the Lord would give him a resolution to execute justice upon malefactors, although it should be with the hazard of his life. Which if he would courageously attempt, the Lord would raise anew to assist him, and all these obstacles would vanish away, otherwise he would not be suffered to brook his crown, but every man will have one." Others of the ministers were equally explicit in warning the king of his sins.⁷³

The king himself was then in a state of almost utter poverty. During the revolutionary period the revenue of the crown had decreased; and the unseemly squabbles in the court, the king's inability to punish notorious criminals, and his leniency towards the Catholic earls, all this had tended to lower his majesty in the eyes of the people. Harassed by these circumstances and uncertain which way to turn, the idea seems to have crossed his mind that he might regain the esteem of the people by cultivating the friendship of the church, and the leaders of the clergy were too earnest to let such an opportunity slip. The General Assembly which met in May, 1592, resolved to petition Parliament to pass an act which should recognise the polity and the liberties of the Church.⁷⁴

⁷² *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 771, 773, 777, 781.

⁷³ Calderwood, Vol V., pp. 129-130, 139.

⁷⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 786-787; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 140-162.

When Parliament met at Edinburgh in June, 1592, the articles of the General Assembly were laid before it. They craved that the acts passed against the discipline and the liberty of the Church in the year 1584, should be repealed, and the discipline which had been in use ratified. That the act of annexation should be reduced and the patrimony of the Church restored. An act was accordingly passed which confirmed all the liberties and privileges granted by the king and the regents in his name to the true church as then established in the kingdom. The act recognised and sanctioned the general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the church. The General Assembly was to be allowed to meet once a-year, or oftener, if necessary, the time and place of the next meeting to be fixed by the king or his commissioner, or if neither of them should be present, by the assembly itself. Then follows a special abrogation of acts passed in bygone ages in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, which were prejudicial to the true Church of God and her discipline within the realm. Acts of the Parliaments of James II. and James III. were specially pointed out as recognising the authority of the Pope and holy days, but these and all other acts authorising the interference of the Pope were declared to be for ever annulled. It is distinctly stated that the act passed in the Parliament of 1584 concerning the royal supremacy should be in no way derogatory to the privileges of the office-bearers of the church, touching the heads of religion, points of heresy, excommunication, appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any censures which are warranted by the word of God. The act of 1584 relating to the bishops was also repealed.⁷⁵ Thus the legal establishment of Presbyterianism, for which the leading men among the clergy had so long fought, was at last obtained. Although the settlement was far from complete, nevertheless it has always been regarded by the Presbyterian body of Christians as an important step in national reformation. But the Reformed Church of Scotland of course

⁷⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 541-543.

did not consider this, nor any Parliamentary sanction as the basis of her religious constitution. This had already been drawn up and so far fixed in her Confession and in her Books of Discipline; and for all her internal regulations she pleaded and rested upon higher grounds than any earthly authority. Still in that age when the traditions of the old system were by no means extinct in this country, and when the energy of Roman Catholicism was successfully recovering its lost ground in other parts of Europe, it will be seen that it was no small advantage for the Reformed Church of Scotland to obtain a firmer and more public establishment of the principles of Protestantism.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF PROTESTANTISM.

THOUGH the clergy had obtained the sanction of the government to their form of Church polity, the public mind was still agitated. The air was filled with rumours of plots, of conspiracies, of designs of the Jesuits, and of projected invasions for the overthrow of the reformed religion and the massacre of the Protestants. The zeal of the clergy against the Catholics was intense and implacable. They were much annoyed at the lenity of the king to the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus. They were constantly on the outlook for their enemies. In the month of November, 1592, they appointed a committee to sit in Edinburgh during this emergency to watch over the church; and to sharpen the feeling of the people, they proclaimed a fast to begin on Sunday, the 17th of December: "That by true humiliation and unfeigned repentance, the fearful judgments of God that hang over this land may be prevented". During the fast the pulpits resounded with their denunciations of the Catholics, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the remissness of the king and the government in not executing justice upon malefactors and murderers. According to Calderwood, the effect of the fast was immediately manifested by the apprehension of George Ker, a doctor of laws, who was connected with a strange conspiracy. On the 27th of December, Andrew Knox, the minister of Paisley, having learned that Ker was ready to pass into Spain, traced him to Glasgow, thence to the Island of Cumbræ, and apprehended him on the ship in which he was to sail. Ker's baggage was searched and some packets of letters

were found, and he was therefore conveyed a prisoner to Edinburgh. Among the letters several signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, were found at the bottom of blank slips of paper. Graham of Fintry, an associate of Ker's, was shortly after apprehended. Ker was tortured, and on the first stroke of the boots he confessed the conspiracy; but this mode of extracting information destroys any degree of credit which might otherwise be given to the statements of an accused individual. It was however enough in the heated temper of the clergy and the people, to arouse their passions and feelings to a pitch of great excitement. The Privy Council after examining the letters had no doubt of their authenticity. The king, then at Stirling, was requested to return to Edinburgh. The people clamoured for the trial and execution of Ker; and the authorities issued a proclamation ordering all the Jesuits and excommunicated persons to depart from Edinburgh within three hours, under the penalty of death. Upon Sunday the 7th of January, 1593, the king attended the church, and Robert Bruce, the preacher exhorted him "that now was the time to execute justice," or else said he, "the chronicles will keep in remembrance King James VI. to his shame". A meeting of the Protestant barons and ministers was held, and they called upon the king to prosecute and punish the traitors. Ker however escaped; though Graham was convicted of conspiracy, and executed on the 10th of February, to appease the rage of the people, but in vain. On the night after his execution, a bill was posted up in a conspicuous part of the capital, which asserted that all the preparations against the Catholics would end in nothing, for the greatest criminals had been allowed to escape by the connivance of the court.¹

Towards the end of February, 1593, the king at the head of an army made a demonstration against the Catholic earls, which merely resulted in the Earls of Huntly and Errol withdrawing

¹ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 167, 168, 171-193, 214-230; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 306-307.

to Caithness. Many circumstances indicated that the king intended to treat them leniently, and there were obvious reasons for this policy in the existing state of things. The Crown of Scotland was never strong, and the craft of James VI. was little fitted to enhance its importance ; while the nobles were unusually distracted by feuds and factions, springing out of a variety of causes, social and political, as well as religious. Since the reformation there had been many changes in the landed possessions of the nobles, the national records are full of forfeitures, revocations, and confirmations, of landed estates ; and naturally the plots of the worsted parties were incessant. There was still about one third of the nobles more or less firmly attached to the Roman Catholic religion.² From these circumstances there arose a mass of difficulties around the crown ; hence the miserable straits to which the king was reduced, and the ridiculous plights in which ever and anon he found himself ensnared. Unfortunately, James had neither the sagacity to appreciate the main tendency of his age, and gently to follow and moderate it ; nor grasp of principle and firmness of character to turn aside that tendency. His thin narrow mind was filled with little conceits, and possessed with the most childish notion of his own power and prerogative ; while the moral side of his character was even worse than the intellectual, he had hardly any regard for either truth or honesty. Yet, he was continually tampering with the church, and in his own underhand and crafty fashion, he endeavoured to impress his notions on her and to slip in the bishops as the executors of his will.

The reformed clergy boldly insisted on the complete submission of the Catholics, and the entire extirpation of their faith. The General Assembly which met at Dundee in April, 1593, called upon the king and the government to punish all the Catholics in the country, according to the laws of God and the laws of the realm. "That parliament should declare all the

² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III. throughout ; *Register of the Privy Council* ; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IX., pp. 65-111, 376-382.

Jesuits and trafficking Catholics to be guilty of treason, and that the same penalties should be enforced against all persons who harboured them, not for three days, as the law then stood, but for any time however short. That all those whom the church found to be Catholics, although not excommunicated, should be debarred from holding any office in the kingdom; and also debarred from all access to his majesty, and from the protection of the laws; and that the consequences of horning and all other social penalties should follow upon such a declaration, as upon the sentence of excommunication: that an act of council should be immediately made thereon, till the next parliament, when it should be passed into a law."³

When this petition came before the king, he would not consent to the severe measures against the Catholic party which the clergy were prepared to adopt. In his answer to their petition, he reminded them of his right to appoint the day and the place of the Assembly; and he desired them to pass an act prohibiting every minister from declaiming in their pulpits against him or the proceedings of his council. The king also wished the ministers to name six of the wisest of their number that from these he might select two to serve his own household. He said, nothing would afford him more pleasure than to hear through the clergy what was doing in all parts of the country, for whoever were their enemies, were his enemies; he would be highly delighted, not only to hear from time to time about the practices of the Catholics and the Spanish faction, but also about Bothwell, whenever they had any information of him, because his whole course of action was directed against his majesty's person, and the total subversion of all religion.⁴

Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, was a near relative of the king himself. But he was a restless, daring, and unscrupulous man; and he had repeatedly thrown the king into fits of terror for his life by sudden and unexpected attempts to make him a

³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, 798-799, 802-803.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 805-806.

prisoner. Bothwell is known to have entered into plots with the Catholic party, the Protestant party, and with Queen Elizabeth ; but he lacked the strength of character and intelligence to carry out any great enterprise ; and his exploits with the king, although extremely annoying and fearful to the royal personage himself, often assumed a rather ridiculous and comic form ; and they had no effect whatever on the main current of history.⁵

Parliament met in July, 1593, but the process against the Catholic lords failed. The king's advocate informed the commissioners of the Church that the summons was informal, and the evidence against them insufficient, and that it was impossible at that time to forfeit them. An act was passed against the mass, and a searching inquisition was ordered to be made for all Catholics. But this did not satisfy the clergy ; and they freely expressed their sentiments in the pulpits to the people. On the Sunday after the close of the parliament, John Davidson said in his sermon, "It was a black parliament, for iniquity was seated in the high court of justice: the arch traitors have not only escaped, but in a manner are absolved, as it was alleged that no evidence could be adduced against them. The absolving of the wicked, imported the persecution of the righteous, except God restrained the adversaries. Let us pray, that the king by some sanctified plagues, may be turned again to God."⁶

The king was still averse to proceed to extremities against the Catholic earls. But the more ardent Protestants and the clergy had come to the conclusion that it was impossible for the old religion and the new to exist together in Scotland. They therefore deemed it necessary to employ the power of the church against the Catholics. The Synod of Fife met at St. Andrews on the 25th of September, 1593, and agreed to a resolution to excommunicate the Earls of Huntly, Errol, Angus, Lord Hume, and others of their adherents. This sentence was ordered to be

⁵ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 414-415 ; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 117-132, 138, 140, 144, 177, 258 ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 277, 294-326.

⁶ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV. ; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 255-256.

intimated in all the congregations throughout the kingdom. The synod concluded its proceedings by exhorting the pastors to prepare themselves by prayer and diligent study of the word, for the solemn fast which was to be observed in every parish of the kingdom.⁷

The king was highly displeased with the excommunication of the earls, and there was much contention between him and the clergy concerning it. The earls themselves then supplicated the king to put them on their trial for conspiracy; and they complained of being excommunicated and treated as traitors, without having got an opportunity of vindicating themselves. When everything was taken into account, it certainly was hard to compel these barons either to renounce their own religion and sign the Protestant confession, or else to submit to banishment and utter ruin. These, however, were the alternatives which the clergy were determined to exact. From the standpoint of modern ideas, the proceedings and the demands of the Protestants would be pronounced wholly wrong; but at that time the prevailing ideas, and the religious notions of truth and error, were far more influenced by the pressure of circumstances than in the present day. With their aim, and from their point of view, the single line of policy which they followed was thoroughly logical and honest according to their light. On the 17th of October, the leading ministers and their adherents met at Edinburgh to consult together, and prepare to face the threatened danger. They appointed six of their number to request the king to take order with the excommunicated earls, and they freely expressed their regret that the king had permitted those cast-off persons to come into his presence. The king gave them no thanks; he upbraided the members of the Synod of Fife for excommunicating the earls. But the representatives of the clergy told him, if their enemies took up arms, they had resolved to meet them face to face. They said, "This we are minded to do, although it should be with the loss of all

⁷ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 259-265; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 309-310.

our lives in one day ; for certainly we are determined that the country shall not brook us and them both, so long as they are God's professed enemies".⁸

Matters were rapidly running to a crisis. Both parties were gathering their followers in all parts of the country. To the religious elements of the struggle, there were added the bitter and revengeful feelings springing out of long-standing family feuds, and which, if once engaged in battle, must have issued in deplorable results. All this was well known to the government; and a committee of the Three Estates, along with six of the leading clergy, met to deliberate on the state of affairs. After some animated debate, the king, on the 26th of November, pronounced what was called "The Act of Abolition," touching the accused earls. This act set forth that the true religion, which was established in the first year of his majesty's reign, should be the only one professed in Scotland ; and that those who had never embraced it, and those who had declined from it, should either conform to it, before the 11th of February, 1594, or depart from the country to such places as the king should direct, and there to remain till they professed the truth and satisfied the church. During their banishment, they were to retain full legal possession of their estates, and all accusations against them were annulled. The Catholic earls were ordered to inform the king and the church, before the 11th of January, which of the alternatives they meant to accept.⁹

This act pleased neither party : the earls were not disposed to renounce their religion, nor to retain it only at the cost of exile; while the clergy and their adherents were extremely annoyed at this temporising line of action, and they immediately expressed their disapproval of it from their pulpits. On the 30th of November, 1593, Mr. Balcanquhal, in his sermon, touched upon the practices of the court, and recalled the judgments of

⁸ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 270, *et seq.* ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 110, 111 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., p. 44.

⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 46-48 ; Spottiswood.

God that had fallen upon some of the chief actors—"as upon Bothwell who had died like a dog; and upon the queen who was beheaded that day twenty years, after she had caused her husband to be murdered". On the 4th of December, the ministers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh met to consult upon the act of abolition, and many faults were found in it; some proposed to amend it, but Pont thought it should be disannulled; for if they amended it, it would be called their work. Upon Sunday, the 16th of December, Mr. Robert Bruce in his sermon, in the presence of the officers of state and the Justice-Clerk, said, "The king's reign would be troublesome and short, if he did not abolish the act of abolition".¹⁰

The clergy stood constantly on their watch-towers, ready to descry the enemy. When the General Assembly met at Edinburgh in May, 1594, Andrew Melville was chosen moderator, and the Assembly at once proceeded to deal with the case of the Catholic earls. Some persons in Perth, who had resettled the earls, were sharply called to account for their conduct; but they confessed their offence, and satisfied the Church. The Assembly unanimously avowed and ratified the sentence of excommunication passed by the Synod of Fife against the Catholic lords, and ordered this to be intimated to every congregation in the kingdom. As the Catholic earls had disregarded the act of abolition, and were persisting in their unholy and unlawful courses, the Assembly petitioned the king to confiscate all their lands, and annex them to the crown; and then to muster the feudal array of the realm to pursue and defeat those enemies of the king and religion.¹¹

Parliament met in June, 1594, and though the Catholic nobles were then in open rebellion, they had friends in Parliament. Andrew Melville for the church appeared before the Lords of the Articles, and insisted upon strong measures. He told the king to his face, "That many thought it a matter of

¹⁰ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 288-290; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 312, 313.

¹¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 819-821, 828-834.

great weight to overthrow the estate of three so great men. I grant that it is so ; but yet it is a greater matter to overthrow and expel out of the country three far greater, to wit, true religion, the quietness of the commonwealth, and the prosperous state of the king." Addressing the lords, he said—" If ye can get us a better commonwealth than our own, and a better king, we are content the treacherous lords be spared ; otherwise we desire you to do your duty ". The majority of the Lords of the Articles voted for the forfeiture of the earls, Parliament passed the act, and they were then proclaimed traitors and rebels. The Earl of Argyle was commanded to assemble his vassals and to wage war against them. But the hastily collected and undisciplined army under Argyle, was attacked by the Earls of Huntly and Errol in Glenlivet on the 13th of October, and after a severe struggle, Argyle was completely defeated, and his followers fled in confusion.¹²

The king had advanced to Dundee when the news of Argyle's defeat reached him, and he pushed forward with his army to Aberdeen. There some of the local chiefs who were at feud with Huntly joined the royal army. Andrew Melville and a number of the most ardent preachers accompanied the army on this occasion, and by their exertions and example contributed to bring the expedition to a successful issue. Huntly found himself unable to face the royal army and he fled to Caithness. His stronghold, the Castle of Strathbogie, was destroyed. On returning to Aberdeen the king caused a number of the Earl of Huntly's adherents to be executed, and then proclaimed a general pardon to all the commons who had been at the Battle of Glenlivet, if they paid the fines imposed by the Council. After making arrangements with the view of securing peace in the north, the army was disbanded, and the king returned to Stirling on the 14th of November, 1594.¹³

¹² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 56-61 ; *Tytler's Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IX., pp. 168-172 ; *Dr. M'Crie's Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 48-50.

¹³ *Register of Privy Council* ; *Melville's Diary*, pp. 318-322 ; *Calderwood*, Vol. V., pp. 348-357.

The Catholic earls were reduced to despair, and they left Scotland in the month of March, 1595. But the Protestants never relaxed their efforts, they knew that the Catholics would again renew their plots. The General Assembly met at Montrose in June, 1595, and issued an order to the presbyteries throughout the country to proceed against the Catholics within their bounds and excommunicate them, and to enforce the penalties of the law upon every one who had offended, and on all who held intercourse with excommunicated persons. It appears that some individuals absented themselves from the sacraments on the plea that they were at deadly feud with their neighbours; indeed there was still a degree of social anarchy in Scotland which seemed to defy all restraints and remedies.¹⁴ Owing to the enormous iniquity and sins of the nation, the Assembly ordained a general fast to be held in all the churches throughout the kingdom on the first two Sundays of August. The ministers were enjoined to put the causes of the fast fully before the people, which were chiefly—"The great and present danger that the church, the commonwealth, and the king standeth in through the wrath of God, not only kindled against us, but also justly burning and devouring us up already by sundry fearful plagues and punishments . . . the deep conspiracies and daily confederacies of the faction of the known adversaries to religion, to the king, and to the country, and threatening to root us out from being any more a nation, and the breaking and removing of our two estates of Church and Commonwealth." The Assembly also concluded that it was their duty to sympathise with the Protestants of other churches. "Under no less danger than we, through all Europe, not only by the confederates of the Council of Trent, but also by the barbarous, cruel, and great bondage inflicted and brought upon our dear and worthy brethren by such as it becometh not, especially in Poland, England, Saxony, and other parts of Germany".¹⁵

¹⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 846-848.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 853-854.

The clergy were always afraid of the return of the Catholic nobles and the renewal of their intrigues. The king attended the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in March, 1596; and it is reported that he delivered a speech in which he regretted that the ministers were so poorly paid. This Assembly drew up a list of the crimes, the sins, and the iniquities, of all ranks in the nation; and it presented a frightful state of society, which will be more fully examined elsewhere. The king was in the habit of swearing, and gave a bad example to all around him; he had also a habit of conversing with those beside him in the church during the time of the sermon, and therefore he was earnestly recommended to hold private meditation with God in spirit and conscience. The offences in the court and judgment seat were:—"a universal neglect of justice both in civil and criminal causes—by a system of granting remissions and respites for slaughter and other hideous crimes; and no execution of the laws against vice, nor in favour of the church. Most of the judges in civil matters were unqualified for their office, either in respect to knowledge or conscience, or both; and when any office became vacant, the worst men were advanced to it both in high and low positions. The Court of Session was charged with buying pleas, delaying justice, and bribery, which was palpably to be seen by sudden conquests—by the extraordinary quickness in obtaining property which was become so common." ¹⁶

The Catholic earls had returned secretly in the summer of 1596, and there were indications that the government would restore them. Huntly had forwarded overtures to the king offering submission and praying to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. At a meeting of the nobles and some of the clergy it was agreed that Huntly might be received under certain conditions to be drawn up by the king and the Privy Council. But the majority of the clergy were opposed to this resolution; and the commissioners of the last General Assembly met at

¹⁶ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 859, 872-878.

Cupar in Fife, and sent a deputation to remonstrate with the king on the evil consequences which were likely to result from the measures which his Council were pursuing. The king assured the ministers that the Catholic earls should obtain no favour until they satisfied the church. The ministers however had no faith in the king's promises; and sixteen of their number from different parts of the country were selected to sit in Edinburgh, and along with the ministers of the capital, to watch over the reformed religion. This body at once proceeded to action, and summoned Seaton, the President of the Court of Session, to appear before the Synod of Lothian and answer for his conduct, touching the recall of the Earl of Huntly. The President offered some resistance, but he found it necessary to come forward and satisfy the church.¹⁷

The king quickly saw in these proceedings an invasion of his royal prerogative. He endeavoured to convince the clergy of the justice and the mercy implied in his proposals to restore the Catholic earls, but in vain; they were inexorable: and their firmness strengthened the intention of the king to remodel the government of the church, whenever an opportunity occurred. While the feelings of both parties were running high, and recriminations passing from mouth to mouth, Mr. Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, delivered a sermon on the threatened triumph of idolatry in Scotland. Alluding to the prelacy established in the adjoining kingdom, he said: "The Queen of England was an atheist; the religion professed in that kingdom was nothing better than an empty show, gilded by the injunctions of the bishops; and not content with this pageant at home, they were persuading the king to set it up in Scotland. As for his highness, none knew better than he did of the meditated return of the Catholic earls, and therein he was guilty of manifest treachery. But what could they look for? Was not Satan at the head of both court and council? Were not all kings devil's bairns? Were not the Lords of Session miscreants

¹⁷ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 368-371; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 439-450.

and bribers, the nobility cormorants, and the queen of Scotland a woman whom for fashion's sake they might pray for, but in whose time it was vain to hope for any good."¹⁸

Black was summoned to appear before the Privy Council concerning this sermon. But the ministers knew that a blow was aimed against the liberties of the Church, that the king was bent on limiting the freedom of speech in the pulpit; and they therefore advised Black to decline the authority of the Council, in the first instance, on the ground that it was a spiritual subject. He obeyed the summons and appeared before the Council on the 10th of November, 1596; but he denied that the court had any right to try him. "He was ready to give a confession and stand to the defence of every point of the truth of God which he had uttered . . . yet seeing I am not at this time brought to stand before your majesty and council, as a judge set to cognise and discern upon my doctrine; and though my answering to the said pretended accusation might import with the manifest prejudices of the liberties of the church, and acknowledging also of your majesty's jurisdiction in matters that are merely spiritual, which might move your majesty to attempt further in the spiritual government of the Church": and so on. Black afterwards gave his reasons at length for declining the jurisdiction of the court. The king was enraged at this denial of the preacher to recognise his supremacy; and he then issued a proclamation commanding the commissioners of the church to leave the capital and return to their flocks within twenty-four hours, under the penalty of rebellion. The ministers at so critical a time were not disposed to obey this royal order, as it was deemed rather arbitrary, and they resolved to remain and watch over the safety of the church. Some of them went to the king to try the effect of a personal interview, but he insisted stoutly that they should allow his claim of supreme jurisdiction, as the condition of stopping the process against Black. The ministers could not agree to this, which would have been almost equivalent to a

¹⁸ Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 128; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 453-454.

renunciation of their Protestantism; so the charge against Black was recast, and his trial proceeded. He was found guilty, and the measure of his punishment referred to the king; meanwhile he was ordered to be confined beyond the North Water.¹⁹ The ministers then proclaimed a fast to avert the impending danger and judgments. "And the doctrine was sounded powerfully, and stirred up a mighty motion amongst the people of God." The king seems to have considered this as a personal attack, and he issued an order commanding the commissioners to depart out of the town; and announced that the ministers must subscribe a bond to obey the king and the Privy Council before they received their stipends. At the same time Black was ordered to enter into ward.²⁰

The commissioners left Edinburgh on the 15th of December, 1596, and they were no sooner gone than the king again thought of trying his craft on the ministers of the capital. He imagined that when they were alone, he would prevail over them. It was accordingly intimated to them that his majesty wished to have an interview; but the ministers of the city replied that unless the commissioners were as openly recalled as they had been dismissed, there could be no communication between the court and them. The king's flatterers and those around him continued to keep him upon the line of thought and mode of feeling towards which he had always inclined; and he next commanded twenty-four of the citizens, the most ardent Protestants, to leave Edinburgh within six hours. The excitement then became extreme throughout the town. On the 17th of December when the ministers heard that Huntly had been at the palace, a falsehood set afloat by the courtiers, the alarm of the preachers was intense. Balcanquhal was ascending the pulpit for the week-day sermon when this story was communicated to him, and not being aware

¹⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, November, and December; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 454-498.

²⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 498-502; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 510-515

of its falsehood, he made use of it in his discourse, and aroused the feelings and the passions of the congregation to the highest pitch. At the close of the sermon, he called upon the barons who were present not to disgrace their fathers, but to meet the ministers immediately in the Little Church. A crowd had already collected there, the barons were seated, and the preacher addressed them on the dangers to which the church was exposed by the return of the Catholic lords; he reminded them of the rigour lately shown to the faithful professors of the reformed religion, and desired them to hold up their hands and swear to defend their faith against all opposers.²¹

A deputation was sent to the king, who at the moment was in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Council. When admitted, they informed him that they were sent by the barons convened in the Little Church, to lay before his majesty the imminent dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you," said the king, "and who dares to assemble against my proclamation?" Lord Lindsay replied, "we dare do more than that, and will not suffer religion to be overthrown". The clamour increased, numbers of the people rushed into the room, the king in great alarm started up, and without giving any answer, ran down the stairs and ordered the doors to be shut. The party returned to the Little Church, where one of the ministers had been reading the story of Haman and Mordecai; and when they heard that the king had given no answer, the multitude were furious. The tumult thickened, and Lord Lindsay bawled out at the top of his voice not to separate, that their only hope of safety was to remain together and send notice to their friends to come and assist them. Some cried "to bring out the wicked Haman"; others shouted, "the sword of the Lord and Gideon". A person among the crowd cried, "Fy, Fy, save yourselves, the Catholics are coming to massacre you; To arms, to arms; bills and axes". The seething mob rushed hither and thither in wild confusion. Some fancied that the king was a prisoner and ran to the Tol-

²¹ Spottiswood, Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 510-511.

booth, others imagining that their ministers were being murdered, flew to the church; some knocked on the Tolbooth door, and called for President Seaton and other counsellors to be delivered up to them, that they might take order with them as abusers of the king. The provost of the city at last arrived upon the scene, and addressed the multitude and advised them to go quietly to their homes; and thus the uproar was quelled without any serious mischief or injury to any one.²²

But after the king's courage revived, he determined to let the ministers and the citizens both feel the weight of his wrath. Early next morning he left Edinburgh for Linlithgow; and a royal proclamation was read at the cross, describing the disturbance of the preceding day as a treasonable uproar, excited by the ministers; and ordering the courts of law to leave the capital, which was no longer a fit place for the administration of justice. At the same time he commanded all the barons to depart to their own homes, and not to dare again to assemble until they received his permission.²³

This unexpected move of the king cowed the citizens and cooled their ardour. The burgesses and craftsmen saw in it the decay of the town, and the loss of their trade; and they were therefore ready to yield, and implore his majesty's clemency. But the clergy were prepared to brave the tempest. When all the people were in despair, Mr. Robert Bruce ascended the pulpit, and upbraided them for their timidity. He said, "A trial shall go through all men, from the king and queen to the council and nobility, from the session to the barons, from the barons to the burgesses, yea, to the very craftsmen. The love of all men shall be seen, both towards God and the religion. Sorry am I that I should see such weakness in many of you, that ye dare not so much as utter one word for God's glory and the good cause. . . . I am heartily sorry that our holy and

²² Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 131; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 512-513; Bruce's *Sermons*, pp. 173-176, 1843; Birrel's *Diary*.

²³ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 514, 515.

gracious cause should be so obscured by this late tumult, and that the desperate enemies should be so emboldened to pull down the crown off Christ's head. . . . Let us suffer cheerfully, and in the meantime stand to the cause. The Lord so bear us out that, if the greatest were sitting there, we shrink not to admonish them with all reverence. . . . The Lord prepare us in mercy, enlarge the narrow bounds of our wretched hearts that they may be capable, and multiply His holy and divine unction on them, that His glory may break out, and shine on our constancy and holy perseverance; and, on the other side, that the tokens of His hot and just wrath may break up and begin in the heart of the enemy, and awaken their conscience, and open their mouths to confess their own turpitude, to the honour of the good cause, and the glory of Christ for ever." The ministers invited Lord Hamilton to place himself at the head of those who had embraced the cause of the church; but he modestly declined the honour, and put the letter of invitation before the king. The citizens of Edinburgh dispatched humble messages to the king to appease his wrath, and solicited him to come back to his capital; but in vain. The Provost was ordered to imprison the ministers; and the tumult was declared to be treason by an act of the Privy Council. The only answer which James returned to the supplications of the citizens was an announcement, that ere long he would come to Edinburgh, and let them know that he was their king. Dark rumours were whispered abroad to startle the minds of the inhabitants—their city was to be sacked, razed, and sown with salt. But, on the 1st of January, 1597, the gates and streets of Edinburgh were occupied with bodies of armed men, and the king then re-entered the capital with all the pomp and circumstance of a conquering hero. Although the magistrates and the citizens offered the most complete submission to the king, he declined to accept it; and a convention of the Estates at Holyrood anew denounced the affair as a treasonable riot, and ordered the provost and

bailies to be imprisoned in Perth before the 11th of February, and to remain there till they were tried.²⁴

The day of trial was at last fixed for the 5th of March, 1597; and the case was then put into this form: two of the bailies, the treasurer, the dean of guild, four of the council, the town clerk, and four of the deacons, were ordered to attend their trial, as representing the city. On the appointed day they all appeared, except one who had the king's dispensation; but this plea was overruled, and they were all found guilty of not fulfilling the order of the council, which required thirteen to be present. The borough was denounced, the burgesses declared rebels, and all their public property forfeited to the Crown. This sentence filled the capital with dismay; the magistrates threw up their offices and refused to act, and for fifteen days the town was without either magistrates or ministers. After this the provost, the magistrates, and the deacons were admitted into the king's presence at Holyrood, and on their knees besought his highness to take pity on the borough as they had thrown themselves entirely upon his mercy. The king severely reprimanded them, and expatiated long on the enormity of their offence, and then ordered them to retire till he should resolve upon their doom. When recalled they were commanded to give up to his majesty the houses in the churchyard where the ministers used to dwell, who were henceforth to live separately; to protect the Lords of Session during their sittings under a penalty; to give up the lower council house for exchequer chambers, and to pay a fine of twenty thousand marks.²⁵ Such was the enormous punishment which the wisdom of James VI. deemed it necessary to inflict upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for a harmless hubbub, which it was impossible for them to have foreseen or prevented, and for which the king himself and

²⁴ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh; Register of Privy Council; Birrel's Diary; Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 515-521, 530, 535-538.*

²⁵ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh; Acts Parl. Scot., Vol. IV., pp. 103-109.*

his courtiers were more to blame than any other party in the kingdom.

This severe punishment of the people of Edinburgh enabled the king to extend his influence and power over the Church. For a time the chief ministers of the capital were silenced and put out of the way, two of the most active had fled to England, and other two were concealing themselves in Fife. James had thus gained ground in the direction of the object which he had in view—the establishment of Episcopacy. He was aware that any overt attempt to reintroduce the bishops would be firmly resisted; and in accordance with the statecraft and pedantry on which he prided himself, a series of fifty-five questions were drawn up and published in the name of the king,²⁶ touching the polity of the church, and appointing a General Assembly to be held at Perth on the last day of February, 1597. The points raised in this long string of questions involved among other matters the great and difficult problem of the relations of the Church and State, and on this subject the king and the clergy held directly opposite views. The church in all spiritual things claimed a supremacy over civil government, as Jesus Christ was her Head and King, and the word of God her guide, to these only was she bound to render obedience. But the weak side of this principle, as then understood, came clearly out in the realities of political and practical life. The proceedings of the church were held to be independent of the civil government in form and doctrine; and yet according to the theory of the church, the civil authorities must enforce the decisions of the spiritual courts by the infliction of secular penalties, as when a person was excommunicated all the legal machinery of the land was employed to crush him. This singular confusion of ideas was one of the main embittering stings in the long conflict of

²⁶ The king's questions were drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and they were issued with the intention of casting discredit upon the established government of the Church. They are printed in the *Book of the Universal Kirk*, and in Melville's *Diary*, pp. 390-403.

the Church and State in Scotland ; it seems to have originated from the theocratic conception embedded in the Old Testament, already noticed, as influencing the form and spirit of the reformed religion. Thus it was that the church and the king both claimed to be directly under God, and each consequently thought they were supreme ; in the notions of the time the king was accountable to God alone, and his authority must be above all persons and courts of the kingdom. At that time the social advantages of the contention were nearly all on the side of the Church, and it was with the aim of turning the balance in his own favour that the king proposed his questions.

The clergy of the age had no idea of a Church existing separately from the State. They were continually calling on the king and the government to pass laws relating to the establishment of the Church, and also on points of discipline and doctrine ; and many acts of parliament, and acts of council, were passed on these matters from the Reformation to the end of the 16th century. But the conditions of society, and the circumstances in which Protestantism found itself placed, rendered the sanction and support of the state necessary to its existence ; and although an idea of the complete separation of the Church and State had arisen in the minds of the Reformers, it could not have been realised anywhere in Europe for long after their day.

The king's questions were industriously circulated among the presbyteries and synods. The leading ministers however were opposed to the discussion of these questions, because they wished to hold by the polity and the discipline which was already adopted in the church. The Synod of Fife drew up instructions for the guidance of the commissioners of all the presbyteries within its bounds, who were to attend the ensuing Assembly at Perth ; and the Presbytery of Edinburgh also gave instructions to their commissioners. The tenor of these were directly adverse to the reopening and discussion of the polity of the church.²⁷

When the Assembly met at Perth, after a long debate on the

²⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 903-911.

manner of appointing a General Assembly, the majority agreed to hold the meeting to be a lawful General Assembly. The proposals submitted by the king to the Assembly were hotly contested; but in the end he gained his object. It was carried by a majority that the king or his commissioner might propose any point of the external polity of the Church which he desired to be reformed. That the ministers in their sermons should refrain from rebuking individuals by name, and from introducing political topics in their discourses. That they should hold no unusual meetings without his majesty's consent; that in all the chief towns the ministers should be chosen with the consent of the king. The rest of the king's questions were postponed to the next Assembly, and meanwhile they should not be condemned either in the pulpits, the synods, or the presbyteries. These points were ratified by the parliament then sitting in Perth.²⁸ The king had gained a footing in the general Assembly which he retained until it became a mere organ of the court; although there was always a party of the clergy opposed to the measures of the government, they were kept in the background for many years.

Another General Assembly met at Dundee on the 10th of May, 1597, when the Assembly at Perth was declared lawful and its proceedings were ratified. The court party had made great exertions, but it was with difficulty that it carried its measures. The king was present, and he obtained the consent of the Assembly to a standing commission of fourteen ministers, who were to meet with the king and consult and deliberate on all matters concerning the church.²⁹

The conditions proscribed for the absolution and admission of the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, came before this Assembly; and a commission was appointed to receive them into the church. The ceremony of their reconciliation to the

²⁸ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 895-896; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 110-112; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 403-411.

²⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 924-928.

church, and their restoration to their estates, took place at Aberdeen in the Old Church on the 26th of June, 1597. The church was crowded, and immediately before the sermon, the three earls publicly subscribed the confession of faith ; and after the sermon, they rose and with a loud voice confessed their defection and apostacy, and professed their present conviction of the truth of the Protestant faith, and their resolution to adhere to it. The Earl of Huntly then declared before God, the king, and the church, his penitence for the murder of the Earl of Moray. After this the three earls were absolved from the sentence of excommunication and received into the bosom of the church. The Laird of Gicht in the garb of a penitent then threw himself upon his knees before the pulpit, and implored pardon for supporting Bothwell, and to be released from the sentence of excommunication, and all this was granted. The earls then communicated in the Protestant form, and solemnly swore to keep order in all respects and to execute justice within their wide territories. The next day their reconciliation was proclaimed at the cross amid a multitude of the people, who shouted for joy, drank their health, and tossed their glasses in the air.³⁰

The four ministers of Edinburgh, who had been banished, were permitted to return, and they began to preach in their own churches in July, 1597. The king was intently bent on his project of improving the polity of the church : the democratic elements of Presbyterianism were extremely hateful to him. It was soon shown what he intended to effect by the commission of ministers. He called them together at Falkland, and they then summoned the Presbytery of St. Andrews to appear before them, and they reversed two of the judgments of this presbytery. The king with his commissioners next proceeded to the University of St. Andrews, and instituted an inquiry into the teaching of the professors. The commission manifested an intention to find matter for censure against Andrew Melville,

³⁰ Scott's *Narrative*, p. 98 ; *Analecta Scotica*, p. 299 ; *Spalding Club Misc.*, Vol. II., p. 60.

the rector of the new college and professor of divinity ; and, though nothing was proved against him, he was deprived of his rectorship.³¹ The king had at last got his foot pretty fast upon the chief university and the church, and he aspired to be supreme dictator in literature as well as religion.

Parliament met at Edinburgh in December, 1597, and the Commissioners of the Church presented a petition, asking that the ministers should be permitted to vote in parliament as the the third estate of the realm. This was the mode which the king took to restore the order of bishops and episcopacy ; and the presbyterian clergy at once saw the drift of the proposal, and attempted to oppose it. But parliament passed an act authorising the king to appoint such pastors to the office of bishop or abbot as he thought fit, and that they should have the same right to vote in parliament as in past ages. In keeping with the petty craft of the king, it was left to himself and the General Assembly to determine the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops.³² It was known that there would be much opposition to this act among the clergy, and the commissioners endeavoured to represent what they had done in the most favourable light.

The Assembly met at Dundee in March, 1598, and the question of the bishops, and the voting in parliament in the name of the church, was hotly discussed. The king's party had made great efforts to pack the Assembly, yet there were still members present whom his majesty wished to exclude from the debate. At the beginning of the Assembly, when Andrew Melville's name was called, the king challenged it, and said that he could not agree to the admission of one whom he had restricted from attending on church courts. Melville, of course, defended his right to be there ; and was supported by the venerable Mr. Davidson, who reminded the king that he was

³¹ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 550-654 ; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 417-419 ; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 111-117.

³² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 130-131.

only present as a Christian, and not as the president of the Assembly. The king then, with his characteristic tactics, declared that he would not allow the business of the Assembly to proceed till Melville retired; and he was ordered to confine himself to his lodgings; but when it was found that his brethren repaired to him, he was charged to quit Dundee under the penalty of rebellion. After a week spent on the complaints given in against the commissioners, and a variety of other matters, the chief question was introduced by a speech from the king. He reminded the Assembly of his own services to the church; how he had laboured to remove controversies, restore discipline, and increase the patrimony of the establishment; and now to secure this, it was necessary that she should have a voice in parliament, and he therefore desired the members to discuss every point of the act lately passed on the subject. The question whether ministers should have a vote in parliament was then debated at great length, and the affirmative was carried by a majority of ten. It was further agreed that the number of the representatives of the church should be fifty-one, about the same number as under the Roman Catholic system. Their election was to belong partly to the king and partly to the Church; but this and other details were referred for consideration to the presbyteries and synods, and next to the delegates of the synods, who were to meet with the theological professors, and, in the presence of his majesty, to reason and conclude on the points undecided; and if they could not agree, the whole matter was to be again put before the General Assembly.³³

The resolutions in the southern presbyteries and synods showed a strong opposition to Episcopacy, and an attempt to confine the powers of their representatives in parliament within narrow limits. When the discussions in the provincial meetings were concluded, and their deputies chosen for the conference, several meetings were then held with the professors; but the

³³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 932, 940, 942-946; *Melville's Diary*, pp. 439-441.

result was not satisfactory to the king. But he then summoned the chief ministers of the kingdom to meet at Holyrood in November, 1599; and they, with their brethren of the commission, opened a debate upon the whole subject. The chief proposition was, whether it was lawful for ministers of the Gospel to have a seat in parliament? A long and hot discussion ensued, which naturally enough ended in settling nothing. Those who took the affirmative side argued that the Gospel was not intended to destroy civil polity, that the ministry were a part of the state, and therefore they ought to be represented in parliament, as well as any other class; and that it was reasonable that they should assist in framing and passing the laws by which they must be governed. That ministers were not prohibited from discharging the social duties of life, and to debar them entirely from secular business would be to carry the doctrine as far as the Catholics had done, when they forbade the priests to marry. It was pointed out that, as matters had actually stood for some time past, the commissioners of the church had waited on meetings for fixing stipends, and often presented petitions to parliament; and that General Assemblies had repeatedly craved that no one should vote in parliament for the church without their commission. Those who opposed the proposition maintained that though the Gospel by no means destroys civil polity, yet Christianity was distinct from it, and might exist under any form of government; and that a seat in the high council of a kingdom constituted no part of it. The ministry was not a civil corporation, nor recognised as a distinct body in the state, but only as a portion of the general community, and the ministers, like their fellow-citizens, were already represented in parliament by the commissioners of the shires and the boroughs. That the performance of the natural duties of domestic life, and the social duties which devolved upon them all, was a different matter from being directly engaged in the offices of the government; and the presenting of a petition occasionally bore little resemblance to a regular attendance in

parliament; that they knew little of the importance of the ministerial function, who thought that it was compatible with the holding of civil offices. The worldly titles and dominion thus imported into the church were not in harmony with the injunctions of the Gospel, but opposed to the leading example of Jesus Himself, who professed that His kingdom was not of this world. It was suggested that the elders and deacons might be commissioned by the General Assembly to vote for the church in Parliament, if it was necessary, which, however, was not admitted. It was stated that no General Assembly, before the last one, had ever solicited a seat for the ministers in parliament; and since 1580, the church had objected to bishops and other ecclesiastical persons sitting in parliament in her name. On the second day of the conference, the king saw that he would gain nothing, broke it up, and announced that he would leave the matter to the ensuing General Assembly; and so this meeting ended where it began.³⁴ But the king and his party continued to push on the scheme for the establishment of Episcopacy.

Although the preachers of Edinburgh had for long been rather free in their comments on the king and his government, James had at last got them all pretty well under his hand. But he was greatly mortified to meet with a rebuff in a quarter where he least expected it. He had deprived the popular preacher, Mr. Robert Bruce, of a part of his stipend; but Bruce sued the Crown before the Court of Session, and got a decision in his favour. James appealed, appeared at the bar, and pleaded his own side of the cause with great vehemence, and ordered the judges to give their votes against Bruce. Seaton, the president, then rose and said: "It is my part to speak first in this court, of which your highness has made me head. You are our king, we your subjects, bound and ready to obey you with our lives and substance; but this is a matter of law, in which we are sworn to do justice according to conscience and

³⁴ Calderwood, Vol. V., pp. 745-761.

the laws of the realm. Your majesty may indeed command us to the contrary ; in which case I, and every honest man on this bench, will either vote according to conscience, or resign and not vote at all." Lord Newbattle next rose and said : " It had been spoken in the town, to his majesty's great slander and theirs, who were his judges, that they dare not do justice to all classes—a foul imputation, to which the lie that day would be given ; for they would deliver an unanimous opinion against the crown." The king was utterly unprepared for this, and he proceeded to use the most childish arguments, taunts, and threats ; but in vain. The judges re-affirmed their decision in favour of Bruce, and the abashed monarch, flung out of court, uttered revenge, and raged like a maniac.³⁵

Much interest was felt throughout the country in the General Assembly which met at Montrose on the 28th of March, 1600. Both parties had exerted themselves to the utmost to bring up their strength, and there was a very full attendance of members. It was well known that the decision of the Assembly would fix the fate of the establishment. The Presbyterians were confident in their superiority in point of argument and debating power. Andrew Melville attended the Assembly as the representative of the presbytery of St. Andrews ; but he was called before the king who asked him why he persisted in coming to the Assemblies after he had prohibited him. Melville answered that he had a commission from the Church, and it was his duty to discharge it, on higher grounds than the command of any earthly monarch. He was not allowed to take his seat in the Assembly, but he remained in the town and assisted his brethren with arguments and advice.³⁶

³⁵ Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IX., pp. 289-291. It is noted by Tytler that Seaton was a Roman Catholic. The king, however, by the most deplorable means afterwards managed to deprive Bruce of this part of his stipend. There are full details of this matter in the *Life of Bruce*, published by the Wodrow Society, along with his *Sermons*, pp. 80-83 ; and in Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 169-171.

³⁶ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 468, 485 ; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 144-146.

The debate on the proposition of ministers voting in parliament was resumed. Many arguments were adduced against it and backed by references to the Scriptures, the writings of the reformed divines, and the decisions of general councils. The court party finding themselves fairly vanquished by their opponents in the field of open discussion, then shifted their ground, and affected to condemn the union of sacred and civil offices; they asserted that the ministers who were to sit in parliament would have no civil charge, but would simply be present to watch over the interest of the church. But they were quickly driven from this position; and at last, they retired behind the maxims of their master; and asserted that the king alone makes laws, and the estates only gave him advice. At length, they came to the words of the act of parliament which restored "the office, estate, and dignity of bishops"; but here the discussion became too hot, and the king intimated that this point had been settled by the last General Assembly, which at once terminated the contest. If the general question had been put to the vote, it seems probable that the scheme would have been defeated; yet, by one device and another the Assembly sanctioned the measure. A series of restrictions were framed by the Assembly to keep the commissioners who were to vote for the church to their duty; but the king had no intention of observing these cautions: his object was the re-establishment of Episcopacy, and he filled up several of the bishoprics, although in spite of all his efforts, he failed to materially alter the presbyterian organisation of the church, till after his accession to the throne of England.³⁷

However much the policy of James the VI. has been admired,³⁸ it is a fact that for many years he distracted the re-

³⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 954-956; Calderwood, Vol. VI., pp. 2-21.

³⁸ "Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign must carefully attend to this part of his history. It was at this time that he found a stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and stick the doctor's chair into the throne. It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the

formed clergy by his childish notions and his scheme of church polity. Much of the energy of the ministers was wasted away without producing any good results, which but for him, might have been employed in the instruction of the people; and thus the higher aims of religion were neglected; and the introduction of the reformed religion into the Highlands was greatly retarded by the proceedings of the king and his court.

The reader of Scottish history soon becomes familiar with the plots of the aristocracy against the Crown. The 5th of August, 1600, was memorable for an event of this character, known, by the name of the Gowrie conspiracy. The Earl of Gowrie of that day was the grandson of Lord Ruthven, who acted the leading part in the Riccio tragedy. It seems, for the evidence must still be deemed imperfect, that Gowrie intended to imprison the king and then rule the kingdom in his name. Very few persons were aware of the plot; hence the doubts of its reality, and the natural suspicion that it was got up by the king himself. The main facts of the affair were that the Earl of Gowrie decoyed the king to his house; and after dinner, James was conducted into a room where the Master of Ruthven handled him rather roughly. But the rest of the nobles who accompanied the king came to his rescue; and after a short scuffle the Earl of Gowrie and his brother the Master were both slain in the house. The family of Gowrie, of course, was utterly ruined. And the king insisted that all men must believe that his precious life had been miraculously preserved from the hands of the two wicked brothers. The ministers of Edinburgh who

English bishops with both admiration and shame, and made them cry out that they verily thought he was 'inspired'. Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage, as when, surrounded with his own northern men, he canvassed for voters with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a borough; or when presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he kept the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another "a liar," saying to one speaker "that's witch like," and to another "that's anabaptistical," instructing the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helping him to correct the minutes."—Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., p. 152.

had not so high an idea of the king as he had of himself, refused to admit that there was a conspiracy, and would not give thanks to God for his majesty's deliverance in the exact words which the court dictated. Five of the ministers were removed from the capital, but four of them afterwards submitted and professed to believe in the conspiracy, Robert Bruce alone refused to believe it, and was finally banished.³⁹

The king manifested his vanity and want of common sense in connexion with this affair more than in any of his proceedings. Granting that the conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie was real, it was not an unusual occurrence or one which stood alone; at the utmost it was simply one of those projects which were from time to time attempted by the nobles against their kings. It is not surprising therefore that some of the clergy and the people should have failed to see anything miraculous about the matter; and especially those who knew how great an adept the king was at making conspiracy and treason out of a harmless affair, as in the recent example of the tumult in Edinburgh. The king issued a mandate to change the weekly sermon in all towns to Tuesday, the day on which the event happened. But he was not content with this, an act of parliament was passed which ordained that the fifth of August should be observed yearly—"In all times and ages to come, as a perpetual monument of their humble, hearty, and unfeigned thanks to God for his miraculous and extraordinary deliverance from the horrible and detestable murder and parricide attempted against his majesty's most noble person".⁴⁰

The king continued to strive to complete his scheme of church polity, but while he remained in Scotland his success was very limited; and he was eagerly looking forward to the

³⁹ Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, Vol. IX., pp. 329, 351-358; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 1000-1002; *Register of the Privy Council*; Bruce's *Sermons, Life*, pp. 84-96, 188-196.

⁴⁰ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 213-214; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 1061.

time when he could command greater resources for the accomplishment of his projects.

The days of Queen Elizabeth were fast drawing to an end. She was now dejected, careworn, and unhappy; and she died on the 24th of March, 1603. The same day the King of Scots was proclaimed as her successor. For some time before, the English had been looking towards the rising sun; and James lost no time in preparing to go and take possession of the throne; and if he failed to fulfil all the expectations of his new subjects, perhaps this was more their own fault than his; for if they had moderated their hopes and expected little, then they would not have been disappointed. On the 5th of April, the king began his journey, and on the 6th of May he entered London, greeted by the shouts of his English subjects.

Before proceeding further, it seems appropriate to ask what is the ultimate problem of the Reformation in relation to the development of Civilisation? The first thought that strikes one is the extreme complexity of the problem, which is at once seen to be ramified and intersected in manifold ways. It ran through the entire organisation of the nation. The domestic, the social, the moral, the political, and the intellectual, were profoundly affected by it, as well as the region of religious belief and faith; the existing circle of thought and human action was moved to the core. This revolutionary movement, then, must have a connexion with the philosophy of the human mind. But the historical manifestation of the mind, for obvious reasons, is exceedingly difficult to handle; when it is applied to nations or communities, and not merely treated as a history of systems. There have been various elaborate philosophical systems emanating from individuals and schools, which have had comparatively little effect on the progress of the race, or on the civilisation of independent nations. The philosophy of the Reformation, however, whatever it was, deeply affected the people; and this at least is an indication of its strength and its reality. It embraced thought

in its practical forms, the moral laws, one's own heart, one's inner conviction, in short, the rights of the individual had at last begun to be recognised. In its essence the Reformation was a religious movement springing out of the devout feeling and aspiration of the people, which was then associated with the belief in the divine revelation of the Bible.⁴¹ It opened to the individual a free access to the heavenly promises offered in the Gospel, and thus for the time satisfied the inherent cravings of his being and the deepest emotions of his mind; warm thrills of joy passed through his soul; the flow of imaginary glory swelled and floated aloft, till his nature was renewed and he lived in peace and hope.

Another tendency of this movement was to withdraw the senses from the mere external emblems and material forms of worship, to concentrate the mind on the essential dogmas and the doctrines of religion in their ideal modes. Hence religion became more allied with morality and the understanding; but this was rather a result which ensued in the subsequent development of Protestantism than a special aim of the Reformers.

The search for the ultimate problem of the Reformation suggests the question of the relative efficacy of the religious feelings, the moral sentiments, and the intellectual ideas, as factors in the development of civilisation; in other words, the comparative potency of religion, morality, and science, in advancing social organisation, the development, the progress, and the happiness of mankind. Upon the evidence adduced in the first volume, and especially on the evidence in the preceding chapters of this volume, the following tentative deduction is proposed:—That the supreme sustaining power of the Reformation throughout was the moral sentiments and ideas, coupled with the religious feeling and aspiration. In the succeeding chapters of this volume more evidence will be advanced and summarised, and finally the various steps of the generalisation will be explained and formulated.

⁴¹ Appendix A.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Section I.

PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION.

IN the preceding volume the characteristics of the government and the institutions of the kingdom were described; the general traits of feudalism, the powers and privileges of the nobles, and their action, as exhibited in the history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Resuming the social history of the people from that period, it is unnecessary to dwell on matters of a similar kind to those treated in the foregoing chapters. The aim of the work will be attained by giving a connected view of the social relations of the people, and thus present a continuous exposition of their development, while noting the causes adverse or favourable to their progress; and in the main it is a continuation of the chapters in the first volume, with this difference, that the habits and the institutions of the people are now assumed to be more familiar, so that only the changes and modifications, and especially those consequent on the revolutionary movement, have to be noticed at length. Such is the method followed, in order to throw light on this interesting department of human activity. The historian must not fly upon the wings of imagination, even should he condescend to grace his flights with the name of comprehensive reflections. The European world of mind, within the past hundred years, has had rather more than enough of these sublime flights into the region

of nothings. The author has no faith in those who place themselves upon the throne of the universe, and forthwith exclaim, if they had only been there in time, the Deity would have received much useful instruction. My task is limited to man, and his life and progress upon a small part of the earth; and I gladly leave it to those who deem themselves competent to construct the universe, and to convict the Author of creation of ignorance.

The Crown of Scotland had no great royal prerogative which it could wield at pleasure; the government was essentially aristocratic at all points. Although the kings sometimes made enormous pretensions, they were soon dashed to the ground by the dominant faction of the nobles. While in other nations of Europe, the kings were augmenting their power by the curtailment of the privileges of their nobles, the Scottish nobility, with a few momentary exceptions, had been increasing their power for the last two centuries and a half, and at the Reformation they became supreme. But from that time onward other influences came into play, which slowly undermined their power.

In 1533, James V. remodelled the Court of Session, as the supreme court for the administration of justice in civil cases. From this date the Court of the Lords-Auditors ceased; but the Privy Council still retained the judicial power of the old lords of council. The theory of these courts seems to have been, that the Council could administer justice by its inherent prerogative, and therefore it should interfere if the strict rule of law inflicted a wrong; while the Court of Session was supposed to proceed according to the rules of law. In consequence of this distinction, the lords of the Privy Council assumed something like a right of superiority over the Court of Session; and on critical occasions the former sometimes took a very emphatic and decisive attitude.¹

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 317-318, 520-526, 620, *et seq.* The Records of the Privy Council for the greater part of the 16th century are still

The ordinary official staff of the executive comprised the sheriffs of the counties and their deputies, the bailies of the hereditary regalities, baronies, lordships, stewardships, and their subordinate officers; and in time of peace throughout the lowlands, this organisation afforded a comparative measure of rough order and security to the inhabitants. Although in the best settled parts of the kingdom acts of violence and lawlessness were very common, and the offenders often escaped unpunished, owing to the defective means for detecting and apprehending them, and the want of simplicity in criminal procedure. Upon the Borders and in the Highlands, the state of society was little removed from intermissive anarchy. In both regions the small clan system prevailed; and, although the government had recourse to various modes of repression, they were not effectual, as the evils which it was attempted to remedy naturally sprang out of the surroundings of the people.

At short intervals, when the excesses of the Borderers and the Highlanders rose to an unusual height, then the government proceeded to punish and repress them. The heads and chiefs of the clans were made responsible to the crown for the action of their followers; but this was soon found to be only a very imperfect restraint. As it frequently happened that the chiefs and their men both were engaged in the same lawless depredations, and then it became necessary for the government to interfere directly, when outrages were numerous and clamant. The usual mode of treating the borderers was this: the king mustered an armed force, and proceeded against the reivers and notorious thieves, and executed justice upon them by seizing and hanging them immediately, or occasionally bringing some of them to Edinburgh to be hanged. Our records during this century are full of these raids on the border thieves and reivers.

preserved. Two volumes of the Register, embracing the period from 1545 to 1579, have recently been published under the authority of the Record Commissioners, and these volumes have been ably edited by Dr. Burton, who has given a great boon to historical students, by rendering this valuable record easily accessible.

The mode of dealing with the Highlanders was much the same, only the crown often delegated its power to a local noble to handle them, as to the Earl of Huntly in the north, and the Earl of Argyle in the west.

During the minority of James V., the administration of justice was wretchedly neglected in every corner of the kingdom. But on the borders disorder had risen to such a crisis that the king, at the head of an army in 1530, scoured the glens of Yarrow and Ettrick, and seized Cockburne of Henderland, and Scott of Tuschielaw, two notorious offenders. They were both taken to Edinburgh, and tried for extorting black-mail from the poor tenants, and for common theft and reset. They were both convicted and executed, and their lands forfeited to the crown.² In connection with this raid, the king brought up the Earl of Bothwell, the Lords of Home and Maxwell, the Lairds of Buccleuch, Farmyhurst, Johnstone, and Mark Ker, and they were all imprisoned, and Bothwell was at last banished. At the same time the king compelled about fifty other barons and lairds, in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Peebles, and Selkirk, to find security to enter before the Justiciary when required. In this way the crown sought to bridle the reivers and cattle-lifters, by making their superiors and neighbours responsible for the crimes and depredations of those who lived and harboured upon their lands.³ This year the king made another raid on the borders, partly for pleasure, but at the same time prepared to punish any noted thief who came within his gripe. He was accompanied by the Earls of Athole, Huntly, Argyle, and many other barons, and it was reported that they killed eighteen score of deer. It was on this occasion that the famous John Armstrong was taken, a border marauder who, it

² Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 144-145. There is an exceedingly spirited and touching ballad—"The Widow's Lament"—which is supposed to refer to the fate of Cockburne. Though rude and turbulent, the borderers had some fine traits of character; even this reiver and king of thieves had some estimable qualities.

³ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 146-148.

seems, operated chiefly on the English side of the marches. He is represented as surrounded by his followers, and coming to meet the king to offer him homage; but when James saw him and his company mounted on horseback, he ordered the chief and most of his men to be immediately hanged, without the formality of a trial. Armstrong's fate excited great commiseration among the people of the district, and he is commemorated in a stirring ballad.⁴ By repeating these harsh measures, the king for a time reduced the borders to comparative quietness;⁵ but it is more than doubtful if the severe punishment which he inflicted on them was at all calculated to promote the permanent peace of the district. Excessive severity often defeats itself; and, besides, the lawlessness of the borderers could only be effectually remedied by changing their circumstances; harsh treatment might aggravate existing evils, but would not reform them.

After the death of the king the borderers broke out in greater excesses than ever; and throughout the regencies of Arran and the queen mother, they grew worse and worse. In the end of the year 1546, the Council resolved that the regent should pass with an army towards the borders and restore order; but the government had the siege of the Castle of St. Andrews then on their hands, which required the greater part of the force at their command. The council passed an act in March, 1547, calling a muster of the local forces to accompany the regent to the borders and there assist to stanch the theft, reif, and oppression of the thieves and reivers. The queen regent in 1552 attempted to remedy the evils of the borders, but the people there became daily more disorderly. The Master of Maxwell in 1553 declined to accept the Wardenship of the West Marches which his deceased brother had held, though the government offered him five hundred pounds yearly, and some other reward

⁴ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, pp. 152-154; Veitch's *History of the Poetry of the Scottish Borders*, pp. 287-294; 1878.

⁵ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 171-173.

as a benefice or the like; still he refused to undertake the office till the offenders against the public authority were punished, or a sufficient force placed at his command to punish them. This could not be done, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlawrik took the office of Warden of the West Marches, but he threw it up in less than a year, and the troubles of the region thickened.⁶

The social state of the highlands resembled that of the borders in many particulars, but there was some differences between them. The peculiarities of race which has been made so much of, were in reality of little consequence. The social condition of the highlanders was the result of circumstances and a long chain of causes, rather than any essential distinction of race peculiarities. This is well shown by the quickness of the highlander to adapt himself to the requirements of the higher civilisation as soon as his surroundings were changed. If they had been the incapable and erratic savages that some have represented them; how came it, that on being removed from the mountains and glens, and placed under a course of training for a few months, they were the best soldiers in the British army? or when they were placed as police in a large city, they soon showed themselves admirably qualified to keep the lowlanders or any one else within the lines of order and peace? When these undeniable facts are duly weighed, it will help to clear the ground of some fictions and absurd delusions. If idleness and thieving and fighting for the mere love of such things, had been a race distinction of the Celtic population of the highlands; why was it that these were so easily and readily cast aside when the circumstances of the highlander were changed? The fact is that the evils of the social state of the highlanders sprang out of the surrounding circumstances, and a long train of events which forced them into those habits of living that characterised them; and therefore to talk of their social condition as an effect of a race distinction is inapt and misleading, and well calculated

⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 28, 57, 64, 120-125, 132, 137, 140, 143-146, 152, *et seq.*

to contort justice and obscure history. The main difference between the Borderer and the Highlander consisted in the more complete dependence of the latter on their chiefs. The vassals and dependents of the highland chief stood by him with a fidelity and a love in misfortune as well as in prosperity, which we do not meet with among the borderers; they were far less attached to their chiefs than the highlanders. In this respect, one of the moral elements of clanship was decidedly higher in the highlands than on the borders.

The heads of the clans Cameron and Ranald had failed to appear before the council at Inverness to underlay the law; and the handling of the latter was entrusted to the Earl of Argyle. In 1552, Argyle reported to the government that the captain of the clan was loyal to their authority, and that he would have attended before the justiciary if the charge had come to him ere he passed to Ireland. Argyle was ordered to continue his proceedings upon the captain and his followers, and to cause him to come to the regent and council before Christmas, and take their orders for the good government of the district; but if he failed to appear at the appointed time, then Argyle promised to make war upon the clan Ranald, and to pursue them with fire and sword, according to the act passed at Inverness. At the same time, the Earl of Huntly was ordered to proceed against the clan Cameron and to pursue them in the same fashion.⁷

In the autumn of 1553 we are told that for a long time there had been great slaughter, reifs, enormities, and oppression, committed upon the people in the north parts of the kingdom: and especially by the strife between the Earl of Caithness and M'Kay, and their kin and adherents. Concerning these matters the Earl of Caithness had been summoned to meet the Earl of Huntly and the Bishop of Ross, at Inverness, to concert measures for restoring order in the county; but he did not appear, nor even condescend to answer the letters of the regent. The council then directed the officers at arms to charge the Earl of Caith-

⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 125-126.

ness to come to Inverness and meet the Earl of Huntly and the Bishop of Ross, and to bring sufficient pledges for himself, his kin, and his allies, that he would keep better order in the county in the future, under the penalty of rebellion and horn-ing.⁸

There was one enemy of peace and civilisation common in the Highlands, the Borders, and the Lowlands; this was the numerous feuds which had sprung up and accumulated in the course of centuries of internal strife, till they were ramified throughout the entire nation. The bonds of manrent by which the different clans and families became bound and banded together, and against one another in all their causes and quarrels, constantly tended towards anarchy and confusion. An injury, or the slaughter of a member of the clan, was never forgotten by the surviving kin; and the intense feeling of revenge had been so long fostered, that it had assumed an almost incredible strength, as the feud was often transmitted from father to son, from kindred to kindred, through many generations. In Catholic times, the church recognised its power by leaving the right hand of male children unchristened, that it might deal the more unhallowed and deadly a blow to the enemy.⁹ This sentiment now appears to us extremely shocking; but it is one which belongs to all early and predatory states of society. It was nursed, not only among the highlanders and the borderers, but also among the lowland aristocracy; and it was encouraged and prolonged by the weakness of the central authority and the law, and by defective organisation. While the long continued war with a powerful neighbour fed and developed the fighting propensities of the nation, and greatly limited the amount of energy available for peaceful toil and industry; thus the contentious habits of the people were perpetuated. It is almost needless to say, that the feeling of revenge in the form which it then sought gratification

⁸ *Register of the Privy Council*, p. 147.

⁹ *Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*; Veitch's *History of the Poetry of the Scottish Borders*, pp. 299; Evan's *Ballads*, Vol. III., p. 106.

was utterly immoral. One act of violence was supposed to be atoned by another act of violence, and it again by another, and so on without end; or until some of the parties were extinguished, the feud was maintained.

The feuds among the lowland nobles in the 16th century were notorious, and often formed the subject of parliamentary enactments and acts of council.¹⁰ Some of the bonds which they entered into for gaining their ends through deeds of violence have long been matter of history. The habits of the Scottish nobles always tended towards lawlessness; whatever party was at the head of affairs, there was always another party plotting, scheming, or fighting against them, and thus the nation was continually kept in a state of insecurity; as revolutions in the government followed each other so rapidly, there was no encouragement afforded for peaceful industry among the people.

During the half century immediately preceding the Reformation, the national records disclose a deplorable state of crime among all ranks of society. Murder, slaughter, mutilation, and theft in the form of cattle lifting, were extremely prevalent. Theft in these times often led to assault, which usually ended in slaughter or something like robbery and murder. Parliament passed many acts against these crimes, and the phraseology of the acts themselves vividly recall the state of society. Homicide and slaughter were so common that many respites and pardons were granted every year to persons guilty of such crimes. In the end of the year 1501 the Master of Errol, the son of the Earl of Errol, and three others, got a remission for stealing thirty-one oxen from Sir William Keith of Inverugy. In 1508 a remission was given to Lord Oliphant and two of his accomplices for the oppression of Lord Drummond, by casting down the dykes between the lands of Drvmane and Balloch: "And for the murder of John, Earl of Buchan, in Perth, after the slaughter of James Oliphant, committed by the said Earl and

¹⁰ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III.; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 133-134, 150-151.

his accomplices, and for all other oppressions, felonies, and crimes". Here we see the action of the feeling of revenge; the Earl of Buchan had murdered an Oliphant; Lord Oliphant then murdered the earl; and we may pretty safely assume that Lord Drummond was an ally of the Earl of Buchan's. Perhaps it was the best thing that the government of that day could do to grant pardons for these crimes; for if every one had been hanged who committed slaughter and murder there would have been two or three to execute every day of the year. In 1517, "The Master of Glencairn, the son of the Earl of Glencairn, and twenty-seven others, got a remission for the cruel murder of Sir Mathew Montgomery, Archibald Caldwell, and James Smyth, and for hurting John Montgomery, the son of the Earl of Eglinton". The Earl of Argyle, in 1532, and ninety-two of his followers, obtained a remission for treasonable fire-raising in the Islands, with his standard unfurled. "The king and his council dispensed with the general act, on the condition that the earl satisfied the kin of Donald Ballo M'Anchm, Donald Crum M'Cowuane, Farquhar M'Sevir, and others having lawful claims."¹¹ These few cases of pardon for crimes are merely selected from hundreds of a similar character; and though our criminal records for the first half of this century are very incomplete, an examination of what remains discloses a most wretchedly lawless state of society.

Although in 1528 Parliament attached a severe penalty to the crime of rape, yet this crime was often passed with a very light punishment. Bigamy and adultery were common offences; and in 1551 Parliament enacted a measure which proposed severe penalties for those guilty of such crimes. The act proceeds to deal with married persons—"That are open, manifest, and common, and incorrigible adulterers, and will not desist nor cease therefrom, for any fear of the spiritual jurisdiction or the censure of holy church, to the great peril of their own souls."

¹¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 250, 282, 347, 372, 492; *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 102, 108, 234, 247.

This act directed that such persons should be visited with the processes of the church so far as she could effect them, and then they were to be denounced as rebels and put to the horn. Divorce was also extremely common among the upper class in Scotland, and it was encouraged by the fashion of granting papal dispensations.¹²

As indicating the absence of respect for the law and the defectiveness of the police organisation, the treatment which the executive officers and messengers often met with may be instanced. Their summonses and letters were taken from them and torn to tatters; "and the evildoers boasted, menaced, disobeyed, struck, and pursued them, and sometimes killed them outright". In 1546, the Lords of Council passed an act imposing severe penalties upon offenders of this description; and it was resolved to grant no respites to any one guilty of such crimes for three years to come. On the other hand, the officers of the law in the execution of their duties were often found guilty of oppression. They took bribes from the rich and powerful and permitted them to remain at home, so that when the pursuer's case came on before the court there was not a sufficient number of jurymen and the case broke down, while the injured party lost all the value involved in it, and the trouble and the expense of the action. They were accused for summoning poor and simple persons as jurymen, who had not knowledge to enable them to decide upon doubtful matters, but they were brought there because they had nothing wherewith to bribe the officers to be allowed to stay at home. They were also frequently found guilty of oppression, and for charging higher fees than the law authorised. In 1531, twelve messengers-at-arms were by one sentence proclaimed fugitives from the law and rebels; "and if any of them attempted to exercise their office they were to be hanged and drawn". But in 1539, thirty-three

¹² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 298, 377, 486; *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 28-406; *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Vol. II.; A. Robertson's *Lectures on Gov., Const. and Laws of Scot.*, pp. 133-134, 183; 1878.

messengers-at-arms were convicted at once for common oppression of the people, "by the false and unjust exercise of their office, and frustrating them in their just actions through their ignorance," and they were deprived of their offices. After the Reformation attempts were made to remedy the defects among the officers at arms.¹³

Although the municipal organisation of the boroughs was pretty complete, yet owing to various causes the state of society in them was by no means peaceful and secure. In 1529, it was stated in the Town Council of Edinburgh that in past times there had been slaughters and murders in the borough, because the officers and the neighbours had not been careful to resist and to punish the evildoers, and thus the character of the town had been defamed. It was therefore enacted, "That every merchant and craftsman should always have beside them in their shops ready for use an axe or two or more, according to the number of their servants, that they might be prepared to fortify and assist the magistrates in the administration of justice." Those failing to comply with the act were to be fined forty shillings for the first fault, and for the second forty pounds. This act was repeated in 1539, and again in 1553, when it was stated that there had been great slaughters and tussles in the town, which were likely to recur; and "Therefore all persons who occupied shops or chambers in the Highgate should have long weapons therein, such as a hand axe, a Jedburgh staff, or a halbert, and after the ringing of the common bell, or when they saw or apprehended any brawls on the streets, that they should immediately turn out and assist the officers in stanching and quelling the disturbance." Those who absented themselves from a tussle on the streets, after being warned, were to be deprived of their freedom for ever. Each bailie was ordered to search his own quarter of the city to see that the statute was obeyed.¹⁴

¹³ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 66-660; Vol. II., pp. 74, 176, 365-367; *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 48, 74-75, 154-157, 217.

¹⁴ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 7-8, 93, 177.

Similar regulations for meeting sudden brawls on the streets were enforced in all the boroughs of the kingdom. In 1522, the citizens of Aberdeen unanimously ordained that all men dwelling in the town, both burgesses of guild and other craftsmen, should always have in their shops and office-houses a good fencible weapon, such as an axe, a halbert, or a Jedburgh staff, for the defence of their persons, goods, and the commonweal of the city. But in 1530, at a meeting of the whole citizens called by the provost, it was resolved that—"Considering the cruel slaughters, murders, and oppression done to them and their neighbours by gentlemen of the country, it was enacted that every neighbour dwelling in the town should wear daily his weapon on his person, until some remedy be found how this good town may be freed from such cruel oppressors; and that every craftsmen have his weapon beside him in his workshop, and when he passes into the street to truss it in his hand, that they may be able at all times to defend themselves and their neighbours."¹⁵

In 1529, during the months of October and November, there were nineteen persons, male and female, banished from Edinburgh for various offences. Margaret Clapane was banished for buying oysters to regrate contrary to the statutes; William Cawdor was banished for buying wild fowls contrary to the statutes; Janet Brown for her demerits was banished for all the days of her life; David Christeson was banished because he was a young stark fellow, who begged and would not work for his living. The Irishman that sung with the lass, and begged through the streets of the town, was banished because he was a stout young fellow, and would not work; and if he failed to depart out of the city, he was to be burned on the cheek. Luke Jamison was expelled for regrating herring; and Andrew Gibson for regrating the king's money. In 1536, all the vagabonds without masters were ordered forthwith to decamp from the town under the penalty of imprisonment, and thereafter to be

¹⁵ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., p. 103, 111, 131, 448-449.

banished. The same year, vagabonds who would not pay their debts were to be banished from the burgh; and vagabonds who had no occupation, nor anything to live upon, and night-walkers, and players at dice and cards, were all commanded to remove out of the city, under the penalty of imprisonment. No beggars were to be allowed to live in the town, but those who had been born in it, and then only such as were feeble and unable to work for their living, under the penalty of burning of their cheeks and banishment. It appears, however, from other statutes that there were many beggars in Edinburgh. In 1538, Agnes Wright was convicted for causing a disturbance, and she was sentenced to be put in irons at the market cross, or else above the cross on the scaffold, that the people might see her when her offence was openly proclaimed, and thereafter she was to be banished. In 1551, all the sergeants of the burgh were dismissed for failing in the execution of their duties, and the bailies were commanded to receive others in their places.¹⁶

Among the sums disbursed by the Treasurer of Edinburgh for the year 1554-55, we find the following: "For taking of a great gibbet off the nether Tolbooth, and bringing it to the top of the Dow Crag, to have hanged hummil Jok on, and bringing it down again to St. Paul's Work, the sum of twelvecence; and for cords to bind and hang him with, eightpence. In November, for cords to bind and hang a thief, who was convicted before the sheriff, eightpence. The same month, a great long chain of iron for the thieves' hole, with four arms extended from it, with four locks and bolts, weighing eleven stones and three quarters, made by John Ahamnay, blacksmith, and the price of each stone was eleven shillings and fourpence—the total sum six pounds fourteen shillings and twopence: and for bringing it from the workshop, and helping to fasten it—eightpence. For cords to bind and hang Tom Grlirson, and to bind a woman when she was burned on the cheek—two shillings. For cords to bind Nicoll Ramsay when he was hanged—sixpence. For cords to

¹⁶ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 8-16, 73, 80, 88, 90, 156.

hang the man that burnt Lord James' corn—eightpence." In the month of February, 1557, the Town Council ordered their treasurer, "To pay to John Wauchlott, officer and surgeon, the sum of three pounds for curing and mending of James Henderson's leg, which was broken in the town's service at the taking of Ramsay, a thief who was slain in the taking."¹⁷

In 1556, harlots were ordered to wear a distinctive dress when they appeared on the streets of Edinburgh. The following year Besse Campbell, when brought before the magistrates, promised that she would desist and cease from making aquavitæ, or selling it in the burgh, except on the market day. It appears from various records that the use of spirits and strong drink was very common among all classes of the people; drink-money and drink-silver was quite a common phrase in the accounts paid to the different classes of workmen employed by the Town Council.¹⁸

In Catholic times a form of penance was sometimes imposed on offenders as a part of their punishment. In the year 1523, John Pitt, a tailor in Aberdeen, was convicted, on his own confession, for disobeying David Anderson, one of the bailies. The tailor had refused to take his proper place, with the sign of his craft, in the Candlemas procession, and he abused the bailie and the merchants of the town by calling them "coffers, and bidding them take the salt-pock and the fire-brush in their hands". For this offence, he bound himself before the council to appear the next Sunday bare-headed and bare-footed in the church, in the time of high mass, with a wax-candle in his hand, and to offer it to their patron saint, Nicholas; he also promised to have the usual token of his craft on his breast—that is, a pair of patent shears; and then to sit down humbly on his knees, and beseech the provost to remit his fault. Besse Dempster was convicted, in 1538, before the council by a jury, for the asper-

¹⁷ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 294, 295, *et seq.*; Vol. III., p. 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 248, 262; see also *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*.

sion of David Reid, both by word and deed ; and a part of her punishment was that, on the next Sunday, she should go before the procession, with nothing on her but her shift, and enter the high church with a wax-candle in her hand, and offer it "to the holy blood light"; and then sit down on her knees, and beseech the magistrates and the good men of the town to request David to forgive her. In 1544, the Town Council commanded Mage Durtty, who had been twice convicted before, and at this time for disturbing Janet Lesly, that she must go the next Sunday, with a wax-candle burning in her hand, into the church, and sit down on her knees, and ask Janet to forgive her. But if ever she again committed such offences, they ordained that "her crag should be put in the joughs". Thomas White was convicted by the bailies, in 1549, for interfering with David Reid, an officer in the execution of his duty, and for assaulting Duncan Fraser. He was ordered to appear on Sunday in the church, in the time of high mass, bare-headed and bare-footed, with a wax-candle in his hand, and then sit down on his knees, and ask the magistrates and council to forgive him, and the officer, and Duncan Fraser ; and, finally, to offer the candle to St. Nicholas light.¹⁹

There is little variation in these cases of public penance, but they enable us to understand some of the peculiar features of the Catholic system ; and it will be found that something of the old forms of penance passed into the discipline of the Reformed Church. Although the hierarchy in Scotland was tottering to its fall, and was upon the very brink of destruction ; yet within a few years of the Reformation the surface of things was seemingly little disturbed. In 1555, John Sandris, a couper, and his wife, were tried and convicted by the bailies of Aberdeen, for striking and drawing blood of Thomas Gellane and his wife ; and their sentence was that they should pay Thomas twenty shillings, to be given to the barber for curing his wounds ; and

¹⁹ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 93, 154, 155, 198, 206, 212, 271, 272, 429, 445.

to go next Sunday to St. Nicholas Church, in the time of high mass, each of them with a candle of wax in their hands, and there ask forgiveness of Thomas and his wife. The same year, other two persons in Aberdeen underwent penance in a similar form for their offences.²⁰

All classes of the people had a habit of swearing hideous oaths. The literature of the period contains ample evidence of the numerous oaths which were common among the Scots. The writings of Sir David Lyndsay alone exhibit upwards of fifty varied forms of oaths.²¹ Parliament, in 1551, passed an act touching—"the abominable swearing, execration, and blaspheming of the name of God, swearing in vain by His precious blood, body, and wounds; devil stick, cummer-gor, reist or rife them, and other vulgar oaths and execrations against the command of God. Yet, both among the high and low, it has come into such vain-glorious use that the people may be heard daily and hourly blaspheming openly God's name and majesty." The remedy proposed was a graduated scale of fines for those who could pay them; and the poor people found guilty of swearing were to be put in the stocks or imprisoned for four hours; but women guilty of swearing were to be treated according to their blood and station, and the parties with whom they were coupled.²²

Some of the habits of the people and their modes of living were extremely defective. This appeared most in the deplorable sanitary state of the towns. The necessary conditions of health were but little understood, and usually disregarded, till pestilence reached a height which compelled the authorities to take

²⁰ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, pp. 282, 285, 288.

²¹ In a note on Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, Chalmers says—"The one-half of conversation in that age, both in England and in Scotland, was made up of swearing." And he then gives a list of the most fashionable oaths which occur in Lyndsay's play, and they amount to thirty-three. Among them may be mentioned the following:—"By God's wounds; by God's cross; by God's bread (that is, the altar); by Him that made the moon; by Him that herried hell; by our Lady; by St. Mary; by sweet St. Gile;" and so on.—*Works of Sir D. Lyndsay*, Vol. I., pp. 360-363.

²² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 435.

active measures, and endeavour to mitigate the suffering. The streets of the towns, and the houses of the poorer classes, were in a wretched state; and throughout this century the country was never long free from the pest. Many acts of parliament and council were passed for dealing with the pestilence, and the records of all the burghs are full of regulations about it; but they are chiefly remarkable for the single idea that to prevent contact with the persons affected with the disease was the only remedy and protection from it. The efforts of the authorities were mostly directed to this, and thorough cleanliness seems to have been greatly neglected and undervalued. The authorities, however, often showed commendable energy to prevent the spread of the pest by actual contact; they exerted themselves to separate those affected with the disease from the healthy portion of the people; and, in carrying out their regulations on this point, they frequently acted with great determination.²³ But it is now well known, though as yet only imperfectly acted upon, that the rational mode of preserving health depends on the proper sanitary conditions of the country, and especially of the great centres of population—thorough drainage and sewerage arrangements, which tend to promote the general vigour of the entire population of the Island.

In Scotland the streets even of the chief towns were not lighted at night. The Town Council of Edinburgh, in November, 1554, ordained that, “for eschewing of the evil doings of the vagabonds and others who go in the burgh on the night, stealing and robbing within the same, that there be nightly, from this day forth till the 24th of February, lanterns and bowets be set out and lighted at five o’clock in the evening, and to burn till nine, by the following persons:—Each barber on the highgate, each candlemaker on the highgate, each apothecary, each taverner, each baker, and each common cook, to have a

²³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vols. II., III.; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vols. I, II.; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Peebles, Perth, and Dundee.*

lantern or bowet burning in front of their shops and houses during the said hours ; and likewise each brewer in the closes and outwith should furnish a bowet ; and also that all the persons dwelling in closes must furnish bowets night about, as they shall be ordered by the bailies : and where it happens that two candlemakers or barbers dwell near to each other, then the bailies shall put one of their bowets to any other place as he pleases ; and these parties were required to comply with this statute under a fine of two shillings.”²⁴ This was a primitive enough mode of lighting the streets of the capital of a kingdom.

Reference has already been made to the oppressive burdens which were imposed upon the tenants, the occupiers, and the tillers of the land. Contemporary literature abounds with evidence of the wretched state of those classes of the people. Sir David Lyndsay enumerates by name several of the burdens which the landlords enforced from their tenants ; such as “the great fine on the renewal of leases,” and the fines which had to be paid on the marriage of their daughters.²⁵ In the *Complaynt of Scotland*, which was published in 1549, the oppression of the tenants and labourers of the ground is touchingly related. Their corn and cattle were often reft from them, and they were then turned out of their holdings. The poor especially were excessively oppressed.²⁶

But it is only justice to notice the efforts which were made to relieve the sufferings of the poor and helpless prior to the Reformation. In 1535, parliament enacted that the poor who cannot work should be supported by the parish in which they were born.²⁷ In 1553, James Henderson laid proposals before the Town Council of Edinburgh for the improvement of the burgh ; and it was then suggested that a new hospital should be built, with forty beds, for helpless men and women, with a

²⁴ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 204-205.

²⁵ *Works*, Chalmers's Ed., Vol. II., pp. 6-7, 118 ; Vol. III., p. 147.

²⁶ Dr. Murray's Ed., p. 123, *et seq.*

²⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II.

priest, a surgeon, and a doctor attached to it. This scheme does not appear to have been carried out; but about that time the necessity of some mode of assisting the helpless poor was recognised in Edinburgh. The Town Council, in 1555, appointed a committee to devise means for supporting the poor, and expelling sturdy beggars from the town. The next year, the council appointed two men to receive the bread and the silver collected for the poor, and to distribute this among them till the next term. In 1557, the council resolved to provide for the maintenance of the poor in the meantime: and they passed several acts, in 1559, for expelling beggars who did not belong to the town; and proposed to make provision for their own poor, according to the act of parliament and the statutes of the burgh.²⁸ There had been hospitals for the sick and the infirm in many places throughout the country;²⁹ but most of them had fallen into a state of decay; and as yet there was not a definite scheme of giving assistance to the poor, although the matter had frequently engaged the attention of public bodies.

The religious feelings and opinions of the people themselves, as manifested in their daily life during this revolutionary period, is a highly interesting subject. An attempt will be made to show their real sentiments immediately before the crisis of the Reformation; and this line of exposition will be consecutively followed to the close of the century.

In 1514, the Town Council of Aberdeen resolved to impose a tax for buying ornaments and books to the church of their "glorious patron Saint Nicholas". At the same time they ordained that no burgess should be admitted, nor any unfreeman licensed to sell, without the payment of a certain sum of money for the repairing of St. Nicholas church and choir. This act was often repeated, and similar ones enacted with the consent

²⁸ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 169-172, 232, 261; Vol. III., pp. 50-51. The most common mode of dealing with the poor in the burghs seems to have been to grant liberty to those who were born in the town to beg, and then expel all other beggars. See *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., p. 234.

²⁹ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 491.

of the whole community of the city.³⁰ The citizens also gave voluntary contributions for furnishing ornaments to the altars of their "glorious Saint Nicholas"; and in many other ways exhibited their feelings by bestowing a liberal share of the good things of the earth and of the waters on the church.³¹ The Town Council of Edinburgh, in 1518, ordained that the servants of the guild and the beadle should keep the College church of St. Giles and its choir free from all evil persons in the time of matins, high mass, and even song; and no beggars were to be permitted to enter the church at such times. In 1521, the Town Council resolved that the dean of guild and seven others should form a committee, to meet every Friday, and sit one hour, and deliberate and advise touching the good of the church; and the making of freemen and guild brethren. The Council, in 1546, ordered that all the fines taken from those who had broken the price of wine, should be applied to the reparation of the high altar; and the following year the magistrates concluded that the tavern-keepers should be poinded for the dues which they owed to St. Anthony's altar. In 1552, the magistrates entered into a contract for making the stalls of the choir of St. Giles; and in 1555, they appointed a man to sing in the choir at the masses of Our Lady and the Holy Blood; and for this service he was to receive twenty merks a-year. The same year the council ordered their treasurer to pay the musicians who played before St. Giles on that saint's day. In the beginning of the year 1556, the provost and bailies granted to Alexander Scott a pension of ten pounds for one year only, for his attendance and singing in their choir on all the festival days, and playing on the organ when he was requested by the authorities of the town. On the 5th of November, 1557, the Town Council granted the benefice of St. Andrew's altar in St. Giles' church to Robert Craig, the son of

³⁰ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 88, 89, 96, 178, 179, 218, 235, 248.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120, 149, 151, 180, 279, 299.

a goldsmith, "who promised to be a priest within two years, or else to renounce his prebendary".³²

Touching the processions in which the craftsmen joined on the notable saints' days, the fullest accounts of these half-religious pageants are contained in the Records of Aberdeen, where they were an important institution. It appears, however, that these displays sometimes ended in "bickerings," that is, a general uproar, especially among the young.³³ In 1531, the Town Council of Aberdeen passed the following statute: "According to the lovable custom and rite of this burgh, and of the noble burgh of Edinburgh, of which rite and custom the provost has gotten a copy: that is to say, that in the name of God and the blessed Virgin Mary, the craftsmen of this burgh, in their best array, keep and decorate the procession, as on Corpus Christi day and Candlemas day, as honourably as they can, every craft with their own banner, with the arms of their craft thereon, and they shall pass each craft by themselves, two and two, in this order:—First the fleshers, and next the barbers; next the skinners and furriers together; next the shoemakers; next the tailors; after them weavers, walkers, and listers together; next them the bakers; and last of all, nearest to the Sacrament, passes all the hammermen—namely, smiths, wrights, masons, coupars, slaters, goldsmiths, and armourers. And every one of the said crafts, in the Candlemas procession, shall furnish their pageants according to the old statute of the year of God 1510." The crafts were ordered to furnish their pageants as follows:—"The fleshers, St. Bestian and his tormenters; the barbers, St. Lawrence and his tormenters; the skinners, St. Stephen and his tormenters; the shoemakers, St. Martin; the tailors, the coronation of Our Lady; the listers, St. Nicholas; the weavers, walkers, and bonnetmakers, St. John; the bakers, St. George; the hammermen, the Resurrection and the Cross."³⁴

³² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. I., pp. 177, 208; Vol. II., pp. 125-127, 142, 174, 218, 220, 236; Vol. III., p. 12.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 8, 73.

³⁴ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 449-451.

We turn to another class of illustrations of the religious sentiments of the people. The shoemakers of Edinburgh were incorporated by a seal of cause 1510, and this deed contains rules touching payments to the altar of the craftsmen. "For augmentation of divine service at the altar of St. Crispin, in the College Church of St. Giles, we desire that the following statutes, articles, and rules, should be sanctioned by your authority." Every apprentice at his entry to the craft had to pay six shillings and eightpence, for upholding of divine service at the altar of St. Crispin; and when a shoemaker commenced business as a master, he had to pay four marks to the altar of St. Crispin. Every master had to pay one penny weekly for keeping the altar in repair, and each of his servants a halfpenny. All the fines for breaking the rules of the craft, or disobeying the kirk-master, were also to be applied to the service of the altar of St. Crispin. The candlemakers were incorporated in 1517; and it is stated in their seal of cause, "that when they set up shop, each must pay to St. Giles' work half a mark of silver, and to the reparation and upholding of the light of any altar in St. Giles' church, where the deacon and craftsmen think it most needful, half a mark weekly; ay, and until they be furnished with an altar of their own. And, likewise, each master of the craft, in honour of Almighty God and his Blessed Mother St. Mary, and of our patron St. Giles, and of all the saints of heaven, shall give the sum of ten shillings yearly to the helping and furnishing, either of light or any other needful thing, to any altar in the church of St. Giles." The bakers were incorporated in 1523, and their patron was St. Cuthbert, whose altar was in St. Giles; and they kept a chaplain of their own to perform divine service at their altar. All the fines for disobeying the rules of the craft were to be devoted to the altar, chiefly in the form of wax candles to lighten the church and enliven the worship. The tailors had St. Ann for their patron; and they also had an altar and a chaplain of their own, "who said prayers". The bounetmakers were under the protection of St.

Mark: indeed almost every craft had its special saint and altar.³⁵

In the preceding pages I have indicated what the religious sentiments of the people were, as manifested in their life and action; the next point is to look for the signs of the new religious opinions among them before the crisis of the revolution. The magistrates of Aberdeen in 1525 received a letter from the King, stating that the bishop of the diocese had informed him that there were several persons in the district who had the books of the heretic Luther, and who favoured his opinions; and the act of parliament newly passed against heresy was ordered to be proclaimed, and a searching inquisition made of all suspected persons within the bounds of the diocese. The king's letter and the act of parliament were both inserted in the records of the city. There is no more mention of heresy in Aberdeen till 1544, when some of the citizens were committed, and convicted for injuring the black friars. The same year two of the townsmen were found guilty of hanging the image of St. Francis. In the beginning of the year 1559 the buildings of the black and the gray friars were attacked by some of the citizens, who were assisted by certain strangers; and the bailies inquired whether these buildings should be preserved for the good of the town, "and the setting forth of God's glory, and the suppression of idolatry"; notwithstanding the provost's protest, which was adhered to by fifteen of the inhabitants, in March, the whole community of "the good town" resolved to support the

³⁵ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. I., pp. 127-129, 170-172, 214, 215; Vol. II., pp. 22-24, 48-50, 52-55, 61-66, *et seq.* The skinners and furriers of Edinburgh were incorporated in 1533. "In example of others, and for augmentation of divine service at the altar of St. Christopher our patron, in the college church of St. Giles. Seeing that all virtuous practices depends on a good beginning, thence persevering and advancing to the end, therefore all those who set up as skinners and furriers should pay five pounds for the maintaining of divine service at their altar of St. Christopher; unless, indeed, they be skinners' sons within this burgh, in which case, they shall only pay ten shillings. Every master who has a shop, should pay one penny weekly to the reparation of the ornaments of our altar and sustaining of the priests' meat thereof, as it comes about."—*Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 61, 62.

Lords of the Congregation. In the month of June the chaplains of St. Nicholas Church petitioned the magistrates to devise some means for defending their church, and for preserving the chalices, silver work, caps, and ornaments, till the uproar and tumult of the people was quelled by the ancient and wise council of the kingdom.³⁶

In 1554, the Town Council of Edinburgh passed an act against the makers of defamatory and blasphemous ballads. The ballads had been placed before the people, and had raised discord among them; but the parties who composed them were unknown, and the bailies ordered that no one should dare to make such ballads, under the penalty contained in the common laws. On the 22nd of September, 1556, the archbishop of St. Andrews sent a document to the town council of Edinburgh, touching the images which had been taken down in the churches; and the council agreed to make inquiry concerning the matter, and to report to the justice clerk. The next day the council received a message from the queen regent, in the name of the primate, which she desired to be inserted in the records of the burgh. "As we are informed that there are certain odious ballads and rhymes lately set forth by some evil-inclined persons of your town, who have also taken down divers images, and contemptuously broken them—which is a thing very slanderous to the people, and contrary to the ordinances and the statutes of Holy Kirk—and we understand that the makers of this disorder are all indwellers and inhabitants of your town. Wherefore we charge you that immediately after the sight hereof, ye diligently inquire, search, and seek for their names, and deliver them in writ to our cousin the archbishop of St. Andrews, to be used according to the statutes of the Kirk; assuring you, if ye do not your utmost endeavours therein to bring the same to light, that ye shall be considered by us favourers and maintainers of such persons, and shall underlay the same punishment that they ought to sustain, in case we get

³⁶ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 206, 211, 315-323.

knowledge thereof by you.”³⁷ Thus we see that the popular ballads had an influence upon the revolutionary movement.

In June, 1559, Mathew Stevenson, a servant of a barber, was accused before the council of Edinburgh for throwing stones at the windows of the buildings of the black and the gray friars, the last night that he was upon the watch. He pleaded guilty, and his master became bail for his appearance when required. On the 27th of June the council appointed a number of persons to whom the vestments, the ornaments, and the gear of the church of St. Giles were committed for safety. The council met in the Tolbooth on the 29th of June, and after long reasoning upon the coming of the Lords of the Congregation to Edinburgh, they at last resolved to send a deputation to meet them at Linlithgow; and to arrange with them for the preservation of the religious buildings and the churches of the burgh.³⁸ There is something very touching in the anxiety and the care which the town council of Edinburgh exhibited for the preservation of the furnishing and the ornaments of their churches, which, as we have just seen, had been so long and so closely associated with their altars, and with the religion of their fathers.

Section II.

AFTER THE REFORMATION.

When the Protestants came into power the evidence of the great change was soon seen in the proceedings of the citizens. In May, 1560, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordered their treasurer to pay the sum of forty pounds for furnishing the household of their minister, John Knox, and because he had been living with David Forester since he came to the town, to settle this account also; and they ordered the treasurer to pay for a lock to Knox's lodgings. In June the council ordered that

³⁷ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 199, 200, 251, 252.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 40-45.

twenty pounds should be paid to John Willock, the Reformer. At the same time the council and the deacons of the crafts resolved that the bell, called the Mary Bell, and the brazen pillars of the Church of St. Giles, should be made into cannon for the use of the town; and they directed that the silver work belonging to the town, and which was used in St. Giles' church in by-past times, both the gilt and the ungilt, should be at once sold or coined into money; and the whole of the vestments, caps, and other gear of the church were to be sold, and the proceeds to be applied to the common works of the town, and especially to the rebuilding of the interior of the church according to the requirements of the new order of worship. The dean of guild and the treasurer were appointed to carry these arrangements into effect.³⁹ In the beginning of January, 1561, the Town Council of Aberdeen agreed to sell all the silver and brass work, the images, and the ornaments of the Church of St. Nicholas; and the whole of the inhabitants of the city were warned to attend on the 6th of January and see these articles sold by auction. The caps brought one hundred and forty-two pounds,

³⁹ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 63-65, 66, 70-71, 85. The interior of the churches of Edinburgh were refitted on the 1st of August, 1560, and the deacon of the tailor craft presented the following complaint to the provost and council:—"Bearing in effect that the traves close room or seat, built and made by command of James Barron, dean of guild, at St. Anne's altar, sometimes called the tailor's altar, ought and should be removed, and the deacon and brethren of the tailor craft permitted to build their seats there, to be used by them and their craft at all sermons and other times convenient and none others, conform to their old possession; to this it was answered, and for plain ordinance by the provost, bailies, council, and deacons, declared, that in respect of the goodly order now taken in religion all title and claim to altars and such other superstitious practices are and should be abolished, and no further word nor claim thereof to be in time coming; but as it is commanded by God's most holy Word brotherly amity should be amongst us who are joined in his congregation, the nobility, provost, bailies, council, elders, and deacons, being first placed, the honest merchants and the honest craftsmen to place and set themselves together as loving brethren and friends in that and all other places of the church vacant at all times needful, providing always that nowhere the apprentices or servants of the merchants or the craftsmen, or other common people take up the places and seats of the said merchants and craftsmen; and this act to take effect without alteration in all time coming."—*Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 71.

the brass work brought sixteen shillings the stone, and the silver work was sold at twenty-one shillings the ounce ; and the total sum of the sale amounted to five hundred and forty pounds. Two men, David Menzie and Gilbert Collison, dissented and protested against this sale for themselves and their adherents, but the goods were delivered to the purchasers by the voice of the majority.⁴⁰ On the 8th of May, 1562, the town council resolved to apply the above sum of money to the building of a pier and quay-head ;⁴¹ so swiftly had the religious notions of men changed their form.

It will be seen that a new epoch had begun. When objects which had been venerated for many centuries, and also believed to be possessed of uncommon virtues, were turned into cash and cannon, and applied to build harbours, it becomes obvious that a revolution had been effected. The citizens of Edinburgh entered warmly and earnestly into the reformation movement. The town council and some of the deacons of the crafts met in June, 1560, and having considered the great number of idolaters, whoremasters, and harlots who daily resorted within the borough, provoking the indignation of God upon it, as had been oftentimes foreshadowed by the preachers, so they issued a proclamation in a comprehensive form—"That all such persons should come into the presence of the ministers or the elders, and give testimony of their conversion from such abuses before next Sunday, or failing that, the said idolaters to be defamed by setting them upon the market cross, there to remain for the space of six hours ; and carrying of the said whoremasters and harlots through the town in a cart for the first fault : and burning of both classes of offenders on the cheek for the second fault, and banishment from the town ; and for the third fault to be punished to the death". On the 20th of September, 1560, the town council ordered the act of parliament against idolaters to be proclaimed.⁴² On the 30th of October, the town

⁴⁰ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 328-329, 331.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁴² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 65, 82-83

council enacted that henceforward the holiday commonly called Sunday should be kept by all persons in the borough, and that no one make market, nor open their shops, nor exercise any worldly calling on this day, but that all should attend the ordinary sermons both in the forenoon and in the afternoon: "And that from the first toll of the bell announcing the hour of the sermon to the final end thereof there should be neither meat nor drink sold in open taverns, but that during this time they should be closed. That the flesh market, which used to be held on Sunday, should be henceforth held upon the Saturday; and that the cattle market at the House of the Muir, which had been held in past times on Sunday, should in all time coming be held on the Thursday." At the same time they passed an act against swearing and taking God's name in vain, under the penalty of being placed in the iron branks, "there to remain during the pleasure of the judge". They also ordained concerning taverns: "Because in past times the iniquity of women taverners in this borough has been a great occasion of whoredom, insomuch that there appears to be a brothel in every tavern; therefore all vintners of wine who may engage women taverners before the next Martinmas hereafter were to be certified, that if their women committed any immoral fault they should have to pay forty pounds, except they deliver the offender into the hands of the bailie, to be banished according to the laws, as soon as the offence comes to their knowledge".⁴³ In November the same year, John Sanderson the deacon of the fleshers, was convicted for adultery, and the bailies sentenced him to be carted through the town and then banished. But when the deacons of the various crafts heard of the sentence and when their aid was asked to carry it into execution, they unanimously dissented, and declared that they would not allow such extreme punishment to be inflicted upon any honest craftsman. The bailies and council then applied to the Lords of the

⁴³ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 85-86.

Privy Council for their help and support in this case, and after much haggling the affair was at last settled.⁴⁴

These social immoralities not only engaged the attention of the borough magistrates and the courts of the Reformed Church, but Parliament also and the Privy Council passed acts for their suppression. There can be no doubt that a clearer sense of the enormity of social vice originated with the Reformation; the most strenuous efforts were made to purify the feelings and the sentiments of the people, as well as to purge the nation of idolatry. The first General Assembly of the Reformed Church declared that fornication should be punished according to the law of God, and that public repentance should be made by those who were guilty of this sin. All through the acts and proceedings of the Assemblies of the Church the clergy, as may be seen, were incessantly and earnestly striving to improve the morals of the people.⁴⁵ It is indeed disagreeable to touch much on these matters, but social vice affects the very foundation of society and should not be summarily dismissed; a false delicacy which would ignore the roots of social evil and immoral wickedness, will never do much to help the onward and upward movement of mankind towards a higher civilisation and a happier existence.

As we have seen, the clergy were well supported by the authorities of the towns, and especially by those of Edinburgh, in their efforts to reform the morals of the people. In November, 1561, the bailies of Edinburgh banished an adulterer; and in May, 1562, they prepared a hole in the North Loch for dipping fornicators in, as the best means of suppressing them. On the 6th of November, 1562, the town council passed an act which required the bailies to search all parts of the town for offenders of this description, and to apprehend them, whether man or woman, without exception of persons; "and then put them fast in the iron-house, and there to be fed on bread and

⁴⁴ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 89-95. Compare the *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 345, 367-370.

⁴⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 5, 19, 29, 39, 44, 54-55, 79, 91, 98, 114, 140, 170, 180, 267, 308, 366, 377, 379, 388, 536, 953, *et seq.*

water only for the space of a month, and afterwards to banish them from the town for ever. And suchlike offenders who had been tried and convicted by order, both the man and the woman must be scourged at the cart's end through the streets and banished from the town; aye, and until some evidence be presented to the kirk and the magistrates of the amendment of their lives; and this order was to be observed in Edinburgh till it should please the Almighty to move the hearts of the higher powers to establish better laws for the punishment of these crimes." In December the town council ordered a prison to be prepared for the reception of adulterers and fornicators, which was to be sure and lockfast.⁴⁶

The wish expressed in the last paragraph was realised. In 1563, parliament passed an act against notorious adulterers; and the Lords of Council in 1564 passed an act prohibiting brothels, either openly or privately, under the penalty of eight days' imprisonment with bread and water, and then to be scourged through the town, for the first fault; and for the second fault to be burned on the cheek and banished from the town for ever. At the same time the Lords of Council ordered that those convicted of fornication should be punished in the following manner:—"For the first fault they shall pay the sum of forty pounds, or else both he and she shall be imprisoned for the term of eight days, and their food to be bread and small drink, and thereafter presented in the market-place of the town bare-headed, and there to stand fastened that they may not remove for the space of two hours, from ten o'clock to twelve noon. For the second fault, when convicted, they shall pay the sum of one hundred marks, or else sixteen days' imprisonment on bread and water only, and in the end to be fastened in the market-place, and the heads of both the man and the woman to be shaven; and on conviction for the third fault they shall pay one hundred pounds, or else the above term of imprisonment, their food to be bread and water only, and in the end to be taken to the deepest

⁴⁶ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 129, 135, 152, 154.

and the foulest pool of water in the town or parish, and there to be thrice ducked, and thereafter to be banished from the town for ever ; and thenceforward that however often they may be convicted for this vice the third penalty to be executed upon them." Parliament repeated this act in 1569 ; and it was then enacted that incest should be punished by death. The vice of adultery was also made punishable by death according to the acts of parliament. But in spite of the severity of the laws this vice continued to be common ; and as late as 1592 an act was passed which declared that the crime of adultery was daily increasing.⁴⁷ The citizens of Edinburgh had anticipated Parliament and the Privy Council, and it was because a portion of the people were prepared to enforce a better social order that stamps these acts with importance.

In 1562, the General Assembly resolved to petition the queen for the punishment of all vice which the law of God commanded, but which, as yet, was not commanded by the public laws of the kingdom. : As blaspheming of God's name, contempt of the Word and sacraments, perjury, breaking of the Sunday by holding common markets on that day, and profane talking. The clergy directed their efforts especially to the abolition of markets on the Lord's-day.⁴⁸ This is a point of much interest, and well deserves to be further explained. We have seen that the Town Council of Edinburgh passed an act, in October, 1560, immediately after the establishment of the Reformation, ordering the Sunday to be observed ; and it may safely be assumed that the ministers of Edinburgh had been consulted by the magistrates before this act was passed.

The Lords of Council passed an act in 1564, which re-enacted the statute of James IV. : it prohibited the holding of markets on holydays, or in churches or in churchyards. But this act, like many others, had never been observed, and the

⁴⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 539 ; Vol. III., pp. 25-26, 213, 543 ; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 296-298 ; Vol. II., pp. 306, 499 : *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 13-14, 22-40, 78-80, 84, 100, 169.

⁴⁸ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 19, 30

Council ordained that no markets should be held on Sunday, nor in churchyards. And in July, 1569, the regent issued a proclamation prohibiting markets on Sunday; and it directed the authorities throughout the country to seize and confiscate the goods of those who exposed anything for sale on Sunday. The provost and bailies of Elgin were charged by the Lords of Council, in November, 1569, to put the acts prohibiting markets on Sunday into execution. It was further ordered that in all the free burghs common harlots should be banished; and the provost and bailies of Elgin were imprisoned for not executing these acts. In 1574, the magistrates of Aberdeen were enjoined by the Lords of Council to prohibit markets on Sunday, within the bounds of the freedom of the burgh, under the penalty of forfeiting all the goods offered for sale on that day.⁴⁹ Parliament, in 1579, re-affirmed the act of James IV., and added, that as markets were still held in the towns and in the country on Sunday, and that the people still continued to work at their usual occupations on the Lord's-day, or gamed and played, and passed the day in taverns, and remained away from the church in the time of sermon and prayers: it was therefore anew enacted that no markets should be held on Sunday, nor in churches, nor in churchyards, on any other days, under the penalty of forfeiting the goods exposed for sale, and the proceeds thereof to be given to the poor of the parish. All manual labour was strictly forbidden on Sunday, and the frequenting of ale-houses, and the selling of meat and drink, and also all gaming and playing, under the penalty of severe fines, which were to be applied to the relief of the poor and helpless.⁵⁰

In 1574, the Town Council of Glasgow ordered that every Sunday one of the bailies, with an officer and some other honest men, should pass through the town to visit the taverns and the flesh-market; and if any flesh was found for sale after nine

⁴⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 296, 688; Vol. II., pp. 64-65, 390.

⁵⁰ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 138.

o'clock, it was to be confiscated, and given to the poor; and if the taverners offered any contempt, they were to be punished according to the judgment of the council. In 1576, two persons were convicted in Glasgow for selling meal in their houses on Sunday; and the same year the council and bailies agreed to a conditional restriction touching the taking of salmon on Sunday. "No salmon-cobles were to be employed on the Sunday, within the freedom of the city, by the inhabitants thereof, providing that the whole of the cobles on the waters of the Clyde, burgh and land, do likewise and keep the same, and otherwise not." But in 1577, the Town Council of Glasgow concluded that no market should be held on Sunday, under the penalty of forfeiting all the goods exposed; yet some persons were shortly after convicted for selling flesh on Sunday.⁵¹ The Town Council of Aberdeen, in 1580, ordained that the fish-market should in future be held within the Iron-ring, and around the Fish-cross; and that on Sunday, from the ringing of the first bell in the forenoon and in the afternoon, until the sermon be done, there should be no market, under the penalty of the confiscation of the fish to the poor. The General Assemblies were always complaining that the acts of parliament and the Privy Council touching the keeping of Sunday were not enforced. In 1581, the Synod of Lothian complained before the General Assembly that the act of parliament for prohibiting markets on Sunday was not put into execution; that the people still continued to hold their markets on this day, and absented themselves from the church, and remained in their ignorance, and so atheism was increased.⁵²

But it is extremely difficult to change the customs of a people; and in spite of all the efforts of the clergy and the authorities, the observance of Sunday for many years after the Reformation was far from universal in Scotland. In 1588 the

⁵¹ *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, pp. 21, 48, 60, 63, 65, 74.

⁵² *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 38; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 253, 284, 536.

Town Council of Aberdeen recorded that many of the citizens stayed away from the church on Sunday, and passed to taverns and alehouses, dealt in merchandise, and continued at their hand labour during the time of the sermon, contrary to the order of the reformed church. The council then proposed the following scale of fines to be exacted from those who absented themselves from the preaching: "Every burgess of guild and his wife for their remaining from the sermon on Sunday, thirteen shillings and fourpence; and for their remaining from the sermon on the weekly days, two shillings. Every craftsman, householder, and other inhabitants, for remaining from the sermon on Sunday, six shillings and eightpence; and every week-day, twelve pence. And in case any merchant or burgess of guild be found in his shop after the ringing of the third bell on the week-day, he must pay six shillings and eightpence."⁵³ The days on which sermons were preached in Aberdeen, besides on Sunday, were the Tuesdays and Thursdays; and down to the present time there is a service in one of the city churches every Thursday, though sad to tell, few of the inhabitants are even aware of it.

In 1590 the General Assembly had to pass an act for restraining of the markets, the going of mills, the delivering of loads, and the selling of flour and fruit in Edinburgh on Sunday; and in 1592 parliament passed another act touching the holding of markets on Sunday. It enacted that the markets formerly held on Sunday, should be held on any other day of the week, except the day on which the neighbouring burgh held their market. In 1598 the town council of Aberdeen ratified the act passed before concerning the holding of markets on Sunday in the time of the sermon. From this it seems to follow that markets were still held on Sunday in Aberdeen about the end of the century, though not during the hours of worship.⁵⁴ Even

⁵³ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 62. Compare *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, p. 93.

⁵⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 776, 777; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 548; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 167.

as late as 1602, more than forty years after the reformation, the General Assembly reported that the churches in many places were not well attended, owing to the people continuing to labour on Sunday, especially during the harvest and seed-time, and also by the going of the mills, and many of the people who fished on Sunday for white fish and salmon. The Assembly ordered that all such labour upon the Lord's Day should cease, under the penalty of incurring the censures of the church; and at the same time the Assembly requested the king to enact some special punishment for those who persisted in working on Sunday.⁵⁵ The observance of Sunday in Scotland was not attained till after a long and vigilant struggle. On this point the reformed clergy and the magistrates both may have sometimes been rather severe; yet it is difficult to see how they could have reached their end otherwise. The importance of the day of rest, even on the comparatively low ground of the physical and social advantages resulting from it to the people themselves, is very great, apart from the higher aims of morality and religion.

It is true that the discipline of the reformed Church of Scotland assumed an austere and rigid form, although on the whole it was far more moral and vigorous than the system which it superseded; but in the special region of surface feeling and emotion it was weaker than its Catholic rival. The strongest element of Roman Catholicism has always consisted in the art of presenting to the human senses a variety of easily comprehended objects. The immense multitude of her saints and martyrs can be readily localised anywhere, and in the requisite proportion to fit the capacity of her humblest votary. In the chief church of the city or the parish there may be ten, twenty, thirty, or forty altars, and each dedicated to a particular saint, as in St. Giles at Edinburgh, where each of the different crafts of the town had their own special saint and altar, at which they worshipped. It must be confessed that there is something indescribably fascinating in the feeling of having the assistance and

⁵⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 996.

the protection of a great saint to one's self or his own class ; and the element of undisguised selfishness in it merely raises the emotion to a higher pitch, and enhances the value of the mutual benefits which spring out of the union between the saint and his devoted adherents. In this connexion everything has been very skilfully arranged for avoiding any unnecessary strain on the imagination of the worshipper : the image of his patron saint is pleasingly and gracefully posited before his eyes, and so he is relieved from all troublesome cogitation. As the God of the universe has condescended to make the Roman Catholic Church infallible, therefore the true Catholic can have no religious doubts ; he has no occasion to ruffle the serenity of his mind, for his church has settled everything, and his simple duty is to believe what she teaches, and he cannot be wrong. This is a primary article of faith with all genuine Roman Catholics ; and it has taken a firm hold on multitudes of the human race, and penetrates deeply into the minds of many earnest and able men : hence Roman Catholicism has a stronger tendency to make men docile and submissive than Protestantism. Those who believe that the church is infallible on earth and supreme in heaven, can have no motive to venture beyond the comparatively narrow circle marked out for them. Thus it is, that in those countries where Catholicism has most completely maintained its system, there has been little real progress in the region of science, or philosophy, or the higher criticism, and less freedom of thought, than among the Protestant nations. But in the realm of the fine arts Catholicism has held her own, if she has not always been able to maintain an unchallenged supremacy. Yet our deepest thoughts touching God, the world, and man, cannot be successfully handled by the figurative arts ; these thoughts are too abstract for fine art to illuminate them.

The discipline of the reformed Church was brought to bear upon the people in many ways. The process of censure which she then wielded was a great power. The form of excommunication used in the Church of Scotland was drawn up by John

Knox, and, as finally revised, it was adopted by the General Assembly in 1569. It is a treatise containing an enumeration of the crimes which deserve excommunication, the forms to be followed, the pains and penalties incurred under this sentence, the form of repentance, and the readmitting of the excommunicated person to the society of the Church.⁵⁶ The first part treats of summary excommunication; and under this head the following crimes are noted as deserving of such a sentence: "Wilful murderers, adultery, sorcery, witchcraft, conjuring, charming, giving of drink to destroy children, and open blasphemy against God and his holy Word, or railing against the Sacraments. All such persons ought to be excluded from the society of Christ's church, that their impiety might be held in greater horror, and that they might be the more deeply moved when they saw themselves abhorred by the godly. Against these open malefactors the process of summary excommunication might be applied." When the offender had been tried by a jury, the church was not to excommunicate him, but to proceed by way of admonition, and to show him how precious human life is in the sight of God, and that no one ought to shed blood, except by the sword of the magistrate; and upon sufficient evidence of repentance he was to be restored to the fellowship of the Church. If the offender was fugitive from the law, and his crime well known, then the sentence of excommunication should be pronounced without delay.⁵⁷ Then there were forms for receiving them again

⁵⁶ The General Assembly in 1563 requested John Knox to put in order the form and manner of excommunication. In 1567 the Assembly appointed a committee to revise the order of excommunication, composed by John Knox; and in 1568 the Assembly nominated John Craig, John Willock, John Row, Robert Pont, James Gray, William Christeson, and David Lindsay, to revise the order of excommunication, which had been penned by John Knox; and in 1569 the Assembly ordered it to be printed. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 37, 93, 131, 155. This treatise is printed in the Collection of Confessions published at Edinburgh, 1722, Vol. II., pp. 700-752. It is also printed in the sixth volume of Dr. Laing's collected edition of Knox's works, pp. 445-470.

⁵⁷ As may easily be conceived, the process of summary excommunication must have been open to grave and fatal abuse. In 1590 the General Assembly had under consideration the state of crime, such as murder, adultery, and incest;

into the society of the faithful. The penitent offender confessed his iniquity, that Satan had for a time gotten the victory over him ; and he had to present himself on three Sundays before being finally restored.⁵⁸

One class of offences came under the punishment of what was called public repentance, such as fornication, drunkenness, swearing, breaking the Sabbath, and common contempt of the order of the church. Lesser offences, as vain words and uncomely gestures deserved admonition.

The form of excommunication and the rules of the process for the case of the absolutely obstinate sinner who had resisted all admonition were minutely laid down. The final words of the sentence ran thus : " And at the command of this congregation, cut off, seclude, and excommunicate this man from the body and from our society, as a person slanderous, proud, a contemner, and a member, at present altogether corrupt and pernicious to the body. And this his sin by virtue of our authority we bind and pronounce it to be bound in heaven and in earth. We further

many persons guilty of these evil deeds eluded the Church by shifting from place to place, and thus continued to evade the final sentence. The question was then asked whether summary excommunication should be pronounced on persons falling into such odious crimes, and it was answered in the affirmative. But in 1595 the king proposed to the General Assembly that summary excommunication should be utterly abolished ; the Assembly however did not comply with his request, the subject was postponed. The point again came before the Assembly in 1597, and without giving a final decision, they agreed in the meantime to suspend all summary processes of excommunication. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 779-852, 853, 947.

⁵⁸ The Church in handling those guilty of capital crimes, proceeded with the aim of strengthening the hands of the magistrate. See *Acts of the General Assembly*.—*Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 144-145. "Those who have been excommunicated for their offences, should present themselves in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, on six preaching days, and the last one after sermon, to be received in their own clothes."—*Ibid.*, p. 159. Touching those guilty of heinous crimes but not excommunicated. "They should be placed in the public place, where they may be known from the rest of the people, bareheaded the time of the sermon ; and the minister must remember them in his prayer after the sermon : after going through this, they had to appear before the Assembly bareheaded and barefooted in linen clothes, and humbly to request the Assembly to restore them to the bosom of the Church." *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177, 283, 284, 309, 358, 583, 748, *et seq.*

give him over into the hands and the power of the devil to the destruction of his flesh." Every one who associated with or sheltered an excommunicated person rendered themselves liable to a similar sentence. The last part of this remarkable treatise laid down the mode of procedure for receiving the excommunicated person again into the fold of the faithful. The civil penalties attached to the sentence of excommunication was enough to make it a terrible punishment. No other punishment at all approaches the sentence that deprives a man of all intercourse with his fellowmen ; and probably if a human being was certain that no other person in the world sympathised with him, that he was abandoned and abhorred by all men and driven from their presence, he would not live. Even the most degraded individuals need the sympathy of their fellows. Among the criminal class this is the case ; the most hardened criminal feels that he has at least the sympathy of his companions and confederates. A criminal that has often eluded the hand of justice and defied the laws of his country is regarded as a hero among his own class ; or though he has been often convicted and suffered many years of imprisonment, still he is looked upon by his own class as a distinguished character, and he is conscious that he has their sympathy. But the man who was excommunicated in the 16th century was probably placed in a far more harrowing position than the very worst criminal of the present day.

The fast in the Reformed Church of Scotland was a mode of discipline which she at times resorted to ; there was a treatise on the subject composed by Knox and Craig, in 1565, by the authority of the General Assembly, so this exercise was reduced to a regular form.⁵⁹ When the General Assembly of 1565 proposed to hold a fast, the order and form to be observed was

⁵⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 279, 578-581, 590 ; 74. The treatise on fasting is printed in the *Collection of Confessions*, published in Edinburgh in 1722, Vol. II., pp. 642-700 ; and in the sixth volume of Laing's edition of *Knox's Works*, pp. 391-429.

drawn up and printed, and this form was afterwards followed, but with an additional statement of the special reasons why it was necessary to hold a national fast at certain times ; and a brief notice of these occasions will impart a vivid impression of the ideas and sentiments of the clergy and the state of society.

In 1572 the Assembly resolved that there should be a public humiliation among all who feared God and professed the true religion, with prayers and fasting throughout the kingdom, to begin on the 23rd of November, and to be continued to the last day of the month. " With the intent that the notorious offenders and open slanderers of the church may be brought to amend their lives, or else to be excluded from the society of the faithful. It was deemed necessary that before the fast the superintendents and the ministers should appoint certain days and call before them all the known offenders in their respective districts and parishes, such as murderers and their accomplices, adulterers, robbers of the patrimony of the Church and of other men's possessions ; commencing with the ministers themselves and the nobility, and then to proceed through every other class of the people, that wickedness and heinous crimes which offend the majesty of God may be purged out of the nation. A rigorous scrutiny was to be made of the diligence and the life of the clergy themselves, and also of the life of the nobility, who ought to be the chief example of the whole country."⁶⁰ The General Assembly that met in April, 1577, having considered the great iniquity that overflowed the whole face of the community, as it appeared by the light and revelation of the true religion, justly to provoke and stir up the justice of God to take judgment and vengeance on this unworthy and unthankful nation. " Observing also the many perilous storms and the rage of persecution daily invading the true Church of Jesus Christ ; and the extreme suffering of her members in France and elsewhere, and therefore earnest recourse should be had to God by prayers. To that end the Assembly appointed a fast in all the congregations of

⁶⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 252-253.

the realm, to begin on Sunday the 9th of July and to be continued to the following Sunday: and meantime to prepare themselves according to the usual order.”⁶¹ A whole week of fasting and praying and preaching could hardly fail to produce results of some kind.

The cry of the church uniformly was that corruption pervaded all classes of the nation, and therefore it was necessary to have recourse to fasting, and to call upon God to avert His righteous judgments impended over them. Another specimen of the language commonly used to express their ideas and sentiments as to the grounds of fasting, may suffice to illustrate this phase of the reformed religion as it was then understood and practised. The General Assembly in 1581, “ordained a general fast to be observed universally in all the kirks of the realm, with doctrine and instruction of the people, to begin the first Sunday of July and to be continued to the next Sunday thereafter inclusive, using in the meantime, exercise of doctrine according to the accustomed order; and the commissioners were to go to the king and request him to assist therein by sending out proclamations to that effect”. The causes of this fast are stated in the following order. “1. Universal conspiracies of the papists, and the enemies of God, in all countries against Christians, for execution of the bloodthirsty Council of Trent. 2. The oppression and thralldom of the Kirk of God. 3. Wasting the rents thereof without remedy. 4. Falling from the former zeal. 5. Flocking home of Jesuits and Papists. 6. Manifest blood-shed, incest, adultery, with such horrible crimes defiling the land unpunished. 7. The danger wherein the King’s majesty stands through evil company resorting about him, by whom it is feared he may be corrupted in manners and in religion. 8. Universal oppression and contempt of the poor.”⁶² About this time, the

⁶¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 390.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 409-410, 569-570, 730, 747. In 1596 the General Assembly drew up a list of what was called “The common corruptions of all the Estates within the realm”. This report gave a fearful description of the state of society. But there is always hope of amendment and reform for a

Church of Scotland stood almost alone in her bold and unflinching opposition to the pretensions of the Church of Rome. Through all the vehement and rude language of the Protestant clergy, they never forgot to plead for the oppressed and the struggling poor.

When a national fast was proclaimed by the church its observance was strictly enforced. In the General Assembly of 1580, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, the minister of Ceres, was questioned for not causing the fast to be observed within his bounds ; "so that when the rest of the country was humbled in fasting, there was no fasting in Fife". His answer was that he had done all that he could to cause the fast to be observed, but there were instances which no one could remedy, and these he had particularised in his report to the Assembly.⁶³ As we have seen, the saints' days, festivals, and holy-days, were all discarded at the Reformation ; and although sometimes here and there the people showed a tendency to revert to the observance of these,⁶⁴ the sermons on two days of the week, the occasional fast days, and the entire devotion of Sunday to religious exercises, were amply sufficient to satisfy the spiritual feeling and craving of the people.

But some of the old traditions and customs associated with the saints still exhibited signs of life amid the changed forms of worship and belief. This was strikingly manifested in connection with the venerated wells of the early saints. The General Assembly, in 1573, determined that the discipline of the church should be used against all such persons as went on pilgrimage

nation that has the heart and the honesty to acknowledge its errors and misdeeds. The clergy were not afraid to admit and proclaim their own shortcomings, and it is only foolish mockery to cry peace, peace, when crime, and injustice, and oppression, and vice, and suffering, abound on every side. Those who wish to see this representation of the state of society in Scotland at that period, should consult the original document in the records of the Church. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 864-867, 872-875.

⁶³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 451.

⁶⁴ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., pp. 25, 39, 66 ; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 332, 334, 389 ; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 390.

to wells; and it was deemed an offence that the magistrates ought to punish. In 1580, the church requested the government to make a special punishment for all those who went on pilgrimages to wells and churches, as a number of persons had lately passed on pilgrimages to the Holy Rood of Peebles, and to other places. The next year, the General Assembly craved that an act of parliament should be passed against persons who go on pilgrimages, and perform superstitious practices at wells, crosses, images, altars, or observe feasts on days dedicated to saints. Accordingly, parliament passed an act, in 1581, forbidding the people to go on pilgrimages to wells, chapels, and crosses, or to observe any festival days. "And such other monuments of idolatry—as making bonfires, singing of carols in and about the churches at certain seasons of the year, and the observing of other superstitious rites to the dishonour of God and the contempt of true religion." A severe fine was to be imposed upon all who broke the law for the first time, and for the second offence the penalty of death.⁶⁵ But only two years later, a question came before the Assembly as to how the minister should be punished, who bears with people repairing on pilgrimages to wells close beside their own manse, without ever reproving them, but rather encouraging them by entertaining them with meat and drink. The Assembly concluded that a minister guilty of such neglect of his obvious duty deserved to be deprived of his office.⁶⁶ In spite, however, of the acts of parliament and the discipline of the church, numbers of the people continued to visit the wells, to go on pilgrimages to certain churches, to make bonfires, and to keep holy-days.⁶⁷ In fact, many of the wells were repaired to down to the present century, and within my own recollection there were wells supposed to possess special virtues, and frequently resorted to by the people.

⁶⁵ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 280, 462, 535-536; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 212.

⁶⁶ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 638. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 720-721, 874, 1055, 1120.

The relation of the sexes at the time of the reformation was in an extremely unsatisfactory state. In the preceding volume of this work, it was shown that the institution of marriage had passed through various modifications, and that though the Roman Catholic Church had often attempted to make it a public and solemn act, she had only partly succeeded in overcoming the loose habits of the people.⁶⁸ In this volume it has already been indicated that the principle of celibacy imposed upon the Roman priesthood and the religious orders had the effect of lowering, instead of elevating, the feelings and sentiments naturally associated with the institution of marriage. The obvious fact could hardly fail to strike the mind that, if marriage is a good and lawful connexion instituted for the continuance and comfort of the race, the consequent inconsistency of prohibiting any class or profession from entering into it becomes rather palpable; for what is absolutely necessary to the continuance of the race, and calculated to increase the sum of human happiness, cannot be denied to any class of men without introducing a most invidious, immoral, and warping distinction. The principle of moral consistency is utterly shocked by the rules of a celibate priesthood, as if this pretension of unhuman purity exalted them above their fellow-men, and prepared and enabled them to become qualified instructors of mankind; as if the natural sentiments which cluster round the domestic hearth must be eradicated from their breasts; that when thus shorn and dwarfed, they will be better able to feel and understand what is needful for the well-being of humanity. First extinguish the strongest and most essential sentiments of the human heart, and then you have a priesthood admirably fitted to maintain their position as the enemies of all progress, of all liberty, of all freedom of thought; a priesthood that for ever struggles to uphold a belief in traditions and legends, in signs and wonders, and enfolds their adherents in a mesh of puerilities and absurdities well suited to the spirit of the Dark Ages.

⁶⁸ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 135-139, 260-261, 475-476.

The first General Assembly of the Reformed Church agreed to adopt the law of Moses, touching the degrees of blood relations in marriage. By it first cousins were allowed to marry with each other, and all remoter degrees, but in the direct line of descent marriage is forbidden throughout; this became law by act of parliament in 1567. It was found, however, to be difficult to bring the people under proper restraint in the relation of the different sexes; men and women had a custom of cohabiting after promising to marry, but still refraining from publicly solemnising their marriage. The church was forced to take severe measures against defaulters of this kind, and the reformed discipline was sternly applied. It was enacted by the General Assembly that every pair who wished to be married must give in banns to their parish minister and be proclaimed on three successive Sundays. In 1579 it was stated in the General Assembly that some of the ministers would solemnise marriage only on Sunday, while others married people upon week-days, which had raised much slander; and the Assembly was called upon to give a decisive answer on the point. The answer of the Assembly was, that when the parties had been thrice proclaimed they might be married on any day of the week if a sufficient number of witnesses were present.⁶⁹ But some persons were still married without proclamation of banns, and the General Assembly of 1597 resolved that none should be joined together in marriage unless they be thrice proclaimed in their own parish church, according to the custom observed in Scotland; and any minister who contravened the rule was to be deprived of his office, and the other parties ordained to satisfy the church by public repentance.⁷⁰

It was not necessary that marriage should be celebrated by a clergyman, and though it was the law of the church that banns should be proclaimed, the consent of the parties might be

⁶⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 26; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 5, 30, 32, 66, 72, 73, 114, 440-441.

⁷⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 939.

declared simply before witnesses. Even when no formal consent appeared, marriage was presumed from the cohabitation of a man and a woman, if reputed to be husband and wife ; before the civil courts of Scotland evidence of this kind was often held to prove marriage.⁷¹ When marriage was solemnised according to the order of the church it was called regular, when otherwise, clandestine, which, however, was held to be valid, though penalties were sometimes annexed to it.

In connexion with marriage some curious points were occasionally brought before the General Assembly. In 1575 this question was asked : " Whether the contract of marriage which used to be made before the proclamation of banns between the man and the woman should be made by words of the present time. The man saying to the woman, I take thee to be my wife, and the woman saying to the man, I take thee to be my husband ; or should there be no promise made till the very time of the solemnisation of the marriage. Answer—Parties to be married should come before the session and give in their names, that their banns may be proclaimed, and no further ceremony used." Again, it was asked what should be done in the following case : " A man and a woman in the presence of some of the parishioners were married in the parish church, or hand-fast by the reader, and thereafter mutually cohabited together at bed and board as married people, and were so reputed and holden. The minister of the same church, at the woman's desire, a good space after, leads a form of divorce between them in this manner : he calls the woman before him, and caused her to swear that her husband never had any sexual intercourse with her, and thereupon, without further questions at the man, decerns them separated and divorced from each other, the man always dissenting and still claiming her as his wife. Whether

⁷¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II. ; *Erskine's Principles of the Law of Scot.*, p. 66 ; 1802. The complete system of registration, established about thirty years ago, will ultimately supersede the necessity of having recourse to such evidence touching marriages.

is this form of divorce allowable in a reformed church that has received the Gospel, and if it be not, what correction does the minister deserve who usurped and used this manner of process and judgment?" The Assembly answered: "That this divorce was not lawful, and that the minister should be suspended and make public repentance". Once more: "A certain man with his accomplices ravished and took away a woman, and thereafter married her without proclamation of banns, and neither solemnised the marriage in the face of the church, but in a private house. Whether is this marriage lawful, or are children begotten therein legitimate or not? and what punishment should the minister receive who so abused marriage?" The Assembly answered that the minister should be deposed.⁷² In 1579 it was asked in the General Assembly: "What order should be taken with the persons who went to a popish priest to be married, and their banns not being proclaimed, should they be esteemed as married persons, and if not, what discipline should be used against them? It was answered: "This connexion is no marriage, and therefore ordains the persons to be called before the particular assemblies, and to make satisfaction as fornicators; and upon a new proclamation to be married according to the order of the Reformed Church, and the papist priest to be punished."⁷³

The question, at what age the young should be allowed to marry, came before the General Assembly in 1600. It was then stated that great inconveniences arose from the untimely marriages of young persons before they were of age meet for entering into this union. As yet there was no statute of the Church defining the age at which persons might marry; but it was then enacted that henceforth no minister should join in matrimony any persons, except the male be fourteen years of age, and the female at the least twelve years: the Assembly directed their commissioners to request parliament to ratify this

⁷² *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 143, 144, 345.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

act.⁷⁴ When the church was making an act on this important social point, she might have shown a little more wisdom, and not given her sanction to the marriage of persons at this early age. But, in justice to the Church, it must be mentioned that there was still an heirship of feudalism involved in the marriage of a certain class of individuals. This was a pecuniary casualty due to the superior from the heir of his former vassal, after the age of fourteen if a male, and if a female twelve; and thus there was an engrossing interest attached to the marriage of a portion of the landed class while they were minors, and under the control of their superiors. This marriage casualty arose from the right which the superior had over the person, as well as over the estates of the minor heir; and it was chiefly restricted to ward holdings, except where a special clause in the charter imported it. It was the privilege of the superior to dispose of the heir in marriage, and to take the marriage portion to himself; but if the minor heir refused the offered match, and named another, then he was not entitled to the possession of his lands after the ward ran out, till the superior was refunded the double of the value of the portion which would have accrued to him from the offered marriage. Seeing, however, that no man nor woman could be forced to marry, it was the interest of the superior to have the power of arranging this important affair, while the heir or heiress was very young; and so an extremely complicated mode of attaining this end was gradually introduced into the law of the kingdom.⁷⁵ Cases arising out of these peculiar rights of the superior, in connexion with the marriage of his vassals, frequently came before the courts;⁷⁶ and under various modifications these invidious privileges continued till 1748, when they were finally abolished.

⁷⁴ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 953. Erskine says, "But by our law, children may enter into marriage without the knowledge, and even against the remonstrances, of a father.—" *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, p. 66.

⁷⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II.; Vol. III.

⁷⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 311, 324, 326; Vol. II., pp. 470-472, 447, 693.

Regarding divorce, the doctrine of the Reformed Church was clear and emphatic. She insisted that marriage could only be dissolved either upon the head of adultery, or wilful desertion; and for obvious reasons she endeavoured to make divorce difficult. The church firmly maintained that divorced persons should not be permitted to marry their paramours; and at her request, parliament passed an act in 1600 prohibiting such unions.⁷⁷ Though there are two sides of this social question, at that time there was ample justification for the act.

It was already stated what had been done for the poor in the period preceding the reformation. From the first, the Reformed Church struggled to make provision for the really indigent poor, and also to relieve the labourers of the ground, and the oppressed tenants, from some of their burdens. In the first General Assembly, it was resolved to petition the government to make better laws for the protection of pupils and orphans; and in 1565, the Assembly took into consideration what should be done to those who oppressed children; then, in 1568, the Assembly passed this act: "As for the oppressors of children, they are to be admonished by the church to make public repentance in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, as often as the particular congregation shall appoint."⁷⁸ The following year, the General Assembly petitioned the government to make provision for the poor, and stated that a portion of the tithes should be applied to that purpose; at the same time, the Assembly requested that the poor labourers of the ground should have intromission to take their own tithes upon a reasonable composition. The reformed clergy in many ways exerted themselves to improve the material well-being of the people, as well as their moral and social state: there is evidence of this throughout the records of the period.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 19, 31, 146, 148, 197, 262, 267, 306, 333, 377, 524, 539, 953; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vols. III., IV.; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 7.

⁷⁸ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 6, 75, 125.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 306, 353, 339, 417, 425, 603. In 1587, the General

Every Sunday there was a collection in the churches for the poor; and there were other sources of revenue that should have fallen to them, but the revolution had diverted it into other channels. The government in 1574 ordered the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen to remove the organs out of their churches, and dispose of them, and to give the proceeds to the poor. They were ordered to sell the Gray Friars' Church and grounds to the highest bidder, except what was required for lodging the poor, and all the proceeds of the sale to be applied to sustain the poor. At the same time the Town Council of Aberdeen came under an obligation to build an hospital for the poor and impotent; and to put the croft and the mire and the house belonging to the leper folk, which lies between Old and New Aberdeen, into proper repair, for the support of the leper men and women, as it was originally intended. The community of the city the same year resolved that alms should be collected weekly by one of the elders of the church, and delivered to the keeping of the minister, to be distributed among the poor every month, according to the discretion of the session; but all the beggars not born in the town were to be removed, and the poor indwellers were ordered to wear the town's token on their outer garments that they might be known.⁸⁰ The Lords of Council passed an act in 1575 for the punishment of strong and idle beggars, and for providing support for the poor and helpless. In 1578 there was a great dearth in Scotland, and the Lords of Council discharged the customs

Assembly petitioned the king: "That order should be taken with the poor, who in such multitudes wandered up and down the country without law or religion." *Ibid.*, p. 715. The next year, the Assembly made a proposal that every minister should endeavour to deal with this moving mass of poor within his own parish. *Ibid.*, p. 731. Concerning the tenants and labourers of the ground, see pp. 22, 40, 49, 60, 108, 507, 511. It is very evident that when the nobles got possession of the church lands, they oppressed the tenants by exacting tithes and other dues, so that for some time the occupiers of the land were much harder pressed than before the reformation.

⁸⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 391-393, 402; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., pp. 20, 21.

on victuals imported, in order to mitigate the suffering of the poor.⁸¹

One difficulty of dealing with the poor arose from the defective police organisation: there was no adequate means for handling the multitude of strong beggars, "such as make themselves fools and bards," gipsies, and a host of other vagabonds who moved about and continually multiplied. It was a difficult task to separate all such persons from the really deserving poor, and this long hampered the laws relating to the latter class. The city of Aberdeen had an official whose duty it was to keep the town free from extraneous beggars "not born and bred within the borough". In 1577 the council agreed to give him forty shillings to buy a garment to himself, on which the town's arms was to be put; but then the council remitted "him to the session, to be helped and aided by them also, as his office concerns for the most part the ecclesiastical jurisdiction".⁸² When mixed notions of this kind prevailed regarding the jurisdiction of the civil and ecclesiastical spheres of action, we can easily see how the beggars would succeed. In 1574 parliament passed an act re-enacting the former acts against beggars and all idle persons between the age of fourteen and seventy, and proposed to inflict severe penalties upon them. This act also provided for the support of the poor, the aged, and the helpless, and it may be considered the first poor-law act of Scotland. It was repeated in 1579, and again, with some additions, in 1592, and once more in 1597. But the beggars and vagabonds still increased.⁸³ The centuries of anarchy had entailed a legacy of vagrancy which the government and the church vainly endeavoured to suppress: years and generations passed, and as yet all the influences of religion and the restraints of the law appeared equally powerless to remove the idle and the ruffian population who preyed upon the industrious inhabitants of the kingdom. A long train

⁸¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 435, 680.

⁸² *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 29.

⁸³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 86-89, 139, 579; Vol. IV.

of circumstances had concurred to feed the natural inclination to idleness and wandering among the people of Scotland ; and indeed a large portion of mankind have always manifested a similar tendency. But though the idle and criminal class were comparatively numerous, nevertheless, there was a gradual improvement going on among the settled classes of the people. Notwithstanding all the anarchy and the wretchedness of the nation, there was a core of vigour and health ; and the moral discipline which the church was so earnestly inculcating had begun to take root in the heart of the people.

The subject now to be noticed is one of melancholy interest, for the sad aberration of the faculties of the human mind which it manifested. A belief in magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and necromancy is a phenomenon which has afflicted mankind from the earliest ages onwards to the present day. It has assumed innumerable and endless forms. But whether it originated from ignorance, and has been sustained and continued through this ; or whether something akin to it must naturally arise from the constitution of man, and the circumstances in which he found himself placed in the universe, as some eminent philosophers seem to hold ; or whether it springs up gradually from a confused consciousness, at first tinged with an inclination, and latterly a deliberate intention to impose upon and deceive the people for interested ends, is a problem that cannot be directly answered here.⁸⁴ The manifestation of the feeling and the mind of the human race has been so diversified and unequally developed, that what is superstition and necromancy to one nation, may appear to another to be the only true religion in the world ; while that which another community believes and professes to be true and holy, a different people may believe that to be the very work of the old enemy himself.

⁸⁴ On the rise and development of the notions of ghosts, spirits, demons, divination, exorcism, and sorcery, there is much valuable information in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, and in the First Volume of Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*. See Appendix B.

The beliefs of mankind, so far as they are known, have always contained opposing and directly exclusive elements of this character; and it is mainly a result of the varied degrees of civilisation which have prevailed throughout the world. Even the same nation, at different periods of her life and development, may entertain the most opposite beliefs, as we find in the history of our own country. The difference between a believer in witchcraft and a believer in modern spiritualism is only one of degree and development; and if witchcraft and spiritualism are both founded upon the same class of notions, it is the higher development of morality and intelligence which renders the latter more harmless in the 19th century than the former was in the 16th. Among all the forms of belief in evil spirits, that which assumes the reality of a union between the evil spirit and a human being for the purpose of doing injury to other people is the most mischievous in its action on society. When men believed that the devil was an enormously powerful being, and that he could give an almost unlimited portion of this power to his confederates—the witches, for working all manner of evil—we need not be surprised that the king and the clergy were very anxious to purge the land of witches.

In 1563, witchcraft was declared by act of parliament to be punishable by death. Probably the sudden shaking and the suppression of the traditions and notions of the people at the reformation, had tended to arouse and revive other notions of the demoniac order. However, witches soon became numerous after the great revolution. The clergy and the kirk-sessions were very active in searching for witches. When these poor creatures were apprehended, they were placed in solitary confinement, and often fearfully tortured, to extort a confession of their guilt. They were systematically deprived of their natural rest; they had to endure cold, hunger, and thirst; and then the branks were applied to the unhappy victims, who were soon reduced to a fit state for confessing what was required. Their trial followed on the emission of one or more of the confessions

thus obtained, which usually formed the groundwork of the public accusation and prosecution for this imaginary crime.⁸⁵

It was stated in the General Assembly of 1563, that four witches had been delated for witchcraft by the superintendent of Fife and Galloway. The Assembly requested the Lords of Council to take order with them, and the complainers were commanded to give in their information. The General Assembly, in 1573, passed an act touching those who consult with witches, and ordered that persons suspected of conferring with them should be called before the superintendents; and, if they were found to have consulted witches, then they had to undergo public repentance in sackcloth, on Sunday in the church, under the penalty of excommunication. "If they be disobedient, to proceed after due admonition, and excommunicate them."⁸⁶

It is well known that James VI. was a firm believer in witchcraft, and he greatly encouraged the prosecution of the wretched beings accused of this crime. During the last twenty years of the 16th century, a vast number of witches were tried and executed in every corner of the kingdom. They were accused, tried, burnt, and drowned, for doing and attempting to do, many curious and wonderful things; but most of the points in the accusations appear to us ridiculous and absurd. Making a clay picture of the individual whom the witch intended to injure or to kill, was a very common point of the indictment. One count of the indictment against Bessy Rory, who was tried in 1590 for witchcraft, but acquitted, was this: "Thou art indicted for a common awaytaker of women's milk in the whole country, and detaining the same at thy pleasure, as the whole

⁸⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II. ; *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 38, 49-58.

⁸⁶ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 44, 283. The popular party in the church accused Bishop Adamson of consulting witches. Under the year 1583, James Melville records that Adamson was lying sick in his castle, "and oftentimes under the cure of a woman suspected of witchcraft. . . . This woman, being examined by the presbytery, and found a witch, in their judgment, was given to the bishop to be kept in his castle for execution, but he suffered her to slip away; but, within three or four years thereafter, she was taken, and executed in Edinburgh for a witch."—Melville's *Diary*, p. 137.

country will testify". Much of the records of the trials for witchcraft are quite unfit for publication. One of the most extraordinary stories in these indictments is the account of the meeting of the witches with the devil in the church of Berwick. The company who met his satanic majesty on this occasion consisted of a hundred persons, of whom six were men, and the rest women. The old enemy boldly ascended the pulpit, and delivered an address to his servants. He inquired what they had done since their last meeting; then, after giving them some more instructions, he concluded by commanding them to do all the evil that they could. Before the company separated, the witches showed their respect for their master in an unmistakable and exceedingly becoming fashion. On this night, the devil was respectably dressed—he wore a fine black gown and a hat.⁸⁷

Many of the witches were accused for conspiring and attempting by their devilry to destroy the king; and this aroused the weak-minded monarch to greater efforts against them. In 1591 a woman in the higher rank of society, Ewfame Mackalzene, the only daughter of Lord Cliftonhall, one of the senators of the Court of Session, was brought to trial, convicted, and burnt for witchcraft. One of the counts in her indictment was that she had kept intercourse with the witches who had entered into a compact for the destruction of the king. It is evident that the belief in witchcraft was entertained by all classes, the parliament, the Lords of Council, and the Judges of the Court of Session; none of them indicate any doubt of the reality of infernal agency, nor any inkling of the absurdity of the devil appearing in a human form and assisting persons to accomplish all manner of mischief.⁸⁸

The king issued commissions for examining witches, and

⁸⁷ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. I., pp. 76, 101, 161-165, 186, 201-204, 207-213, 230-241.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I. pp. 242-257, Vol. II., pp. 361, 397-400. Witchcraft was a crime for which no remission or respite was given. *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 198, 318.

sometimes examined them himself. The church also continued to hunt for witches. The General Assembly, in 1587, had before them the case of a witch who was lying in prison in St. Andrews; but it seems the evidence in her case was insufficient, and James Melville was ordered by the Assembly to travel on the coast side and collect matter for an indictment against her. In 1597, it was reported to the Assembly that several persons had been convicted of witchcraft, yet the magistrates not only refused to punish them according to the law of the country, but in contempt set them at liberty. The Assembly then ordered that the presbyteries should proceed in all severity with the censures of the church against such magistrates as liberated convicted witches.⁸⁹ Indeed the clergy were intently bent on reforming the nation, and with the Catholics, the Jesuits, the troops of beggars, the poor, and the mass of crime and vice, it must be admitted that their hands were full enough; they never wavered, however, but steadfastly fought against everything which they deemed an evil; and, although we must candidly confess that their ideas of what constituted an evil or a crime were often confused and mistaken, consequently their judgments were frequently wanting in discrimination; nevertheless, the evidence proves that they struggled manfully to improve the social state of the people.

The discipline of the reformed church not only aimed at the suppression of crime and vice, but it also looked according to its light for the causes of vice and crime, and endeavoured to

⁸⁹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 725, 938-939; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., pp. 144, 155-156, 204. About the end of the century a great number of witches were burnt in Aberdeen; yet it seems the city was not free of them, as in the beginning of the year 1600 the council resolved—"That the commission purchased to the provost of the borough and the sheriff of the county, for holding of justice courts on witches and sorcerers, should be prosecuted upon all persons in this borough and the freedom thereof, who were delated for this crime, so that the city should be purged of such contagious enemies of the commonweal," *Ibid.*, p. 205. There are many books on witchcraft; but those who wish to make a study of Scottish witchcraft will find a mass of original information on the Subject in Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, 3 vols, in the *Spalding Club Miscellany*, and in the *Records of the Proceedings of the Church Courts*.

strike at the roots of evil. The General Assembly in 1563 passed an act prohibiting the publication of any book either printed or written, if it touched upon religion, till it was presented to the superintendent of the district and approved by him and the most learned of his brethren within his bounds. But if they could not agree on the points raised in the book, then it must be placed before the General Assembly for a final decision on its merits and orthodoxy. In 1568 the Assembly found that Thomas Bassandine had printed a book in Edinburgh, entitled the fall of the Roman Church, "naming our king supreme head of the primitive church," and that he had printed a psalm book at the end of which was inserted a profane song called "welcome fortune"; and that these books had been issued without the licence of the magistrate or the church. The Assembly unanimously agreed to order the printer to call in all the copies of the book which had been sold, to alter the title and expunge the profane song, and in the future to refrain from printing anything without the licence of the supreme magistrate, and the revision of such matters as related to religion by the committee appointed for that purpose.⁹⁰ Though the church was thus careful in guarding against the spread of immoral writings, and what she held to be erroneous doctrine; she was not an enemy to the press. Robert Lickprivie, the Edinburgh printer, had fallen into straitened circumstances; and in 1569 the General Assembly after considering his position, and the money which he had expended on his establishment, resolved to give him fifty pounds yearly out of the funds of the church. The Assembly in several other instances encouraged printers, and petitioned the government to treat them liberally.⁹¹

The Privy Council in 1574 passed an act prohibiting the printing of any book without a licence from the government. The act directed that the authorities throughout the kingdom should proclaim to the people, that none of them may presume

⁹⁰ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 35, 125-126.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 306, 462.

to print or sell any book, ballad, or work, until it was examined, seen, and allowed by the Chancellor and other persons appointed by the king, and at the least three of these must concur before the king's licence could be granted for the publication. The penalty attached to the contravention of this act was death and confiscation of goods.⁹²

In the secular affairs of life, the citizens still exhibited the same restriction and monopoly, which was described in the eleventh chapter of the first volume. This greatly hampered the internal industry and the trade of the country. While the wars with England and the disturbed state of the nation before the reformation, and the troubles which ensued after it, were all inimical to trade and commerce. Owing to these circumstances, industry and trade made comparatively little progress in the sixteenth century; this period was more remarkable for moral and religious change and transformation than for material prosperity.

During the reigns of James V. and Queen Mary, many acts of parliament were passed relating to the coinage of the kingdom. A great variety of gold, silver, and copper coins were struck. In 1525 it was ordered that a gold coin should be struck, called a crown, of the fineness of twenty-one carats and a-half and two grains; nine of these were to be coined out of the ounce of gold, and each to pass current for twenty shillings. For every ounce of gold brought to the mint, the seller was to get seven pounds, and out of every ounce of coined gold the king was to get twenty-five shillings. In 1527 the Crown entered into a contract with two men for coining of silver money. According to this agreement, one hundred and seventy-six coins were to be made out of the pound of silver, and each was to be of the value of eighteen pence Scotch. The coins of Queen Mary are numerous and present a variety of types. In 1547 the Regent and Lords of Council passed an act stating that the pennies and half-pennies were mostly all gone out of the country;

⁹² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 387.

and thus the people, but especially the poor, suffered for want of them. The Council ordered twelve stones of silver to be coined into pennies and half-pennies, of the fineness and weight of the old pennies; and commanded that they should have currency throughout the kingdom. In 1554 the Bishop of Ross was going to France in the character of ambassador, and the Regent and Council ordered James Atcheson, the master coiner, to receive a silver vessel and coin it into babies to defray the ambassador's expenses. In the end of the year 1565 directions were issued for coining the silver piece called the Mary Rall; it was to pass for thirty shillings, and the two-thirds and the one-third of the same to pass for twenty, and ten shillings respectively. During the reign of Queen Mary, the intrinsic value of the currency underwent several remarkable changes. As in 1544 the value of a pound of silver was £9 10s., in 1556, £13, and in 1565 it was raised to £18. At this time, in England the pound of silver was worth from £2 8s. to £3, which pretty plainly shows that money was scarce in Scotland.⁹³

In 1565, the Lords of Council ordered the false coins called hardheads, brought from Flanders, to be melted, and to have no currency in the kingdom. The same year an act was passed against the importation of false coin; and in 1566, several persons were convicted in Aberdeen for this offence. The following year, in May, a proclamation was issued against importing false coins—hardheads, placks, babies, or any other light money; and in 1568, Forbes of Monymusk and Forbes of Pitsligo, two brothers, were cited for coining false babies.⁹⁴

Many acts touching the coinage were passed in the reign of

⁹³ *Acts Parl. Scot.* Vol. II.; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 71, 151-152, 154, 413; *Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Scot.*, pp. 39-52, 141-145; 1865.

⁹⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 325, 335, 468, 510, 642-643. "Owing to the constant exporting of good coin and the importing of bad, the circulating medium of the country was in a wretched state. There seems to have been a regular system of coining base placks and lions (otherwise called hardheads) in the Low Countries, to be introduced by merchants into Scotland."—*Chambers's Domestic Annals*, Vol. I., p. 102.

James VI. In 1567, the regent and council passed an act ordering the coinage of a silver piece, to be called the James Rall, of the weight of an ounce Troy, and to pass for thirty shillings in Scotland, two-parts of the same for twenty shillings, and the third-part for ten shillings. This year, in December, the parliament passed an act dealing with the coinage, and with false and clipped coins. It was stated that the king with the consent of the regent, may coin gold and silver pieces of the same fineness as that of other countries, and that no gold or silver coin should be melted down. The Lords of Council, in 1572, stated that parliament had authorised a new silver coin to be sent out, "for payment and support of the charges of this present civil and intestine war, raised against his highness' authority by certain declared traitors, rebels, and conspirators, who, after the murder of the king's dearest father, and of his uncle the regent of this realm, have never ceased to resist his highness' authority and to seek his own life, and, as far as in them lies, to pull his royal crown off his head." This money was coined in whole and in half pieces—the first to be called the half mark, and to pass for six shillings and eightpence; the second to be called the forty-penny piece, and to pass for three shillings and fourpence. The council ordered that the new coinage should be made known to the people by proclamation: "And to command and charge them to receive the said money in thankful and ready payment, and no one may presume to refuse the same upon any pretence whatever, under the penalty of treason; certifying to those that fail, that they shall be condemned to death with all rigour as an example to others."⁹⁵ This act gives some indication of the difficulties connected with the currency, which mainly arose from the scarcity of specie, and the confused ideas of what constituted wealth; as yet there was no paper currency to make up the deficiency. Only three months after the issue of these two pieces of money, the council had to proclaim that it was counterfeited by some persons to

⁹⁵ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 556; Vol. II., pp. 135-136.

the great injury of the people.⁹⁶ It may be inferred that the motive for counterfeiting these coins so quickly arose from their being further debased than the money before in circulation. In the copper coinage, as well as in the gold and silver, there seems to have been much counterfeiting practised.⁹⁷ During the later half of the century numerous acts were passed prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver; and injunctions were issued for bringing all the gold and silver to the master coiner, who was to pay the ordinary price for it.⁹⁸

In 1579 parliament enacted that there should be a piece of gold coined of twenty-one carats, containing ten in the ounce, to be called the Scottish crown, and to pass for forty shillings. At the same time it was proclaimed that the ounce of the finest gold was to be bought for twenty-one pounds of the money of the realm, and the price of all other gold to be according to its fineness. A silver piece was to be coined of the fineness of eleven deniers, in whole and in half pieces—the first to pass for twenty-six shillings and eightpence, and to be called the two-mark coin; and the half piece to pass for thirteen shillings and fourpence, and to be called the half-mark. The price to be given for the finest silver was thirty-six shillings the ounce, and for other silver in proportion to its quality. But in 1580, parliament ordered that all the money in the kingdom, except the stamped placks and pennies, should be reformed and reduced to the fineness of eleven deniers, and a new gold coin was also ordered to be struck. The next year, the king and the parliament thought that the last silver coinage had been fixed at too high a value, and this had caused great injury to the people, and had also been the occasion of a dearth and many other inconveniences. The new act, therefore, directed that the last coinage, which extended to two hundred and eleven stones and ten

⁹⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 160.

⁹⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III.

⁹⁸ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 212-213, 330; Vol. II., pp. 410, 554, 615-616; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 216.

pounds of silver, should be brought in again to be recoined into ten shilling pieces, containing four in the ounce. In 1584, parliament passed another act, reciting that the gold of the kingdom had been continually exported, and that of other countries introduced to the loss and injury of the people; and it was then ordained that two pieces of gold, of the fineness of twenty-one carats and a-half, should be coined—the one of six coins to the ounce, each to pass for three pounds fifteen shillings; and the other nine to the ounce, and to pass for fifty shillings. In 1597, it was stated in an act of parliament that the current money of the kingdom was scarce, and that gold and silver had risen to exorbitant prices, owing to the liberty which all persons took of raising the price of money at their pleasure, far above the value prescribed by the laws and the acts of parliament. Through this, and the constant exporting of the money, great confusion had been caused; and it was then enacted that parties transgressing the laws would be severely punished. The scarcity of money is very apparent from the high value which the laws set upon it. The ounce of foreign gold of twenty-two carats was twenty-eight pounds sixteen shillings, Scotch money, in 1598; and in 1601, the price given at the mint for gold was thirty-three pounds the ounce; at the same time the ounce of silver was about forty-eight shillings, Scotch money.⁹⁹ In 1587, parliament passed an act limiting the rate of interest on money and on grain to ten per cent.

At the time of the union of the crowns the relative value of English and Scotch money was as twelve to one; the gold pieces which passed in England for twenty-one shillings each, in Scotland passed for twelve pounds.

In the sixteenth century there was not much commerce between England and Scotland. The Low Countries, France, and the Baltic kingdoms, were the places where the Scots mostly

⁹⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 150, 191, 310, 311; Vol. IV., 134-135. Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Scotland*, pp. 53-59, 146-151.

traded. During the war between the two countries in the reign of Henry VIII. within a very short time the English took twenty-eight trading ships from the Scots. In 1545 the treaty between the Emperor and Scotland touching the commerce of the Scots with Flanders was renewed; thus the Flemings were exempted from attacks of the Scottish ships commissioned for warfare. But difficulties arose between this country and Flanders, and several Scottish ships were detained there. We are told in 1550 that, "when our ships came to Flanders as to our friends for traffic of merchandise, after they had been well received, and were ready to depart, the whole fleet of fourteen ships, richly laden with Flemish wares, were taken, held, and disposed of, and the merchants imprisoned by the Emperor's subjects". The same year the Lords of Council had to interfere to protect the Scots from the ships of Holland and the Lowlands of Flanders, the subjects of the Emperor; they were daily committing enormities upon the Scots within the Firths and other places. As many of the Scottish war ships as could be put into a seaworthy state were commissioned and instructed to proceed against them; they were commanded to take, and chase these pirates off the coasts and out of the waters of Scotland. But they were specially restricted from interfering with the ships of England, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Hamburgh. It seems however that trade was not long interrupted between Scotland and Flanders. In 1552 the Lords of Council passed an act complaining that the flesh of the country was barrelled, packed, sold, and sent out of the kingdom to other countries, and especially to Flanders, which had caused a great dearth of meat at home whereby the people had been much hurt; and its exportation was therefore prohibited under the penalty of confiscation and death.¹⁰⁰ New regulations were passed by the Council in 1565 for the guidance of the Scotch Conservator in Flanders; these were very minute and bear upon the merchants as well as

¹⁰⁰ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 18, 40, 41, 92, 104, 127; Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. II., p. 93.

the Conservator, touching the hours of business and such matters as the following. "That no merchant when he has bought his goods should bring them home himself, but employ others to carry his gear to his lodgings or his cellar like a merchant, under a fine of five shillings. That no merchant who buys his meat in the market should truss it home upon his sleeve or on the point of his knife, under the same fine. That no one should deal in merchandise unless he be honestly able like a merchant; and if he be not well dressed, the Conservator must warn him to clothe himself better, and if he fail to do that, then the Conservator should take as much of his goods as will clothe him properly withal."¹⁰¹

Even in the later part of the sixteenth century the foreign trade of Scotland was not great. The exports were comprised within comparatively narrow limits, but the imports were more varied. There were some very curious regulations imposed in connection with the exports, which strikingly brings before us the state of society and the character of the times. It was noticed that there were acts prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver; and there were other things which were allowed to be exported under limitations one year, while the next they were absolutely prohibited. A considerable quantity of salt was produced at the various salt works throughout the country, but the export of salt was only permitted under certain contingencies. The Council in 1573 passed an act stating that it was unlawful to export any salt until the whole people and the carriers to all the markets in the kingdom were supplied with a sufficient quantity of it, which must be sold at the salt-pans for eight shillings the boll. Then whatever quantity of it remained after satisfying the people, was allowed to be exported to other countries. But the owners and carriers of it were obliged to buy six ounces of silver for every chalders of salt exported, and this silver must be delivered to the master coiner within eight days after their return to Scotland, and for every ounce of which the owner of

¹⁰¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 332-334.

the salt or his factor was to receive from the master coiner thirty shillings. It was further provided that in case the exporters of salt did not bring home the stipulated proportion of silver, but instead bought as much from some of the people at home, as should have been given to the mint, then when it was proved that the silver was bought in Scotland, it was forfeited to the crown; and the exporters of the salt had to pay a sum equal to what they should have brought from abroad. To ensure the fulfilment of this condition the custom officers were ordered not to give exporters of salt a cocket till they came to the coining-house and gave security to bring home the required quantity of silver.¹⁰²

This rather peculiar arrangement, which was contrary to acts of parliament, did not prove to be satisfactory. In 1574, the lords of council discharged the granting of licences to export salt, on the ground of the exorbitant dearth of small salt at home. "As experience now teaches, the granting of such licences has been very prejudicial to the commonweal of the nation, as the conditions for furnishing and serving the people at the prices mentioned in the acts of parliament has in nowise been observed; but our sovereign lord's subjects have been constrained to buy salt at exorbitant and unreasonable prices, and likely from day to day to rise to greater extortion, if timely remedy be not provided. Therefore all the licences for transporting salt out of the kingdom were henceforward discharged."¹⁰³ Only three weeks after their lordships had passed this act, they granted a licence to Robert Paterson, the master of the ship called "The Grace of God," to export to Norway six chalders of salt for curing fish; and another to William Ker, the master of the "Swallow," to export four chalders; two burgesses of Edinburgh became sureties that the salt should not be converted to any other use. At this time the authorised price of salt was

¹⁰² *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 264-265, 290, 293; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vols. II., III.

¹⁰³ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 406-407.

eight shillings per boll, but there were many complaints of parties selling it above that price.¹⁰⁴

Several other articles were dealt with in the same way, licences were granted now and again by the lords of council for exporting things which were prohibited by parliament. The exportation of coal was prohibited by act of parliament; but the council, in 1573, resolved to grant licences for exporting smithy-coal; yet the same year, Walter Scott, in Dysart, became bound that the coals loaden in a ship of that port should not be exported.¹⁰⁵ The trade of the country was carried on under the same changing and disturbing influences as its politics; and so few of the resources of the country were as yet developed, and so many restrictive and conflicting agencies, that the merchants were greatly hampered. The regulations touching the export of lead were of the same varying character. Lead might be exported, but there was a royalty placed upon it; the exporter had to pay fifteen ounces of silver for each thousand stones of lead which he shipped.¹⁰⁶

Licences were sometimes granted for exporting grain, but owing to bad harvests, and the frequent neglect of agriculture from war, it was often deemed necessary to prohibit the export of corn and wheat. There were frequently seasons of dearth, and many attempts to fix the price of grain. In September, 1567, the regent and council stated that the merchants and others had exported great quantities of grain, under the pretence of licences granted "by the queen's grace, our sovereign lord's dearest mother, to the great increase of dearth and scarceness of the same; the corn of this year's crop being at God's pleasure plagued and spoiled with rain, and so in all appearance scarce enough to sustain the inhabitants of this country." Therefore

¹⁰⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 285. On the 30th of August, 1573, the owners of thirty-eight salt-pans, of Preston and Musselburgh, gave security to supply Scotsmen with salt at eight shillings the boll.—*Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 340; Vol. II., p. 290; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 543.

¹⁰⁶ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 102, 507, 626.

the council resolved to revoke all such licences, and ordered that no grain should be exported hereafter, under the penalty of the confiscation of the ship and her cargo. In 1574, the regent and council ordered the comptroller to ascertain the quantity of grain exported that year, by whom and at what ports, and other points concerning it. The council, in the winter of 1577, agreed to allow the free export of grain for the following reason: "In times of dearth this country has received large help and support of victuals out of France, Flanders, and England, whereby the people have been greatly relieved; and the like favour and good neighbourhood, charity, and amity craves to be extended towards the people of these countries in this present year, when it has pleased God to visit them with the like dearth and scarcity, and this realm with such increase and plenty of grain, as some part thereof may, without prejudice of the state, be spared to the relief of our neighbours' necessities." ¹⁰⁷

Horses and cattle were occasionally exported, but acts of parliament and council frequently prohibited this; and on the whole the regular export trade of Scotland was as yet very small. It consisted mostly of raw materials, such as hides, wool, and the like; but the imports were more varied, and comprised a variety of articles, and especially large quantities of wines. There were acts of parliament and council which prohibited the importers of wines from selling any to the people till the king, the bishops, the earls, the lords, and the barons, were first stocked. ¹⁰⁸

The trade between the Highlands and Lowlands chiefly consisted in cattle and wood. The highlanders had long been accustomed to bring their cattle to the lowland markets; but sometimes parties in the lowlands seized their flocks under the pretence that they were authorised by the government, which

¹⁰⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 402, 571, 572; Vol. II., pp. 252, 589.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 282, 298, 191, 285, 402, 571-572; Vol. II., pp. 123-129, 505, 515, 662, 675, 693; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III.

was not the case.¹⁰⁹ They brought the timber down the rivers in floats to the towns and sold it to the citizens.¹¹⁰

The mineral resources of the country were but little developed. The coal mining was only wrought on a very limited scale; and we have seen that the government had doubts about the expediency of exporting it. The scarcity of money caused much activity in the mining of lead. There were various lead mines, and the government entered into contracts with enterprising individuals for working them. In 1565, the council granted a licence to John Stewart of Tarlair, and his son, to search for all kinds of minerals, and to work the mines of metal between the Tay and Orkney; with the stipulation that they should pay to the government one stone out of every ten of the metal which they got. Their licence was only to endure for two years. They were also authorised to work all the gold and silver mines throughout the country on the condition that they brought all the gold and silver to the coining-house, and for each ounce of gold they were to receive ten pounds, and for each ounce of silver twenty-four shillings. In the course of their explorations if they found any coal-haugh not within ten miles of any of the royal residences, then they were free to work them, only they must pay the tenth penny of the proceeds to the crown. The regent and council in 1568 concluded a contract with Cornelius de Vois, a Dutchman, for the working of the gold and silver mines of the country. The deed granted to him a monopoly of the working of these mines for sixteen years. He was allowed to employ as many of the Scots as he pleased, but not more than twenty strangers. Arrangements were made for the proportions of the produce of the mines to be rendered to the crown according to the success of the enterprise. In 1576 another contract was made between the government and Abraham Paterson, and his partners, for the working of all the gold, the silver, the lead, and the copper mines, within

¹⁰⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 401, 470-471.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 500-501; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 33.

the bounds of Crawfordmoor, Robertmoor, and Henderland, and any other places in the kingdom, excepting the mines of Glengonar and Orkney, which were then wrought by George Douglas of Parkhead, and Adam Fullerton, a burgess of Edinburgh. In this contract lengthy and very minute stipulations are inserted as to the price which the crown was to give for the gold and silver that the company drew from the mines.¹¹¹

The internal trade of the country was still carried on, under the strict principle of monopoly. The price of manufactured articles and goods, as well as food and provisions, was fixed by law and regulated by the local authorities. The guild or merchants openly insisted on their exclusive right of commerce, not only in foreign trade, but also within the borough and often over the county in which it was situated.¹¹²

Among the many regulations fixing the supply and the price of provisions, perhaps those relating to the sale of ale and spirits are the most interesting. Ale had long been a beverage of common and daily use, and large quantities of it was consumed by all classes of the people. The acts of parliament and council fixing the price of malt and ale are numerous; and the statutes and regulations of the boroughs themselves touching the supply and the price of these two necessities are endless. In 1535 parliament passed an act stating that the inhabitants of Edinburgh and the people who repaired to it were greatly oppressed by the maltmakers of Leith, and others about that neighbourhood, who sold their malt at an exorbitant price; taking four, five, and even six shillings more for the malt than they paid for the barley. It was therefore enacted that maltmakers should produce and sell their malt at a competent profit, and to take only two shillings more for the boll of malt than the current price of the boll of barley. "Those who disobey this act shall be called and punished therefore as oppressors of the

¹¹¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 232, 330, 612-614; Vol. II., pp. 506-514.

¹¹² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vols. II., III., IV.; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vols. I., II., III.

king's subjects, and particular courts shall be set for them, and the king shall give commission to such as he pleases to call the offending maltmakers before them in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to do justice upon them, as they think fit, and to cause this statute to be observed in all points."¹¹³ In 1551 the regent and the lords of council took into consideration the high prices of all kinds of victuals whereby the poor were at the point of perishing. As they understood this to be caused by the maltmakers, malt-sellers, bakers, and regraters of provisions, of wine, and of other necessities of life; a commission under the great seal was given to the provost of Edinburgh, authorising him to handle all the maltmakers, maltsellers, bakers, and regraters, within a circle of four miles of Edinburgh; and to bring them to punishment according to the acts of parliament and the laws of the kingdom. When Queen Mary visited Jedburgh in October, 1566, it seems that the good citizens of the town raised the price of provisions; whereupon her majesty called together her council and the authorities of the borough, and they passed an act fixing the price of everything during the stay of the court in that quarter. The pint of good ale was to be fourpence, and sixteen ounces of fine bread fourpence. The price of a man's dinner, "being served with beef, mutton, and roast at the least, was sixteenpence. For the use of a furnished bed twelvence each night; for stabling to a horse the space of twenty-four hours twopence."¹¹⁴ In 1573 the price of ale was four shillings the gallon; in 1589 the pint of ale was eightpence; and from this time to the end of the century it ran from one shilling to one and fourpence the pint.¹¹⁵

The price of wine varied during the first half of the sixteenth

¹¹³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 351; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 265-266.

¹¹⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 115, 488-489.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 269; *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, pp. 25, 137, 162, 172, 198, 214. In 1571 the magistrates of Edinburgh enacted that Dutch drinking beer should not be sold higher than sixpence the pint. *Burgh Records*, Vol. III., p. 284.

century, from sixpence the pint to one shilling and fourpence ; but towards the end of the century, the price of it had nearly tripled. There is much evidence that large quantities of wine was consumed in Scotland. The members of the guild claimed the exclusive right to sell wine in all the boroughs of the kingdom.¹¹⁶

Whisky was known, but as yet it was not much used among the people. In 1557, as we have seen, Bessy Campbell was brought before the magistrates of Edinburgh, and ordered to cease from making whisky in the borough, and from selling it, except on the market-day, according to the privilege granted to the barbers, under their seal of cause, unless she was permitted by them. The use of whisky, however, was gradually becoming more common. In 1579, parliament passed an act restricting the making and selling of it. This act opened with a statement that grain would be scarce that year, and yet great quantities of malt was consumed by making aquavitæ, which was the cause of the dearth of the malt. So it was enacted that no person, either in town or country, should brew nor sell any whisky, from the 1st of December, 1579, to the 1st of October, 1580, under the penalty of breaking of their brewing utensils, and the confiscation of their stock of spirits. But the nobles and the men of rank were permitted to brew and distil whisky from their own malt, within their own premises, for the use of their own houses and their families and their friends.¹¹⁷ This act is very characteristic of much of the subsequent legislation relating to the sale of whisky and spirits ; but it is clear that whisky had not then the hold on the people which it afterwards obtained.

There were many complaints that leather and shoes were so

¹¹⁶ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., pp. 373, 376, 483 ; Vols. III., IV. ; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 128-129, 212-213, 425-428, 451 ; Vol. II., pp. 505, 662, 693 ; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 114, 115, 120, 123, 125, 127, 132, 134, 144, *et seq.* ; Vol. III., pp. 29, 84, 132, 156, 191, 198, 224 ; *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, pp. 66, 82, 107, 184, 201 ; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 149.

¹¹⁷ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., p. 262 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 174 ; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 269.

dear that the poor people were unable to buy them. In 1541, a number of the shoemakers of Aberdeen were convicted by a jury for making insufficient shoes, and for selling them above the legal price. The magistrates of Edinburgh, in 1563, fixed the price of boots and shoes as follows: "The pair of double-soled shoes of the largest size, well made and of good material, three shillings and eightpence; a pair of single-soled shoes of similar size, two shillings and eightpence; a pair of the finest double-soled boots, twenty-four shillings; a pair of single-soled boots, twenty shillings;" and so on in proportion for smaller sizes. The authorities of Aberdeen, in 1580, ordained that the price for shoeing the largest horses should be six shillings and eightpence; and the charge for the smaller horses and nags, four shillings.¹¹⁸

Complaints were often made against the craftsmen—they were accused for insufficient workmanship, and for charging too high prices. Complaints of this description frequently came before Parliament and the Privy Council, and acts were from time to time passed fixing the price of manufactured goods and articles. But the craftsmen struggled hard, and by their organisations they became a considerable power in the boroughs, and they were sometimes rather troublesome to the guilds. Among the craftsmen the spirit of monopoly was excessive. The trade disputes between Edinburgh and Leith, and between the Canongate and Edinburgh, were numerous and bitter. The different bodies of craftsmen among themselves sometimes manifested an extreme jealousy of each other, and of their exclusive privileges; and this was unfavourable to the development of trade and to the acquisition of skill.¹¹⁹

In 1562, the bonnetmakers of Edinburgh complained that

¹¹⁸ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 453-454; Vol. II., pp. 38-39; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 155; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I.

¹¹⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 142; Vol. II., pp. 33-34, 220-221, 260, 577-579; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*; *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, pp. 165-166.

various craftsmen, fleshers, wrights, shoemakers, and others, in the borough, had enticed away their apprentices and servants, who were unfree persons, and had caused them to labour at kinds of work which belonged to their craft. The provost and council agreed that the bonnetmakers should be protected in their privileges and liberties ; but they added, " That in case it pleased the goodness of God to give the gift to strangers and others resorting to this town to labour, and invent upon points a more perfect and finer fashion of hose, sleeves, gloves, and such like, as they themselves, their servants, nor apprentices, could not do, nor has done, at any time before this, and that in such cases the said persons should not be stopped, nor the gifts of God smothered, provided always that nowhere they nor any others should be served by servants and apprentices who have had their beginning under the deacon and masters."¹²⁰ This opinion of the council was on the line which leads to improvement. In 1587, parliament passed an act in favour of Flemish craftsmen—makers of serges, bedcoverings, and other woollen fabrics belonging to their craft. They were to teach the Scots to make this class of goods, and the contents of the conditions of the bargain extended to twelve heads.¹²¹

It was already observed that the reformed clergy had exerted themselves to extinguish some of the amusements of the people ; and parliament followed in the same track, and passed sumptuary enactments. In 1567, the estates of the realm enacted that no woman should adorn herself with dress above what was appropriate to her rank, unless prostitutes. And parliament, in 1581, passed an act touching dress, another against superfluous banqueting, and the inordinate use of confectionery and drugs. The act on dress opened with a statement that there was a great abuse among the common people, even of the meanest rank, in their presuming to counterfeit the king and his nobility by their habit of wearing costly clothing of

¹²⁰ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., p. 148.

¹²¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 607-609.

silk of all varieties: "Laine, cameraige, fringes, pasments of gold, of silver, of silk, and woollen cloth, brought from other countries; thus the price of these goods had been raised to such a dearth that this state of matters cannot be longer endured without great scath to the nation. Though God has granted to the kingdom sufficient commodities for clothing the people thereof within itself, if they were properly employed manufacturing them at home; and whereby great numbers of the people now wandering in beggary might be relieved, and the honesty and the wealth of the country greatly increased." The act prohibited all from wearing costly dresses below the ranks of duke, earl, lord of parliament, knight, and landed gentlemen, and their wives and families. Minute provisions were made for carrying out the act, and penalties were to be inflicted for its infringement. This act also contained a clause prohibiting the exportation of wool, under the penalty of confiscation; this was intended to give more employment to the people at home, and confer a benefit on the nation. The act against the wearing of costly clothing was ratified in 1584, and ordered to be carried out with all rigour.¹²²

Parliament was equally anxious to put the people right in the matter of eating and drinking at marriages and baptisms. It was enacted that only the bishops, the earls, the barons, and the gentlemen, who have two thousand marks of free yearly rent, or fifty chalders of grain after deducting all charges, should presume to have at their marriages and banquets, or on their tables for their daily fare, any drugs or confectionaries, brought from foreign countries. After the reformation acts of parliament and council were often passed forbidding the eating of flesh during Lent. On the 12th of February, 1562, the Lords of Council passed an act prohibiting the eating of flesh from that date to the 29th of March, under the penalty of ten pounds for the first offence, twenty pounds for the second, and confiscation of all their movable goods for the third. The act proceeded on

¹²² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 40, 220-221, 354.

the ground that:—"In the spring of the year, called Lentrin, all kinds of flesh decays and grows out of season, that it is not meet for eating; and also that by the tempestuous storms of the last and preceding winters, the whole stocks of cattle are so plagued, smothered and dead, that the price of flesh has risen to such extreme dearth that the like has not been within this realm; and if such dearth continue it will be to the great hurt of the commonweal".¹²³ In 1567, parliament to save the nation from the harm entailed by the daily eating of flesh, enacted that the people should eat flesh only on four days of the week, under a penalty: and in 1568 the Lords of Council passed an act forbidding all classes to eat any flesh during Lent; also ordering that no fleshers, cooks, hostlers, nor tavern keepers, should slay or prepare any kind of flesh for sale during that time, under the penalty of the confiscation of their goods and the imprisonment of their persons; unless they had obtained a written licence from the king upon reasonable consideration. During the time of the civil war after the flight of Mary, the Lords of Council issued proclamations against the eating of flesh in Lent, but they were little heeded.¹²⁴ In 1584 it was again enacted, "because of the disorder among all ranks of the people by the licentious eating of flesh every day of the week, which besides producing other evil, was also the cause of the dearth of all meat". It was then commanded that no one

¹²³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, p. 221; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 200. The same year it was stated. "Forasmuch as the tempest and storms of weather fallen this last winter, the most part of the sheep of Scotland are perished and dead, which causes the dearth thereof so to increase that the poor cannot well abide the same; and if the lambs be likewise wasted and consumed, the dearth shall not only increase, but also the sheep of the country shall so decay that few or none shall be left therein, for the sustaining of the people of this kingdom. For remedy thereof, it is statuated by the queen's majesty, with the advice of the Lords of Council, that no manner of lambs be slain or eaten by any of the people of this realm for the space of three years to come, under the penalty of the confiscation of all the movable goods of the persons who contravene this statute." —*Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 200-201.

¹²⁴ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 40; *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., p. 611; Vol. II., pp. 337, 431, 500, 593.

should presume hereafter to eat any kind of flesh on Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, nor in the time of Lent, under the penalty of the confiscation of all their goods to the crown. This act was again repeated in 1587 with some additions.¹²⁵

After the reformation several of the old amusements of the people were proscribed. This however need occasion no regret, they would have died out whatever, with the spread of refinement and the progress of civilisation. The citizens of Edinburgh had a pastime called "bickering," and this word itself partly explains it. The bickering seems to have consisted of a company of people, mostly the young, who made a mock attack upon certain places, which however often ended in serious mischief. On the 11th of April, 1567 the Town Council of Edinburgh:—"ordered the bellman to pass through the town and discharge the bickers, under the penalty of hanging those come to age, and the scourging of such as are not of age".¹²⁶ The people were still in the habit of amusing themselves pretty freely. There were rude stage plays; the field games of golf, of football, and many others, which the humblest of the people enjoyed. Towards the end of the century parliament passed an act that enjoined Monday to be observed as a holiday for pastime and amusement, that every one in the nation might have one day in the week for their own enjoyment.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 353, 453.

¹²⁶ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 229-230.

¹²⁷ *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, p. 193; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., pp. 179, 180; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV.; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 17, 29, 30. The king himself had a fancy for rope-dancers, in the year 1600 James Melville records in his diary "that in Falkland, I saw a Frenchman play strange and incredible pranks upon stretched ropetack in the Palace close, before the king, the queen, and the whole court," p. 487. In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, in August, 1600, the sum of £333 8s. 8d. is entered as the payment of this rope-dancer, so it seems he was handsomely rewarded for his performance. In 1598 an English juggler, "played such supple tricks upon a rope, which was fastened between the top of St. Giles's Kirk steeple and a stair beneath the cross, the like was never seen in this country, as he rode down the rope and played so many paxies on it". For the performance of this trick the king ordered him to get twenty pounds.

The general tendency of the reformation on the social state of the people was in the main salutary and beneficial. It is true that some of the commons and tenants were in better circumstances under the Roman Catholic churchman than after the réformation, when they fell under the nobles. The fact is undeniable that many of the tenants of land were excessively oppressed by the nobles after the great revolution.¹²⁸ But the efforts to relieve this class from the burdens of feudalism, may be said, only to have begun in earnest immediately after the Reformation. The evidence adduced in this volume is sufficient to prove that the exertions of the reformed clergy to lighten the burdens of the people were not in vain; while the economical effects of the reformation, though longer of being realised, were equally important: altogether, the benefits of the revolution were far reaching and immense.

¹²⁸ Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, Vol. II., p. 321; 1786.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LITERATURE OF THE NATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the last chapter of the first volume an account of the national literature to the end of the fifteenth century was given; and in this chapter it is proposed to present a continuation, till the current of thought and feeling became affected by the revolutionary movement; and then in the next chapter to treat of the literature of the Reformation, and the later part of the century; and thus exhibit a connected narrative of its development. Education, culture, and literature, in one point of view are mutually related words, and in many ways reciprocal in their effects; although they are far from being co-extensive in meaning. Education of some kind precedes literature and culture; but at a comparatively early stage of civilisation, literature assumes a more general, if a less definite, influence than education. In nations with tolerably developed civilisations, the customary education and the national literature sometimes run on opposite lines. This is especially observable in revolutionary periods, when the established education and the national literature may each be seen pursuing diverse ends. At such times, the existing school education is often more than ever conservative and opposed to any change. Illustrations of this will occur to every one; and yet all the elements and influences of a nation are closely related, and act and re-act upon each other in manifold ways. Still, in historical exposition it is necessary to signalise the opposites, in what appears to be the most nearly allied and inter-dependent agencies in the organisation of a nation.

The most eminent Scottish writer of this period was William Dunbar, the court poet of James IV. He was born in Lothian about the middle of the fifteenth century, but concerning his early life there is no precise information. He attended the University of St. Andrews, and graduated master of arts. It appears that he entered the order of the Gray Friars, and in that character he travelled and preached for some time in England and France, as well as in Scotland. At a later period of his life, it seems he visited several foreign countries in the service of James IV., but little is known regarding the nature of these missions.¹ Dunbar's name occurs in the public records for the first time in the year 1500, when he obtained from the king a yearly pension of ten pounds. The grant bears that it should be paid "to Master William Dunbar for all the days of his life, or until he be promoted to a benefice of the value of forty pounds or more yearly". This sum was paid to the poet half-yearly; and in 1507 his pension was augmented to twenty pounds yearly; and again, in 1510, it was increased from twenty to eighty pounds, to be paid annually during his whole life, "or till he be promoted to a benefice of one hundred pounds or above". Dunbar also occasionally got a present from his royal master; and during the lifetime of James IV., at least, the poet was pretty liberally rewarded; although it does not appear that he ever obtained the great object of his ambition—to wit, a benefice.²

From the end of the fifteenth century to the death of James V., Dunbar attended the Scottish court pretty regularly. He addressed many of his short poems to the king, as also to the queen, and the burden of most of these effusions was that he wanted a benefice. Dunbar was in priest's orders, and on the 17th of March, 1504, he performed mass in the king's presence. But the poet's benefactor fell at Flodden; and

¹ Dunbar's *Poems, Memoir*, pp. 7-11, 12-17; Vol. I., pp. 23-29, 149; Vol. II., pp. 231-234.—Dr. Laing's Ed.

² *Ibid.*, *Memoir*, pp. 68-71.

whether he continued to receive his pension after that fatal event is uncertain. One of his poems was written in 1517, and it is supposed that he died about 1520, when he had passed sixty years of age.³

In Dunbar's own lifetime, and for a short time after his death, his writings received attention, and were admired and imitated. But, from the year 1530 to 1724, his name is only once mentioned throughout the course of our literature, when at the latter period Ramsay published a selection from his poems.⁴ Subsequently, several of Dunbar's poems were published by Lord Hales and by Pinkerton; but there was no complete edition of his writings till Dr. Laing's one appeared in 1834. Dunbar's poems have been greatly praised by some modern writers; the historian, however, cannot record that his writings have had much influence upon the people, or contributed much to the onward movement of the nation. There were various reasons which account for this, and the chief one was the approach of the reformation, with the new turn it gave to the sentiments and the opinions of the people. After the revolution of the sixteenth century, the Scots forgot many things in their past history; and, when all the circumstances are remembered, this is not surprising.

The greater part of Dunbar's poems consists of short pieces upon a variety of subjects. His longest poem is "The Two Married Women and the Widow," which extends to 530 lines. In this production, the poet pretends to overhear these three ladies, who are described as seated in a green arbour and finely dressed, with their hair hanging over their shoulders, drinking rich wine, while they relate to each other their experiences of a married life.⁵ The poem that he has produced from these

³ *Dunbar's Poems, Memoir*, p. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4. See also *Memorials of George Bannatyne*, by Sir Walter Scott, p. 14; 1829.

⁵ *Dunbar's Poems*, Vol. I., pp. 61-80. Dr. Laing's Edition, like all the books which he edited, is enriched with various readings, interesting and valuable notes, and a concise but excellent glossary.

materials is extremely coarse and vulgar, both in sentiment and in its phraseology—in fact, it is obscene; and the only apology that can be offered for its author, must be sought in the corrupted state of the morals of the people at the time of its composition, no other plea is of any avail. There is, indeed, humour and satire in it, and here and there facetious touches meet the eye, but these are attained at too high a sacrifice of morality.

Dunbar's poem, "The Thistle and the Rose," has often been highly praised both by English and Scotch writers. The subject of the piece is the celebration of the marriage of the Princess Margaret of England with James IV. It is a smoothly-flowing, and rather interesting composition, full of variegated imagery and touches of descriptive power; but there is little real fire in it, and it lacks the natural glow that characterises the highest poetry. The following stanza occurs towards the end of the poem:—

"The merle she sang, Haill Rose of most delit,
 Haill of all flours quene and soverane :
 The lark she sang, Haill Rose, both reid and whit,
 Most pleasant flour, of mighty colours twane :
 The nychtingail sang, Haill Natures suffragane,
 In beuty, nurtour, and every nobleness,
 In rich array, renown, and gentleness."⁶

Dunbar seems to have delighted in representing his thoughts and feelings in the guise of dreams. His "Goldyn Targe" is an allegorical and dreamy production. In this piece, which extends to 279 lines, he introduces many of the heathen gods and heroes. It contains some good descriptions of nature; but much of the poem is strained and tinsely. It lacks definiteness of aim and human interest; there is no grasp in it; it is too shadowy; there are too many characters introduced, which renders it comparatively tame and meaningless. Something

⁶ *Poems*, Vol. I., p. 9. This poem is very fully and ably commented upon by Lord Hales, in his volume entitled *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1770: and also by Allan Ramsay, by Pinkerton, by Dr. Irving, Warton, Ellis, and others.

more is required than a collection of words and classic names to make a poem, however well they may be versified together. There is no real poetry any more than there is distinct thought without clear ideas; and in poetry the ideas should be naturally and definitely developed in association with the emotional power of the mind.

Many of Dunbar's short pieces have much merit. His "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins through Hell" is masterly and animated. In this poem the action of the allegorical figures is distinct and rapid; and hence it is more effective than if the descriptions had been longer. The satire is also keen and biting. The following stanza is on the sin of gluttony:—

" Then the foull monster Gluttony,—
 Off wame unsatable and gredy,
 To dance he did him dress ;
 Him followed mony foull drunkerd,
 With can and collep, cup and quart,
 In surffet and excess ;
 Full many a waistless wally-drag,
 With wamis unweildable, did furth wag,
 In creische⁷ that did incess :
 Drink ! ay they cryed, with mony a gaip,
 The fiends gave them hot leid to laip,
 Their reward was na less."⁸

This piece exhibits a strong satirical and comic vein, and the whole picture is boldly drawn and full of energy.

The short satirical poem, entitled "The Joust between the Tailor and the Shoemaker," is brimful of comic humour, but the phraseology is exceedingly coarse and vulgar. His "Devil's Inquest" is also strong in satire and humour. The poem addressed to the "Merchants of Edinburgh" afforded Dunbar an opportunity of giving a vivid and characteristic description of the capital, which in his day presented to the beholder anything rather than the picture of a fair city. Much of the manners of the court, and also of the habits of the people,

⁷ Grease, fat.

⁸ *Poems*, Vol. I., pp. 52-53.

is reproduced in the writings of Dunbar: it is this chiefly that renders them valuable to us: the mere literary and poetical value of his works is not so great as it has sometimes been estimated by modern authorities.

The long and curious production, entitled "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy," which extends to 552 lines, was written, as the title implies, partly by both. Kennedy was a contemporary poet, and the two by turns abuse each other in no stinted terms: the "Flyting," at least, shows that the Scottish dialect was exceedingly rich in words and phrases of biting scorn and vehement vituperation. It has been supposed that the two poets had no personal animosity at each other, which may or may not have been the case: Dunbar began the flyting, and Kennedy had the last words:—"Out! out! schowt, upon that snout that snevels, tale teller, rebel, indweller with the devil, spink, sink with stink and Tartara Termagorum."⁹

A number of other poems and pieces of verse have sometimes been attributed to Dunbar, upon more or less slender grounds; and most of these are printed in Dr. Laing's edition of the poet. Of this class is "The Friars of Berwick," a rhymed tale extending to 582 lines. It is a satire on the life of the religious orders, and it is wrought out with considerable skill and effect.¹⁰

⁹ *Poems*, Vol. II., p. 68. "This jolly, quick-witted friar and courtier is sometimes called the Scottish Chaucer. The two have, indeed, a good many points of resemblance. Both were men of the world and favourites at court; companionable men, witty and good humoured, both showed sufficient address and business dexterity to be employed on embassies of state. But if we wish to give the title of 'Scottish Chaucer' its full significance, we must place considerable emphasis on the adjective. Dunbar and Chaucer belonged to the same class of easy self-contained men, whose balance is seldom deranged by restless straining and soaring; but within that happy pleasure-loving circle they occupied distinct habitations; and one way of bringing out their difference of spirit is to lay stress upon their nationality. Dunbar is unmistakably Scotch. He is altogether stronger and harder—perhaps of harsher—nerve than Chaucer; more forcible and less diffuse of speech; his laugh is rougher, he is boldly sarcastic and derisive of persons; his ludicrous conceptions rise to more daring heights of extravagance; and, finally, he has a more decided turn for preaching—for offering good advice."

—Minto's *Characteristics of English Poets*, p. 130.

¹⁰ Dunbar's *Poems*, Vol. II., pp. 3-23. Professor Veitch says, "The Friars

Gavin Douglas, the bishop of Dunkeld, was the third son of Archibald, the fifth Earl of Angus, "Bell the Cat," and he was born about the year 1474. He completed his education at the University of St. Andrews, and graduated Master of Arts in 1494. Shortly after this he entered into priests' orders, and in the year 1496 he had a grant of the tithes of Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire. Chiefly owing to his family connections, other preferments soon came to him, and about the year 1501 he was appointed provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles', at Edinburgh. It was while he held this office that most of his works were composed. His poem, "the Palace of Honour," was finished in 1501; and in 1512 he began the translation of Virgil, and completed it in July, 1513.¹¹ After the battle of Flodden he became deeply involved in the knotty politics of the times; and he made a bold effort to attain to the primacy of the Scottish Church, but he failed. In 1515 he was nominated to the see of Dunkeld, and after much opposition and delay he obtained possession of the bishop's palace. But he again got entangled in

of Berwick' is a tale very much in the manner of Chaucer, and it is not unworthy of his style. It satirises the vices of the regular clergy in a way that must have come home to the sense of domestic purity of the people. It is evidently a production of the pre-reformation period, and, like the writings of Sir David Lyndsay, must have contributed in some measure to the ecclesiastical revolution of 1560."—*The History and Poetry of the Scottish Borders*, p. 326. 1878.

"The Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peebles" is another rhymed production of this period, the authorship of which has not been definitely ascertained. See *The Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 143. Murray's edition, 1872. These tales were first printed in 1603, and reprinted by Pinkerton in 1792, and by Dr. Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. The groundwork of the story is simple and natural. The three priests met together on the 1st of February—St. Bride's Day—in Peebles, and each in turn tells a story. The first tale proceeds on the supposition that the king proposes to each of the three estates in parliament certain questions. The second tale refers to the thoughtlessness of the king in so often changing his servants. The third one is more allegorical, and refers to Death as the messenger of God. The tales are moral and didactic in tone and highly patriotic.—Veitch, *Ibid*, pp. 319-326. In regard to Dunbar's contemporaries in Scotland, there is little now remaining of their writings. See Dr. Laing's edition of Dunbar, Vol. II., pp. 352-362, and the Supplement, which contains much additional information.

¹¹ The *Works* of Gavin Douglas, edited by John Small, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., 4 vols., 1874. Vol. I., pp. 2-9, Introd.

the political troubles of the day, and, having passed to England, he died near London in the year 1522.¹²

The Palace of Honour, his longest poem, is an allegorical production of remarkable power. Douglas had one requisite of the poet in a high degree, a command of copious, varied, and striking imagery; and he also infused fire into his verses; his poetry has a glow which will be sought in vain in Dunbar. His language indeed is difficult to understand, he uses many words and phrases derived from the Latin and the French, which often renders his expression obscure, and his lines rather stilted. But his diction is entirely free from the coarse and vulgar expressions which disfigure the writings of Dunbar. As a poem, the Palace of Honour is loose and rambling; though it gives ample evidence of his classical reading. He introduces various moral reflections throughout the production, and concludes it with a ballad on virtue. The last stanza is rhetorical and ornate:—

“Haill rose most choce till clois thy fois great micht,
Haill stone which shone upon the throne of licht,
Virtue, whose trew sweit dew overthrow al vice,
Was ay ilk day gar say the way of licht;
Amend, offend, and send our end ay richt.
Thow stant, ordant as sanct, of grant most wise,
Till be supply, and the high gre of price,
Delite the tite me quite of site to dicht,
For I apply schortlie to they devise.”¹³

His poem of “King Hart” is an allegory of the progress of human life. The heart of man is represented as a mystical king in the full bloom of youth, surrounded by attendants who personify the propensities of early manhood. Though the king is a feudal monarch, he is far from enjoying freedom; for those around him hold him in leading-strings without much hope of his being able to shake them off. After a few more details about the king, the palace of Dame Pleasance is described.

¹² The *Works* of Gavin Douglas, Vol. I., p. 11, *et seq.* The Biographical Introduction to Mr. Small's complete edition of Douglas' Works is very full and exhaustive.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 80.

This lady with a legion of attendants passes by the Castle of King Hart; and two of his attendants go to ascertain who this party are, but they are surprised and easily made prisoners. The king then sends out other messengers, who are also captured; at last, becoming enraged, he arrays his host for battle with Dame Pleasance and her army. But the king's party are defeated, many of his subjects taken prisoners and confined in dungeons; and King Hart is imprisoned in a grated chamber, where he listened to the mirth that proceeded from the halls of the queen. Through means of Dame Pity, who at this juncture deserted Dame Pleasance, King Hart and his adherents are set free; and then they take possession of the palace and capture the queen herself. After an interview with King Hart, she finds that he is deeply affected by her charms, and the first canto ends with their espousals and the marriage feast.¹⁴

The second canto begins with a description of age in this form:—

“ At morning tide, when at the sone so schene
 Out rushed had his beamis frome the sky
 Ane auld gude man befor the gate was sene,
 Apone ane steed that raid full easalie.
 He rappit at the gate, but courtaslie,
 Yet at the straik the grit dungeon can din;
 Syne at the last he schouted fellonlie;
 And bad them rys, and said he would cum in.
 Sone Wantonness came to the wall abone,
 And cryit out, what folk ar ye thair out?
 My name is Age, said he again full sone;
 May thou nocht heir? Langan how I culd schout?
 What war your Will? I will cum in without dout.
 Now God forbid! In faith ye cum nocht heir,
 Rin on thy way, or thou sall beir ane route:
 And say, the portar he is wonder sweir.”¹⁵

The sentiment is very natural, few people wish for old age to overtake them. The king is grieved that fresh delight had deserted him, sadness intrudes and whispers something into his

¹⁴ *Works*, Vol. I., Introd. pp. 139-141.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

ear. The queen now loses patience, and when the king is asleep, she leaves him; wisdom and reason then counsel him to return to his own castle. But there he finds little comfort; enjoyment and strength both creep away, decrepitude with his host takes the castle and mortally wounds the king, who prepares for death, and makes his last testament: the details of which conclude the poem.¹⁶

The most notable of Douglas' works is his translation of the *Æneid* of Virgil. He has the honour of being the author of the first metrical translation of a Latin classic in Britain; he was however soon followed by others. Virgil was the most popular of the classical writers; before the end of the fifteenth century his works had passed through ninety editions; in the days of Douglas they were read by the young and the old. Taking everything into account, competent authorities have affirmed that Douglas has discharged the duty of a translator tolerably well, 'he was a master of the Latin tongue'; and his translation of the greatest Roman poet is one of which his countrymen may justly be proud.¹⁷ Douglas wrote a prologue to each of the thirteen books of his translation of the *Æneid*. Some of these are of considerable length, and three at least out of the thirteen contain passages of remarkable descriptive power. As a whole, his original prologues display considerable knowledge of human nature, and pointed observations on the manners of mankind. The following passage is from the seventh of the series, and is a part of his much admired description of winter, from a modernised version.

"Now reign'd the power of keen congealing frost,
When all the beauty of the year is lost;
The brumal season, bitter, cold, and pale,
When short dull days and sounding storms prevail,
The wild north winds tremendous from afar,
O'erwhelm'd imperial Neptune in his ear,
Their scatter'd honours from the forests tore,

¹⁶ *Works*, pp. 141-142; *Intro.*, Vol. I., pp., 102-120, 145-146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 144-147. *Intro.*

And dash'd the mad waves headlong on the shore.
 Fierce, foaming rivers, swell'd with torrents brown,
 Hurl'd all their banks precipitately down ;
 Loud roar'd the thunder of the raging floods,
 Loud as gaunt lions bellowing shake the woods.
 Th' unwieldy monsters which the deeps contain,
 Sought safety at the bottom of the main.

Incessant rains had drench'd the floating ground,
 And clouds o'ercast the firmament around ;
 White shone the hills involv'd in silver snow,
 But brown and barren were the vales below :
 On firm foundations of eternal stone
 High rugged rocks in frosty splendour shone ;
 The hoary fields no vivid verdure wore,
 Frost wrapt the world, and beauty was no more
 Wide-wasting winds that chill'd the dreary day,
 And seemed to threaten nature with decay,
 Reminded man, at every baleful breath,
 Of wintry age, and all-subduing death."¹⁸

These lines have something of the genuine classic roll and swell, while they are pretty natural. To compensate for the dreary prospect outside, the poet warmed himself at the fire, and resolved to resume his task of translation.

Douglas' prologue to the twelfth book contains a picture of May, which has been much and justly admired. The following lines are taken from a modernised copy :—

" All gentle hearts confess the quickening spring,
 For May invigorates every living thing.
 Hark ! how the merry minstrels of the grove
 Devote the day to melody and love ;
 The ousel shrill, that haunts the thorny dale,
 The mellow thrush, the love-lorn nightingale,
 Their little breasts with emulation swell
 And sweetly strive in singing to excel.
 In the thick forest feeds the cooing dove ;
 The starling whistles various notes of love ;
 The sparrow chirps the clefted walls among :
 To the sweet wildness of the linnets' song,
 To the harsh cuckoo, and the twittering quail

¹⁸ *Works*, Vol. I., pp. 151-152. Introd., also Vol. III., pp. 74-75.

Resounds the wood, the river, and the vale ;
 And tender twigs, all trembling on the trees,
 Dance to the murmuring music of the bees." ¹⁹

Douglas concluded his translation of Virgil by intimating his belief in the continuance of his fame—"On Virgil's post I fix for ever more"; and he then bids farewell to his poetical studies.²⁰ Several editions of his works were published in the 16th century at London and Edinburgh, and they were comparatively popular.²¹

Dunbar and Douglas both belonged to the old form of religion and society; and there are a few other writers of the same class who have to be noticed ere we enter the heat of the Reformation era. The method followed is intended to indicate the lines on which the historical tendencies were running. While it will appear that the adherents of Roman Catholicism were not all equally blind to the evils around them; it will also appear that it has always been an object of the policy of Romanism to hold the people in leading-strings, though this should entail the utmost oppression and cruelty.

John Mair already mentioned in connection with the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews, is the author of a history of Scotland in Latin, a work of very considerable value. He wrote commentaries on the Third Book of the Master of Sentenees (Peter Lombard); an exposition of the four Gospels; an Introduction to Aristotle's Dialectics, and various other writings. He wrote in Latin and his style is harsh and uncouth. But he held some comparatively liberal opinions touching the church and civil government. He denied the supremacy of the Pope, and showed a disposition to limit the power of the

¹⁹ *Works*, Vol. I., p. 155. *Introd.*, Vol. IV., p. 84.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 223.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 67-172. Mr. Small's edition of Douglas's writings is very complete; he has done all that careful research and scholarship could to present a correct text, and to illustrate his author. The value of Douglas's writings for philological comparison and illustration has long been fully recognised. See Vol. I. *Introd.*, pp. 162-166; and also Dr. J. D. Murray's *Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland*; 1873.

censures of the Church; he held that tithes were merely a human appointment; censured the avarice, the ambition, and the secular pomp of the episcopal order; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holydays.²² His views of government were to the effect that kings and princes originally derived their authority from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, if considered in their corporate character: that when kings are tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and if incorrigible, may be deposed and even punished by the community. The connection of these principles with the political opinions afterwards avowed by Knox, and clearly expounded by Buchanan, is too striking to need further illustration. Yet, though these liberal and rational sentiments are embodied in the writings of John Mair, it requires some ingenuity to disentangle them from the mass of trifling questions and puerile discussions which fill the pages of his works.

The writings of Boece, the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, are better known than Mair's. Boece was a good Latinist, and wrote an eloquent and charming style. His chief works are the *Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen*, and the *History of Scotland*. Though he was a learned man, his mind was extremely credulous; and in his history he allowed his fancy a pretty long rein; but the character of his history of Scotland is so well known, it is unnecessary to dwell on its peculiarities. It was published at Paris in 1526, and it was afterwards translated into the Scottish dialect by Bellenden.²³

John Bellenden was a Catholic churchman, and attained to the rank of archdean of Moray. Before he was promoted to that position, he had translated Boece's history of Scotland into the vernacular, for the use of James V. He was engaged on this task in 1530 and the three following years; and at intervals

²² Most of Mair's writings were published at Paris; Watt's *Bibliotheca*; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Knox, Works*, Vol. I., pp. 4-5, 305-307, 309.

²³ Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. III., pp. 14, 71.

he received from the Treasurer small sums of money as the reward of his labours. His translation of Boece is reported to have been printed in 1536, but it is more likely that it was printed about 1540 by Thomas Davidson, the king's printer, there is no date on the book itself. Bellenden's translation of the first five books of Livy's history, which was also produced for the instruction of the king, was not printed till 1822. About 1537 he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Moray, and shortly after he obtained a prebend in the cathedral of Ross.²⁴

Bellenden's translations are the longest prose compositions in the Scottish dialect prior to the reformation that have come down to our times. His powers of expression were conspicuous, his style is remarkably fluent and easy, and it often surprises the reader by touches of vivacity and force; he is smooth and natural, and occasionally striking passages are produced. In his version, however, he does not adhere closely to his author, he frequently takes the liberty of curtailing as well as amplifying; but, on the whole he has improved the original, and rendered it more interesting. He has subjoined to his translation of Boece's history an epistle to the king, which is written with manly freedom, and a few sentences of it may be quoted as a specimen of the language of the period. "In every history that men redis, apperis, evidently, the same maneris with the

²⁴ *Treasurers' Accounts*; the Works of J. Bellenden, Vol. I., pp. 39-41; Intro., 1822. There is a fine copy of Bellenden's translation of Boece's history in the library of the University of Edinburgh, printed upon vellum. But "this valuable volume seems to have been heedlessly committed to the hands of a tasteless bookbinder, and has, in consequence, suffered much from those operations known by the name of cobbling". There is another copy preserved in the library of the Duke of Hamilton: "and a more splendid specimen of early typography, and of antique binding, cannot well be imagined. The vellum upon which it is printed is stainless—and the breadth of the margin would satisfy the most fastidious and princely collector. The boards bear the following inscription, JACOBUS QUINTUS REX SCOTORUM—and on the title page, the Initials J. Rx., appear in manuscript. They are in all probability, in the hand-writing of that monarch, to whom the volume seems to have belonged." Works of Bellenden, Vol. I., pp. 7-8; Intro.

pepil, which are usit by the king. And sen na thing is, that the pepil followis with mair imitation, nor kepis in mair recent memory, than werkis of nobil men ; of reason, their besines suld be mair respondent to virtew, than of any other estatis. . . . For these reasons, I that hes bene your humil servitour sen your first infance, hes translatit the History of Scotland, sen the first beginning thereof, in your vulgar langage ; that your Hienes may know the vailyeant and nobil dedis done be your progenitouris ; and have cognasance how this realm hes bene governit these one thousand and eight hundred years bygane : which was nevir subdewit to uncouth empire, but only to the native princis thereof ; howbeit the same hes sustenit gret truble, be weris of Romanis, Inglismen, and Danis, with sindry chancis of fortun. Here, may your hienes understand how your realm suld be governit in justice, and what persons are maist abil to beir authority or office thairintil. . . . The truth is, that kingis and tyrannis hes mony handis, mony ene, and mony more membris. A tyrane settis him to be dred ; a king, to be loved. A tyrane rejoices to make his pepil poor ; a king, to make them rich. A tyrane draws his pepil to sindry factions, discord, and hatred : a king makis peace, tranquilite, and concord ; knowing nathing sa dammagious as division amang his subdittis. A tyrane confoundis all divine and humane lawis ; a king observes them, and rejoices in equite and justice. . . . What is he that will not rejoice to heir the knichtly affaris of thay forey compionis, King Robert Bruce, and William Wallace ? ²⁵

In common with John Mair and a few others of his contemporaries, Bellenden held liberal political sentiments ; although he was not prepared for any radical change in the national religion, he was well aware of the vicious lives of many of the clergy. In his proem or preface to the translation of Boece, he stated that the large incomes of the churches had made the priests more slothful than fervent in their proper work ; and that the wealth of the bishops afforded them occasion to lead

²⁵ *Works of J. Bellenden*, Vol. II., pp. 513-516.

vicious lives. Yet, the honest archdean was opposed to the reformation movement, and he did not live to see it established in Scotland. He went to Rome, where he died in 1550.²⁶

The *Complaynt of Scotland*, already referred to in the preceding pages, now falls to be examined. Its authorship has not been exactly ascertained, but it is brought within the limit of two or three individuals, who lived in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is, however, pretty clear that the author of this remarkable book was a Scotchman, a churchman, and firmly attached to the Roman Catholic faith; and a warm adherent of the French side in the struggle then raging in Scotland.²⁷ The work was called forth by the exigencies of the kingdom at the time of its composition, and this greatly enhances its value. Indeed, it is a book of exceeding importance to the

²⁶ *Works of J. Bellenden*, Vol. I., p. 110, and *Intro.*, p. 42.

²⁷ Dr Leyden, in his learned and very valuable edition of the *Complaynt*, has attributed its authorship to Sir David Lyndsay. But this opinion upon reasonable grounds has been set aside as untenable. Dr. Laing, in his preface to *The Gude and Godlie Ballads*, comes to the conclusion that Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, was the author of the *Complaynt*, pp. 43-46. The question of its authorship, and also the place of its publication, has since been discussed at great length by Dr. Murray in his introduction to the edition of the *Complaynt* published for the Early English Text Society, 1872. It had been usually stated that the *Complaynt* was printed at St. Andrews at 1549; but Dr. Murray, from various considerations, such as the spelling of certain words and the absence of the letter W., and the style of type, being Roman instead of the black letter, in which the old Scottish books were commonly printed. From these circumstances, and the fact that the typography of the *Complaynt* bore a striking likeness to that of many of the French books of the 16th century, he was led to the conclusion that the first edition of this book was printed in France. He also states that the experts in typography at the British Museum had independently arrived at the conclusion that the *Complaynt* was printed in France. *Intro.*, pp. 106-108.

Dr. Murray's opinion on the authorship is thus stated:—"Sir David Lyndsay is peremptorily excluded from consideration; no less so, I think, is Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee. In lack of further evidence, the claims of Sir James Inglis of Cambuskenneth, and some unknown priest of the name of Wedderburn, are equally balanced, though, if the part of *Mackenzie's Life* which calls Inglis a man of Fyfe belongs to this Inglis, the evidence of dialect would be against him." *Intro.* to the *Complaynt*, p. 116. Touching the question of authorship as thus indicated, compare Professor Veitch's view, in the *History and Poetry of the Scottish Borders*, pp. 339-342.

historian for the numerous illustrations of the state of society which it affords, and for the opinions of the author himself on a variety of matters. He introduces an extremely multitudinous mass of subjects besides the treatment of the main purpose, and these digressions are the most interesting parts of his curious production.

The *Complaynt of Scotland* consists of two chief parts, the author's discourse concerning the wretched state of his country, and his dream of Dame Scotia and her complaint against her three sons. But in the sixth chapter he makes a digression and introduces what he knew of cosmogony, botany, naval architecture, native songs, dances, and popular tales. As this part of the book is interesting in connection with the history of the national ballads and music, after describing the chief part of the treatise, we will return and touch upon the points embraced in this chapter, and then conclude the account of the pre-reformation literature, so far as it was unaffected by the new influences of the revolutionary movement.

The writer begins his work with an epistle to the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, and, rising to the height of the occasion, he extols her virtue and wisdom. He thinks that her counsel will do something to stave off the subjection of the nation to their old enemies, the English. He then proceeds to indicate the causes of their affliction, but soon returns to the praise of the queen and her noble ancestors, and continues in this strain through six pages. To this illustrious person he had resolved to dedicate the first work of his pen. He had experienced some difficulty in deciding what to write about; but after searching the library of his understanding, he deemed it most meet to rehearse the miseries of Scotland and their causes. The epistle to the queen is followed by a prologue to the reader. He quotes with approval the ancient laws against idleness; and sets himself to show that the labour of the pen is no pastime, whatever it may seem. He had a talent for study and writing, and therefore he was to assist the public-weal by his pen; as the

pen had done more for the Romans than the sword, though each craft was necessary in a well organised state, and every honest occupation was equally honourable. The author thought it necessary to make an apology for writing in the vulgar Scottish dialect; and he stated that several writers before him had mixed their language with uncouth terms, riven from Latin, and measured their eloquence by the length of their words;²⁸ but he repudiated all such conceits, and meant only to use his natural Scottish tongue. In spite, however, of this declaration, his work is encumbered with more foreign words than that of any Scottish writer.²⁹ He requested the reader to look favourably upon his intentions, which would encourage him to make greater efforts in his next work that he intended to publish.

The *Complaynt* contains twenty chapters, some of which are very short. The first five chapters are filled with the author's opinions upon the fortunes of nations, and the causes of the distress and suffering which then afflicted Scotland. He lays it down that rulers are set up and overturned by Divine Providence; and he supports this view by instances from Scripture and from profane history, citing the fate of Troy, Thebes, Sparta, Athens, Rome, and other powers, that have at one time held empire in the world. He translates several passages from the Vulgate, which he thinks is applicable to the state of Scotland; and concludes this part of his subject with a hit at the sceptical readers, who might malignantly say that the threatenings of Moses referred not to Scotland, but to Israel.

He digresses to discuss various opinions concerning the world, its duration, and nature. Many believed that nothing was lasting but the world, and thus they were led to value temporal good more than eternal well-being. People speak of the world, and know not what it is. The ancient philosophers spent much

²⁸ The author gives instances of these long words—"gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus". He holds "that all such terms proceeds from fantastic and glorious conceits".—*Complaynt of Scot.*, pp. 1-17.

²⁹ The language of the *Complaynt* has been admirably explained by Dr. Murray in his Introduction. See pp. 96-106.

time in speculating on this question. He goes on to state the opinions of the pagan philosophers about the world. Too many still believed that it would last 37,000 years, as Socrates had taught, but will that make human life one day longer? He quotes John Carion's account of the prophecy of Elijah, to show that the world shall endure only 6000 years; and then states that as 1548 of the last two thousand was already past, there remained but 452 years till the final consummation of all things. Even this period is to be shortened for the sake of the elect people, though the exact date is not fixed, and thus the end of the world may be close at hand. Therefore, as it is so near its end, "it should be held in detestation, and our thoughts concentrated on the future eternal happiness that God has promised to all those that hold it in abomination".³⁰

"The Vision of Dame Scotia" opens in the seventh chapter, and occupies the rest of the book. In somewhat figurative language he describes the nobles, the clergy, and the people, all of whom are in a most wretched state. He begins the eighth chapter by making more direct charges of degeneracy, selfishness, and want of patriotism, among all classes of the Scots. He draws a very natural picture of the condition of the kingdom: he reproaches the men who had sacrificed their country for their own private interest; he refers to the feuds of the Scots among themselves, and affirms that some of them had yielded to the English and become vile slaves.³¹ Having expressed his indignation, he proceeds in the ninth chapter to urge the Scots to pray to God and help themselves, to repent and prosper; and he recites for their encouragement the examples of several countries whose struggle for independence had been successful. He

³⁰ Pp. 31-36.

³¹ After the battle of Pinkie in September, 1547, the Duke of Somerset received the homage of many of the chiefs and gentry of the Eastern Borders; and the English warden of the West Marches brought most of the clans of the west under assurance. Their submission, however, lasted only till the arrival of the French auxiliaries in 1549. But when the *Complaynt* was written the whole inhabitants of the border counties were living under the English. Dr. Murray's *Introd.*, p. 37.

notices briefly some of the wars of the Jews as recorded in the Bible; recounts Darius' invasion of Greece, and his discomfiture by Miltiades; and how the great host of Xerxes, the king of Persia, was bravely encountered by the Greeks, and ultimately compelled to beat a retreat. He recalled to the mind of his countrymen and told them to consider how the English were driven out of France. But now it was manifest that the English had violently usurped all Scotland, in the east, in the west, and in the north, where they were dwelling peaceably under their own laws. In the days of Edward the First they had done the same thing; though, with the aid of God, Robert Bruce had driven them out of the kingdom. "Therefore I hope in God that within a short time the protector of England and his cruel council shall be put in the chronicles in as abominable a style as was Philaris, Dionysius, Nero, Callugala, or Domician, the which came to a mischievous end, for the violent invasion of other princes' countries without any just cause."

The tenth chapter begins with an attack upon a book set forth by the English orators and their protector. It advanced a claim that Scotland was originally a colony of England. Though the grounds of this claim was frivolous, their intention was plain, to wit, the English wished to show to foreign princes that they had a just title to make war upon Scotland; but our author remarked that realms are not conquered by books, but with blood.³² He said that Englishmen gave more credence to the prophecies of Merlin than to the Gospel. "Because that their old prophet prophesied that England and Scotland should be both under one prince." The author himself believed that this would come to pass, but not in his day, nor in the way that the English expected; since they were to be conquered by the Scots: "And from that time forth, England and Scotland

³² The particular book meant by the author has not been ascertained, but four English pamphlets have come down to us, which answer to his description, and were evidently in the author's mind here and in other parts of the *Complaynt*: these pamphlets are printed as an appendix to Dr Murray's edition, see pp. 191-256.

shall be but one monarchy, and shall live under one prince ; and so Englishmen shall get their prophecy fulfilled to their own mischief."

At the beginning of the eleventh chapter he introduces a rather sweeping mode of treating the English claim. He proposed to examine their title to England and what they were themselves ; and he came to the conclusion that they were the descendants of Sergest and Hengest, the two Saxons who came to assist the King of Britain in his wars, and after a short time, they treacherously dispossessed him. Ever since, this false race have possessed the country by violence and tyranny ; and most of the English kings have murdered their predecessors. Henry I. was banished from the throne ; Henry III. was driven from the throne, by his second son, Richard ; King John was a murderer ; and Edward II. and Richard II., perished miserably ; Henry VI. was murdered ; and Richard III. slew the children of Edward IV. Henry VII. got the crown of England by the support of the King of France ; so that not one of them had a just title to the throne of England, much less to Scotland. "All this well considered, should inflame your hearts with courage to resist their cruel assaults, and to maintain by valour the just defence of your native country. Ye know how they and their forefathers have been your old mortal enemies for twelve hundred years, making cruel war against your ancestors by fire and sword, daily destroying your fields, villages, and boroughs, with a firm purpose to strip Scotland from your generation . . . constantly lying in wait against you, and taking advantage of your dissensions." He exhorts his countrymen to remove the causes of discord among themselves ; and asks what castle could be kept against besiegers, if mortal strife raged within it among the defenders ? He called on them to remember the valour of their forefathers, and to take an example from their noble deeds, who in bygone ages had often been harder pressed than they then were. He told the Scots that their enemies would not at that time have troubled them, if their own discord had not

opened the way ; he implored them to make a final effort before their ruin was complete, and the nation for ever enslaved, their wives and daughters ravished, and their property seized. He reminded them of the treatment to which the English had subjected Ireland and Wales, and warned them to expect nothing better at the hands of their old enemies. Although the king of England was of Welsh descent, yet the Welsh were subjected to all kinds of oppression. So likewise, the English have oppressed Ireland ; the chief men of that country have been beheaded, and the people enslaved ; excepting the few who had fled and found a refuge in the wilds. But a still harder yoke would be put on the necks of the Scots who helped England to subdue their native land—"As King Edward at the black parliament at the barns of Ayr hanged sixteen score of his Scottish adherents ; so in 1547 the Protector Somerset intended to repeat this feat for the invader had brought to Scotland two barrels full of halters, each with a loop ready-made to receive its victim Though the English king patronises the renegade Scots, he would be well pleased if every Scotsman had another in his stomach ; he merely uses them for his own ends, he loved the treason that suited his purpose, but not the traitor that committed it."

In the thirteenth chapter the author discusses the familiarity between the English and the Scots, and its evil effects. This familiarity arose from the intercourse of the people on the borders, which intercourse was contrary to the laws both of England and Scotland. He asserts that no two nations were more unlike each other than the English and the Scots, though they were neighbours and spoke the same language. "For Englishmen are subtle, and Scotsmen are facile. Englishmen are ambitious in prosperity, and Scotsmen are humane in prosperity. Englishmen are humble when they are subjected by force and violence, and Scotsmen are furious when they are violently subjected. Englishmen are cruel when they get victory, and Scotsmen are merciful when they get victory. .

Their natures and conditions are as different as is the nature of sheep and wolves." He comes to the conclusion that there should be no familiarity between them; as familiarity between enemies is sure to beget treason, and the king of England had tampered with several Scottish gentlemen. There were also some traitors that revealed the secret plans of the Scottish Council to the king of England; so when the Lords of Council resolved on any matter, within twenty-four hours a full account of it was in Berwick, and three days after the Berwick post presented it in London: thus the English were ready to thwart the purpose of the Scots even before it is entered upon. He regrets that there were Scotsmen who would reveal every secret of their country rather than burn a finger of their gloves.

But, lest persuasion and invective should both fail to arrest the Scottish traitors, he quotes various classical and Scriptural instances to show that traitors and conspirators are always punished, even by those that have profited most by their treason.³³ He devoted the whole of the fourteenth chapter to the illustration of the subject.

In the fifteen chapter he enters on another side of the state of Scotland—the commons and the people bring up their grievances against the nobles and the clergy. We referred to this chapter before,³⁴ and will now give a summary of its contents, as it is one of the most valuable parts of the book.

³³ The authorities cited by the author of the *Complaynt* are the following:—Aristotle, *Politics*; St. Augustine, Boccaccio, Boethius, Carion's Chronicle; Cato, Cicero, *De Officiis*, Parod., *De Finibus*, Epistolæ; Diodorus, Josephus, Justin, Juvenal, Lactantius, Livy, Mimus, Publilianus, Persius, Philiremo Fregoso, Plutarch, Priest of Peebles, Sullust, Seneca the Tragedian, Thucydides, Valerius Maximus, Vincentius, besides many references to the Civil and Canon Law, to the Annals of Rome, and to the Old and New Testament, the Vulgate version. The author of the *Complaynt* was familiar with Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio, and frequently uses it. Dr. Murray noticed, "That in no case does the original of any Greek author appear to be quoted: (in the *Complaynt*) Greek was only struggling for recognition at Oxford and Cambridge; and it was not till after the reformation that it became an ordinary acquirement of the scholar."—*Introduction*, pp. 30-31, 67-68.

³⁴ See under p. 290.

The industrious husbandmen and the labourers pour forth their lamentations against the oppressive exactions of the landlords and the clergy. The people were, like dull asses, kicked and goaded, and made the butt of every dart. They were compelled to labour night and day to feed lazy and useless men, who in return oppressed them, and fleeced them to beggary. The nobles and the clergy were even more cruel to them than the English invaders. Their corn and cattle was daily reft from them, and then they were turned out of their holdings. "They were forced to lend to the tyrants above them, and when they asked for the debt, they were cuffed or killed. There was a cry for war against England, but the brunt of it really fell upon the poor labourers; and there was no help for them in Scotland, except to pray to God that He would take vengeance upon their oppressors. For it is to be presumed that the lamentable voice and cries of the afflicted people complaining to heaven, will move to pity the clemency of the most merciful and puissant divine Creator, who, through His eternal justice, will crush in confusion all violent usurpers that perpetrate such cruel iniquities upon the desolate and poor people. Therefore, oh! my country, since I am in danger of death, and despairing of my life, necessity drives and constrains me to cry on God, and to desire vengeance on them that persecutes me, in hope that He will relieve me, or else take me out of this miserable life, for the ingratitude of the nobles and the clergy." He goes on to say that they had misgoverned the kingdom, and brought the people into this dire extremity. Yet they were displeased because the people murmured, though they did not desist from wrongdoing. These proud men would fain have it believed that they are the progeny of angels and archangels, instead of the common sons of Adam. How baseless is the boast of blood! "Let it be tested. The stock of the first genealogy of all the nobles that has been since the world began has been poor labourers and mechanical craftsmen; and God grant that these arrogant ones may have grace to know themselves. For in the past all

conspiracies have been originated and fomented by the great; as treason is impossible among the poor."

No one could read this chapter without perceiving that the author has felt keenly for the hard lot of the common people; albeit, in the next chapter he looks at the other side of the shield, and he is equally severe on the faults of the people themselves. The commonalty deserved punishment as much as their betters, and it is quite right to hold them in subjection, because they are not fit for liberty; and if they had the opportunity, they would be worse than the others. Their meetings were usually scenes of uproar; "when they scolded and barked without rhyme or reason all the day long". They follow the most blatant prater like sheep. They are fickle in their minds; and the counsel of ten prudent men is better than all the wisdom of the commons. Their judgment is worthless, as they jump to conclusions at first sight. Indeed he says, that the unbridled common people are worse than the brute beasts. They are intemperate, lustful, and steady only when forced. When any of them rise in the world, then they were much worse than the higher classes; and their children are ignorant, vain, prodigal and arrogant. The chapter closes with an old piece of advice to the commons, that they should correct themselves before they accuse the nobles and the clergy.

In the seventeenth chapter he turns again to the vices of the nobles, and begins by saying that the faults of the people should not make the nobles glory. He shortly shows that they have no ground for glorification; he declares that they had scarcely a spark of nobleness or gentleness in them. To make this quite clear, he discusses the origin of gentlemen, speaks of the golden age, when habits were simple and men's tastes natural; in that happy time the people drank no wine nor beer, nor yet disordered their appetites with spices, herbs, drugs, gums, or sugar, brought from distant lands. During that blessed era there was no difference of conditions, all men were equal; they all lay together in a corner without any shame or offence. But the

iron age, which now reigns, was ushered in and then everything was perverted, and man's sorrow began and ever since continued; though he has tried many expedients to mitigate his suffering, he has had comparatively little success.

True nobility is not hereditary, and when the descendants of nobles cease to perform worthy deeds they deserve to be degraded from their privileged position. It is far better for one's self to be virtuous than to attempt to draw one's lineage from the virtuous; even the son of a prince if he lacks virtue is not a gentleman. Some gentlemen were ashamed that their ancestors were plebeians. But how vain is the boast of high ancestry; as the longest line begins in mud and clay. Men therefore should have as their armorial bearings dust, ashes, and earth. "As they must all return to their common and general mother the earth, and she makes no acceptance of persons nor difference of qualities between gentlemen and mechanics, but receives them all indifferently in her domicile and receptacle. Then when the corrupted flesh is consumed from the bones, no man can distinguish a prince from a beggar."

He becomes very serious on the character of the nobles, but from other sources of information it seems that his description of them is not much overdrawn. "It appears that when your noble predecessors died, they took their virtue and gentility with them to their sepultures, and they left nothing with you but the title of their gentle rank. . . . For I see nothing among gentlemen but vice. For honesty is spotted, ignorance is praised, prudence is scorned, and chastity is banished; the nights are too short to gentlemen to commit their lecheries, and the days are too short to them to commit extortions upon the poor people. Their blasphemy of the name of God corrupts the ear. The prodigal pride that reigns among them is detestable, not only in costly dress above their state, but also in the prodigal expenses that they incur on horse and dogs, above their rents or riches. A man is not reputed for a gentleman in Scotland unless he expends more on his horse and his dogs nor he

does on his wife and children. . . . There are too many horses in Scotland, like Diomedes's horse, that eats the poor people; and there are too many dogs in Scotland that worries their master, as Actæon was worried."

The nineteenth chapter treats on the shortcomings of the clergy, but he is not so severe on them as on the nobles and the people. He makes general charges against the spiritual estate, and speaks of abuses prevailing among them; but his reproof of the priesthood is not so distinctly put nor thrust home as his complaints against the other classes. From this it has been inferred that the author himself was an ecclesiastic,³⁵ and probably he was a member of the spiritual class, at least he was firmly attached to the Roman Catholic faith, and a hater of schism; though it says much for his sagacity that he saw the folly of burning heretics.

The abuses of the clergy had caused dissension between them and the temporal estate. "For the clergy and the nobles lived like cats and dogs barking at each other, therefore there is not one of you better than another. . . . Doubtless thy abuse, and the sinister ministration of thy office, is the special cause of the schism and of the diverse sects that troubles all Christendom. Howbeit, though the root of these schisms and sects are in Germany, Denmark, and England, nevertheless the branches of them are spread athwart all Christian realms in such a way that they have more adherents nor adversaries, for diverse men desire a part of the temporal patrimony of the kirk, because of the abuse and evil example of the churchmen. And this plague of schism can never be reformed by any statutes, laws, punishments, banishings, burning, forfeiting, nor torment that can be devised till the time that the clergy reform themselves. Therefore, if the clergy were as solicitous to reform and correct their own malversation as they are solicitous to punish those that detracts and murmurs at their obstinate abuses, certainly the example of their good conversation would extinguish

³⁵ Dr. Murray's Introd., pp. 60-63.

and supplant more hastily all perverted opinions and schism, nor all the punishment that Christendom can execute. While the clergy remain in their present state, the punishment which they execute upon schismatics may be fitly compared to a man that casts oil on a burning fire in hope to extinguish it and to drown it out, the which oil makes the fire more bold than it was before. The evidence of this is manifest; for as soon as there is a person slain, burnt, or banished for holding perverted opinions, immediately there rises up three in his place; therefore such punishment may be compared to a serpent called hydra, which had seven heads." He tells the clergy to unite together and reform their scandalous lives and the abuses that reign among themselves.

The author of the *Complaynt* showed sound judgment in his remarks on the burning of heretics. He informs his brethern that they had more to fear from England than the laity; and proceeds to show that Henry VIII. hated the English clergy, and those of Scotland need expect no more mercy at his hands. He therefore counselled the clergy, at least all who were able-bodied, to cast aside their cowls and long robes and buckle themselves with steel jackets and coats of mail, and then go boldly into the battle against the English army of vile heretics and excommunicated infidels.³⁶

He begins the twentieth and last chapter by stating that the intestine strife which raged in Scotland had done her more injury than the armies of England; and he concludes his work with a general address to the various ranks of the Scots, in which he illustrates his views by historical examples at great length; and ends by telling the Scots that God will help them, if they help themselves.

The author of the *Complaynt* displays much knowledge of

³⁶ The author said that all classes are bound by every law, human and divine, to fight for their country—"Then why should priests or friars allege exemptions, saying that their profession obliges them to sing and say, to preach and pray, and not to fight in battle," pp. 161-164.

the world, and considerable learning for his age and country. His style of remark is shrewd and striking, and his illustrations are often apposite and sometimes exceedingly happy. He exhibits a very keen relish for invective, and occasionally he makes telling hits. His phraseology is not nearly so coarse as many of his contemporaries.

It has been inferred that the sixth chapter as it now stands is mainly an addition made by the author when his work was passing through the press, and inserted as a piece of attractive reading. This chapter opens with the description of a walk which he took among the green fields. He passed to the foot of a hill where there was a stream teeming with fishes, and overhung by a wooded bank, amid which the melodious songs of birds tickled his ears. He then entered a forest, and listened to the cries of the animals and the fowls of the air. From this scene he passed to the seashore, and there he saw a naval conflict between a galley and another ship. His description of the scene is very minute and animated. He repeats the sea cries then in use, and gives a list of the artillery and firearms known in Scotland in the early part of the sixteenth century. Leaving the two vessels enveloped in the smoke of powder, he returned to the fresh fields. Then he proceeds to relate the current opinions of the age about the universe, the motions of the sun, the moon, the fixed stars, and the planets; and astrology as well as astronomy engaged his attention. After learnedly discoursing on these exalted subjects, he concludes this part of his work in the following words:—"All these things before rehearsed, of the circles of the sphere, and of the heavens and planets, is said to cause you to consider that mankind is subject to the planets and their influences; therefore we should prepare and provide to resist these evil constellations. For, howbeit, that they are the instruments of God, yet, nevertheless, He of his goodness resists their evil influences from the time that we become obedient to his command."

But the most valuable part of the *Complaynt* is the latter

half of this chapter. It is here that he introduces a list of the popular tales, the songs, the ballads, and the dances, then common among the Scots. The names, or titles, of forty-eight tales are recorded, the names of thirty-seven songs, or ballads, and the names of about thirty dance-tunes. Altogether the list contains one hundred and sixteen titles of distinct things of the character indicated.³⁷ These lists are important in connection with the history of our popular literature, as they afford the earliest date for many tales, ballads, and tunes. Although a tale or a ballad is only mentioned in the briefest terms, it is evidence that they existed, at least, in the first half of the sixteenth century.

³⁷ The lists were analysed by Dr. Leyden in his introduction to the *Complaynt*, and by Mr. Furnivall in his introduction to *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books*, edited by him for the Ballad Society, 1871; and Dr. Murray has given a very useful summary of the list, chiefly drawn from the above sources. See Introduction to the *Complaynt*, pp. 73-96. Sir David Lyndsay mentions several of the tales enumerated in the *Complaynt*. Those that wish to become familiar with this interesting department of early British literature will now have little difficulty of finding ample materials, which have been rendered accessible in a printed form by the various book clubs and societies both of England and Scotland.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LITERATURE OF THE REFORMATION, AND THE LATER PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the preceding pages an account was given of the pre-reformation literature of Scotland; in this chapter the class of writings more immediately associated with the revolution, is to be treated. In this connection, the writings of Sir David Lyndsay had more influence among the people in hastening on the Reformation than those of any other man of the age in Scotland. It is a singular and notable fact that Lyndsay was not interfered with, nor accused for heresy by the Church, though he had made many bold attacks upon the priesthood and the corrupted doctrine of the Roman Church: probably it was his rank and position that saved him from the heresy hunters of the times. It is however uncertain whether Sir David Lyndsay ever actually renounced his general adherence to the Roman Catholic faith; although his name has always been reckoned among the early adherents of the Scottish Reformation. He died before the reformed party in Scotland had assumed a distinct attitude towards the government of the kingdom, or had even formed themselves into an open congregation of religionists; but, if we cannot exactly count him as one of the Protestant Reformers, still we must regard him as a great power in preparing the national mind for the reception of the radical revolution which triumphed in Scotland within a few years after his death.¹

¹ *Poetical Works* of Sir D. Lyndsay, edited by Dr. Laing, 2 Vols. 1871, *Memoir*, Vol. I., pp. 45-50. "Had Lyndsay survived for a few years beyond the actual term of his life, we need scarcely doubt he would have joined himself to the Lords of the Congregation in the abjuration of Popery; but it cannot be said that, at any period of his life, he had actually renounced his general adherence to

In fact, Lyndsay was a real and worthy Reformer. He openly and bravely stood up and exposed the abuses of the government of his country, and held up to scorn the corruptions of the Church; he was not afraid to denounce the host of traditions, of puerile fancies, and inherited prejudices, which had been venerated for centuries; he felt keenly for the hard lot of the toiling mass of his countrymen, and the whole force of his nature and power over the language was thrown into his writings, with the aim of mitigating the suffering of the people; he honestly faced the storm, and he has had his reward in the grateful remembrance of succeeding generations.

Little is known about the early days of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount; but it appears that he was employed at the court of Scotland during the greater part of his life. For a period of nearly fifty years, excepting the short time that the Earl of Angus held James V., in captivity, Lyndsay seems to have been constantly engaged in various offices in the royal household. About the year 1529, he was appointed chief Herald, or Lyon King of Arms, as it was called, and he held this office till his death. In the later part of the reign of James V., he was occasionally sent on foreign embassies in the service of the government. He died about the year 1555.²

Lyndsay was not a great poet or a man of very remarkable genius; all his works had practical aims, and were intended to produce moral results. He was well informed, familiar with the history of his own country, and of other countries; his writings are interspersed with many historical allusions. He had a fund of genuine humour, and his satire is often pungent and stinging; but his taste was rather coarse, which however, was partly

the Romish Faith." Compare Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 17, 25, 324; 1855. "His poems were very famous among his countrymen; but they were admired not so much for their poetical charms as for their powerful help to the good cause of the Reformation."—Minto's *Characteristics of the English Poets*, pp. 143-144.

² Dr. Laing's *Memoir*, pp. 12-22, 29, Chalmers's Edition of the Poetical Works of Sir D. Lyndsay, Vol. I., pp. 11-14, 17, 36; 1806.

the fault of his age, and sprang out of the state of society. If his style had been pitched on a higher key, it is certain that his writings would not have been so popular, and his influence as a reformer must have been greatly circumscribed. Some of Lyndsay's productions were printed in his own lifetime, but we cannot say that any of the existing early impressions had the advantage of his own revision when passing through the press.³ The earliest collection of his writings extant is the edition which was published in France in 1558; from this date to the year 1614 there were no fewer than fourteen editions of his works published, including the two French and the three English ones. His writings were not only very popular among all ranks of the Scots, but they were also well received in England and France, and printed in Holland and in Ireland. It was reported that Lyndsay's poems were read by the children in the schools,⁴ but there is little evidence of this; though for three or four generations his writings were to be found in almost every household throughout the kingdom.

In the days of Lyndsay the orthography of the vernacular language was not definitely fixed, and the spelling of the same word is often varied in his writings. He sometimes made violent changes in words to suit the necessity of his rhyme, and occasionally carried this so far as to obscure the sense. But he had a copious command of words, and used a great variety of all sorts of terms. His chief object was to instruct and to make himself intelligible to the common people; in his own words—

“Howbeit that divers devote cunning clerks
In Latine tongue has written sundrie books,
Our unlearned knows little of their works,
More than they do the ravying of the rooks.

³ “Some of his works were undoubtedly circulated during his own life in a printed form, but of the existing early impressions, it cannot positively be asserted that any one of them had the advantage of his own superintendence.” Dr. Laing's edition, Pref. Vol. I., p. 1.

⁴ Chalmers said that Lyndsay's poetical works were read in the schools. *Works* of Sir David Lyndsay, Vol. I., pp. 83-91.

Wherefore to colliers, carters, and to cooks,
To Jok and Thome my rhyme sall be directed,
With cunning men howbeit it will be lacked."⁵

He goes on to state that when the Romans held universal sway, "the ornate Latin was their proper lingo"; but if St. Jerome who translated the Scriptures into Latin, had been born in Argyle, he assuredly would have written his books in Gaelic. He argues that all the books necessary for the common-wealth and our salvation should be translated into the language of the people. Lyndsay's works are full of moral sentences and proverbial phrases, but many of his words are obsolete, and others which he freely used are regarded as profane slang, in fact some of his expressions can only be characterised as swearing at large; in his writings there are many low words, and passages here and there which are extremely offensive; his language on the whole gives a sad impression of the state of society in pre-reformation times.

Lyndsay's first poem, "The Dreame," was written in 1528, and in it he began his attack upon the clergy and the church. He draws a deplorable picture of the religious orders. Pride had usurped the place of humility amongst them, sensual pleasure had banished chastity; the lords of religion were more absorbed in counting their money than in observing their rule and attending to their duty, ambition had so utterly blinded them. In his "Complaynt," written in 1529, and addressed to the king, he warned his royal master to keep his eyes upon the clergy, to cause them to perform their functions, to preach and to administer the sacraments according to the injunctions of Christ, to put aside their vain traditions by which the silly people were deluded; as in praying to graven images, and making super-

⁵ *Poetical Works*, Vol. I., p. 248, Dr. Laing's ed.; see also pp. 65-66, 231. In those days it was common to make apologetic prefaces for composing works in the vulgar tongue; the great Chaucer deemed it needful to do this, also Lydgate, Gavin Douglas, and the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, as already mentioned; even in the reign of Charles I. Abacue Bysett, in the preface to the *Rollment of Courtes*, apologised for "using my awin natural Scottish language".

stitious pilgrimages, expressly against the Lord's command. He recalled the examples of the kings of Israel, who were punished for assenting to idolatry; and then instanced David and Solomon, who suffered no images to stand in the temple, and their reward was heavenly bliss, which should also be granted to the king of Scotland if he followed in their footsteps.⁶

Lyndsay's next production, "The Testament and Complaynt of the King's Papyngo," that is, the king's parrot, was written in 1530. He brings out this bird to laugh at clerical persons and the attendants of the court, and here he used his satirical faculty with much effect. Along with remarks on the history of Scotland, he ridicules in turn the courtiers, the flatterers, and the clergy; one of the latter class is made to reply in these words:—

"No marvell is, though we religious men
 Degenerated be, and in our life confused:
 But sing, and drink, none other craft we ken,
 Our spiritual Fathers has us so abused:
 Against our will, these swindlers been intrusted.

Great pleasure were to hear a bishop preach,
 A Deane, or Doctor in Divinity,
 An Abbot who could well his convent teach,
 A Parson flowing in philosophy:
 I tine my time, to wish what will not be;
 Were not the preaching of the Begging Friars
 Tint were the faith among the Seculars.
 As for their preaching, said the parrot,
 I them excuse, for why, they been so thrall
 To Property, and her worthy daughters two,
 Dame Riches, and fair lady Sensuall,
 That may not use no pastime spirituall;
 And in their habits, they take such delite,
 They have renounced russat and raploch⁷ white."⁸

⁶ *Poetical Works*, Vol. I., pp. 39, 59-60. All the references are to Dr. Laing's edition, unless otherwise noted.

⁷ A coarse woollen cloth.

⁸ *Poetical Works*, Vol. I., pp. 99, 101. "The first edition of this poem, and indeed of any of Lyndsay's poems is that printed at London, by John Byddell in the year 1538." Dr. Laing.

Lyndsay's "Supplication to the king, in contemplation of Side Tails," is an extremely curious commentary on the dress of the period. He directed his satire against the long trains and the veiled faces of the ladies ; but he rarely lets slip an opportunity of having a fling at the clergy and the monastic orders, as the following lines bear witness :—

"But, I think most abuse,
To see men of religion,
Gar beir their tails throw the street,
That folks may behold their feet,
I trow Sanct Bernard nor Sanct Blais,
Gart never man beir up thair clais ;
Peter, nor Paul, nor Sanct Andrew,
Gart never beir up thair tails, I trow.
But, I laugh best to see a Nun,
Gar beir her tails abone her bun,
For nothing else as I suppose,
But for to show her lily white hose :
In all thair rules they will not find,
Who should beir up their tails behind."

To show the power of fashion, he asserts that even moorland Meg, who milked the ewes, would immediately counterfeit the queen's dress, and have her kirtle with its tail wherever she went. In summer when the streets were dry, the long tails of the ladies' dresses raised such a dust that no one could walk near them without covering their mouth and nose to keep it out of their eyes : he notices many other rather comical effects of wearing long tails.⁹

In the short poem "Kitteis Confession," Lyndsay directed his satire against auricular confession. He exposed this source of priestly influence with much pungency and some happy touches of humour. He pursued a similar end in "the Tragedie of the Cardinal," but with less spirit and energy ; it contains a rather general account of Cardinal Beaton's life, and his end in the castle of St. Andrews. But he added an admonition and

⁹ *Poetical Works*, Vol. I., pp. 130-135.

a warning to the bishops, and another to princes ; the latter concludes with the following :—

“Wherefore I counsel every Christian king,
 Within his realm to make reformation,
 And suffer no more rogues to reign
 Abuse Christ’s true congregation :
 Failing thereof, I make narration,
 That ye princes, and prelates, all at once,
 Shall burnt be in hell, soul, blood, and bones.”¹⁰

The most remarkable of all Lyndsay’s works is his play, “The Satire of the three Estates”. It is a curious production, and in the history of dramatic literature it comes under the class of what is called moralities or moral plays.¹¹ In its construction a number of real and allegorical characters are brought upon the scene, such as king humanitas, diligence, wantonness, good counsel, the bishop, the abbot, and the parson ; the shoe-maker and his wife, the tailor and his wife, the cotter and his wife, the old man, common theft, oppression, and many other mixed characters. The author has displayed much ingenuity in the marshalling of these various characters to suit the action of the play ; although it was hardly possible that such a multitudinous rally should exhibit a natural succession of incidents throughout this long performance. The action of the play however is sustained with wonderful spirit, and occasionally with comic effect. But his characters sometimes express themselves in very coarse and obscene language ; there is much of what would be called swearing, and would not be tolerated on the stage of the present day or anywhere else : and yet, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the Satire of the Three Estates is a pretty faithful representation of the state of society in Scotland in pre-reformation times.

¹⁰ *Poetical Works*, pp. 136-140, 157. The tragedy of the Cardinal was printed at London in 1547. In the prologue to this composition, Lyndsay referred to a work of Boccaccio—“The Fall of Princes,” which was translated into English by Lydgate, and published at London in 1494, and again in 1527.

¹¹ The full title is—“Ane Pleasant Satire of the Three Estates, in Commendation of Virtue and Vituperation of Vice.”

The play, as its title imported, was a satire on the chief ranks of the kingdom. But, as usual with Lyndsay, the burden of his rhyme and the force of his lash fell upon the religious orders. He goes on from point to point, and charges them with a catalogue of immoralities which is indeed appalling. The bishops, with their lordly riches, and their immoral modes of life, are represented in the most glaring colours. The abuses of their courts are exposed, and how the poor people were mercilessly oppressed. The pardoner and his ways of extorting money are handled with boldness and effect. It is forcibly shown that the priesthood had entirely neglected to instruct the people in the religion of Christ; and that most of the clergy themselves were utterly ignorant of the Scriptures. It must be told that the language itself which imparts this information affords evidence of the fearful corruption of the nation: the profane swearing, the obscene words and phrases, the extreme licentiousness, and the lack of delicacy, which pervades the performance; all show that there was great need for a reformation.

In the course of the play the abbot was called upon to tell how he had performed the duties of his office, and he replied in these words:—

“Touching my office, I say to you plainly,
My monks and I, we live richt easily;
There is no monks, from Carrick to Crail,
That fairs better, and drinks more helsum ale.
My prior is a man of great devotion:
Therefore, daily, he gets a double portion.”

The abbot was next asked how he had kept his three vows, and he returned this answer:—

“Indeed, richt well, till I got home my bulls
In my abbey, when I was sure professor;
Then did I live, as did my predecessor.
My parmours is both as fat and fair,
As any wench intill the town of Ayr.
I send my sons to Paris to the schools,
I trust in God that they shall be no fools.

And all my daughters I have well provided,
Now judge ye if my office be well guided."¹²

The Parson was requested to show if he could preach, and he said :—

"Though I preach not, I play at the caiche:¹³
I wait there is not one among you all,
More fairly can play at the football ;
And for the carts, the tables, and the dice,
Above all parsons, I may bear the prize.
Our round bonnets, we make them now four-nuicked,
Of richt fine stuff, if you list, come and luke it.
Of my office I have declared to thee ;
Speir what ye please, ye get no more of me."¹⁴

There was no theatre then in Scotland, and the satire of the "Three Estates" was acted in the open air, upon the green. It was first played at Linlithgow, on the 6th of January, 1540, in the presence of the king, the queen, the ladies of the court, the bishops, and a great assemblage of the people. It was again acted at Cupar Fife, on the playfield, about the year 1552 ; and at Edinburgh in 1554, before the queen regent, the nobles, and a large gathering of the people. On the latter occasion the performance of the play began at nine in the morning and continued till six at night ; but it appears from the play itself that there were short intervals, when the chief auditory retired for refreshments.¹⁵ The records of Edinburgh contain some information about dramatic exhibitions. In June, 1554, the provost and council ordered the treasurer to pay the workmen, the merchants, the carters, and others, that furnished the gear to the convoy of the moirs to the abbey, and for the play which was

¹² *Works*, Vol. II., pp. 263, 264. For evidence that the monks lived luxuriously and drank large quantities of ale and wine, see Mackintosh's *History of Civilis. in Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 488, 489.

¹³ A game of hand-ball.

¹⁴ Lyndsay's *Works*, Vol. II., pp. 264, 265.

¹⁵ *Works*, Vol. I., pp. 33-35, Pref. Vol. II., pp. 346-348, and Chalmers's ed., Vol. I., pp. 356-358. Dr. Laing holds that there is no evidence that Lyndsay's play was acted at Cupar in 1535, as had been supposed by Chalmers and others.

acted the same day, the sum of thirty-seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and fourpence, "provided always that the master of work deliver to the dean of guild the hand-scene and canvass, to be kept to the behoof of the town." On the 27th of the same month the treasurer was ordered to pay the sum of twenty-four pounds for the making of the playing place. On the 20th of July the town council ordered the payment of forty-two pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, to complete the playfield "now building in the Greenside". On the 18th of August the council directed that the twelve minstrels who passed before the convoy and the players on Sunday last should be paid forty shillings. It seems the play-gear belonged to the town, as the council ordered the treasurer to pay Walter Binning the sum of five pounds for making the play-gear, painting the hand-scene and the players' faces, "provided always that the said Walter make the play-gear underwritten, forthcoming to the town, when required, and which he has now received—eight play-hats, a king's crown, a mitre, a fool's hood, a sceptre, a pair of angel-wings, two angel-hair, and a chaplet of triumph".¹⁶ In 1558, on the occasion of Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin of France, the magistrates of Edinburgh voted various sums of money for plays and triumphs;¹⁷ and there are many indications that the people delighted in rude plays and pageants.

Sir David Lyndsay's other works are "Squire Meldrum," and "The Monarchy" or "A Dialogue between experience and a Courtier of the miserable Estate of the World". The first is a kind of rhymed tale of chivalry; but the hero of the story lived at the time, and Lyndsay reports that he got some of his information from the lips of the champion himself; so by a mixture of fact and romance, he has woven a long and pretty

¹⁶ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 26, 28. So different was the progress of the drama in England and Scotland, that before the year 1633 nineteen playhouses had been opened in London, while on our side of the Border there was hardly one worth the name of a theatre. — Percy's *Essay on the Origin of the English Stage*, p. 151.

animated poem. The many exploits of the heroic squire are narrated with much energy throughout a performance extending to nearly two thousand lines.¹⁸ In 1553 Lyndsay finished his longest work, the *Monarchy*, which extends to no less than 6333 lines. In it, his chief object seems to have been, to make use of the great events recorded in history for the purpose of illustrating general positions. After a review of the most notable events narrated by Moses, and of the four great ancient monarchies—Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, of whose history he evinces some knowledge; he then proceeded to handle the spiritual monarchy of the Pope. In the latter, he was more in his element; and he soon shows that none of the rulers of the ancient monarchies ever had such powerful armies to uphold their authority throughout their dominions, as the Pope of Rome actually commanded. He illustrated his view by referring to the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, the vast legions of priests, vicars, monks, friars, and nuns—all holding under the Pope; and he mentions the enormous privileges and powers which this army had obtained in every Christian kingdom. He goes on to show and to assert that the Popes had abused their power, by corrupting religion, by enslaving and by oppressing the people without mercy; he lashed the occupant of the throne of St. Peter and all his hosts down to the begging friars on the streets, and the pardoners that hawked the country selling salvation. Waxing bolder, he predicted the downfall of the temporal power of the Pope; fixed the day of God's judgment of the world to be—"in four hundred and forty-seven years" from the date when he wrote. He concluded this remarkable work with these words:—

"And speed me home, with heart sighing full sore,
And entered in my Oritore.
I took paper, and there began to write
This misery, as ye have heard afore.

¹⁸ Much information about Squire Meldrum will be found in Chalmers's *Notes to Lyndsay's Poems*, and in Dr. Laing's *Notes*, also in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786, and in his *Scottish Poems*, reprinted from scarce editions, 1792. The rhymed story itself was probably composed about the year 1543.

All gentle readers heartily I implore
 For to excuse my rural rude indite,
 Though Phareseis will have at me despite,
 Who would not that their craftiness were kend :
 Let God be Judge ! And so I make an end."¹⁹

There were other writers of rhymes in Scotland, who attacked the abuses of Catholicism, though their names are not so well known as Sir David Lyndsay's. Killor, a friar, who was burnt for heresy, is reported to have composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which the Catholic clergy was attacked. About the same time James Stewart, son of Lord Methven, wrote short poems and ballads satirising the priesthood. James Wedderburn, a poet of some note, the son of a merchant, was born in Dundee about the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to the Bannatyne manuscript, he was the author of three short poems, commencing respectively with the following lines :—"My love was falss and full of flatterie," "I think thir men are very fals and vain," "O man, transformit and unnaturall." It is also reported that he composed two dramatic pieces, which were acted at Dundee about the year 1540; in both of which

¹⁹ *Works* Vol. II., pp. 104-105.. The three-volume Library edition containing a complete text of Lyndsay's works, has just been published, enriched with the curious information and the careful research of the late Dr. Laing. Another work of a different character, may be noticed here—"The Register of Arms of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry," executed in the year 1542, under Lyndsay's direction, as Lyon Herald. The arms are carefully drawn, and properly blazoned; indeed it is among the most creditable products of Scottish art which now remains of that period. It contains the arms of the Royal Family of Scotland; and the arms in full blazonry of many of the ancient nobles, and the shields and quarterings of 194 of the principal families in the country. The original volume has been preserved in the Advocates' Library since 1698, having been acquired with Balfour's Manuscript Collections. A limited impression of an exact facsimile of the original Register was published at Edinburgh in 1821, by W. and D. Laing. The present year, another impression limited to 250 copies, was published by Mr. Paterson, at Edinburgh, which was also edited by the late Dr. Laing. There is a pretty full account of Sir David Lyndsay, in the first volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, by Lord Lindsay; in Tytler's *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, and other sources easily accessible. In short, students that wish to understand the state of society in Scotland immediately before the Reformation, must make themselves familiar with the writings of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount.

the Catholic clergy were attacked : both of these are now lost.²⁰ But James Wedderburn and his brother Robert are the reputed authors of another and a very important production of the reformation period.

This is the curious collection known by the title of "The Gude and Godlie Ballads".²¹ It is true that this singular book may appear to modern taste as "only a tissue of blasphemy and absurdity"; but it is equally true that these rhymed parodies and ballads had a real influence upon the mind of the people in connection with the reformation movement; and the historian is not at liberty to ignore anything which was conducive to that revolution, on the ground of its being unpleasant to existing notions of taste. The mixture of sacred and profane subjects was quite common in Catholic places of worship, both in Scotland and in other countries long before the reformation period.

The collection naturally falls into three divisions: the first doctrinal, embracing a short Catechism, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, which are repeated both in prose and in metre: the second part contains versions of twenty-two psalms, and a number of hymns mostly translations from the German: the third comprises secular songs, but they are parodied, or mixed up with religious opinions. During the reformation era the practice of adopting rude popular songs along with their airs to sacred subjects was common in several countries. In Scotland, the initial line or the chorus of the ballads then popular among the people were transferred to hymns of devotion;

²⁰ Calderwood, Vol. I.; Dalrymple's *Cursory Remarks*, p. 31; Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*.

²¹ The references are to the edition of 1868 edited by Dr. Laing, unless otherwise noted. The original title of the collection is—"A compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs". The earliest printed edition of it, yet discovered, is that of 1578, but it appears from the title page that there were earlier printed editions: it passed through several editions in the later years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, but very few copies of these early impressions are now known to exist. See Dr. Laing's Pref., pp. 6-7; Notes, pp. 211-215.

this as may be seen in the collection of godly ballads, often resulted in an odd sort of parody.²² Though the association of the coarsely profane and the sacred appears to be ridiculously out of character, it is, nevertheless, certain that compositions of this description had a real influence on the people in contributing to the change of their religious opinions. From allusions in them to the queen regent, the pope, and the priesthood, it is evident that some of them were written during the heat of the reformation; that ballads touching the Roman Catholic religion, were circulated among the people, appears from the national records.²³ Though these ballads were popular among the common people, who could easily appreciate words sung to popular airs, it is not, however probable that many of the pieces in the collection had been printed in Scotland before the Reformation. It is hardly necessary to say, that the book was never authorised by the General Assembly, nor known to have been used in the public service of the Church.²⁴

²² The source of the song and the tune both is seen in the well-known lines —“ Hay now, the day dawns,” which stands as the opening words of one of the godly ballads. To give it a religious turn it is put into the following connection :—

“ Hay now, the day dawns,
Now Christ on us calls,
Now gladness on our waves,
Appears anone.
Now the word of God reigns,
Who is King of all Kings,
Now Christ's flock sings
The night is near gone.” p. 168.

The refrain “the night is near gone,” closes each stanza to the end of the ballad. “Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, in the reign of James IV., mention the tune, now the day dawns, and the jolly day now dawns, as one that was well known to the common minstrels.” Dr. Laing, Notes, p. 256. There are several versions of early ballads which begin with the words, the day dawns, and close each stanza with—the night is near gone. Alexander Montgomery who wrote in the reign of James VI., composed a short lyric poem, which opens with, haw the day dawns, and adopted the refrain—the night is near gone. The fine plaintive air called “Hey tuttie taitie,” was from a very early period sung with the foregoing words; but it is best known from Burns's address, “Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled”. Poems of A. Montgomery, pp. 219-221, 314, 1821.

²³ See under pp. 101-102, 296; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, pp. 323, 325; 1855.

²⁴ *Godly Ballads*, Pref., pp. 8-9, 43, 47.

Touching the authorship of the "godly ballads" in the form that we now have them, little can be said with certainty. As indicated in a preceding page, it has sometimes been attributed to James Wedderburn, while other early authorities attribute the collection to two brothers of his, John and Robert Wedderburn; all the three flourished in the second quarter of the century. The earliest reference to the book is by James Melville in the year 1570 when speaking of his own education; he said, at that time he first saw Wedderburn's songs, that he learned several of them by heart, with a great diversity of tunes. Melville does not mention Wedderburn's Christian name; and although the Wedderburns may have translated some of the psalms, recast or composed some of the songs in this collection, there is not available information for distinctly assigning the contents of the book to the respective translators and authors. A number of the psalms were versified, printed, and circulated in England and in Scotland before the Reformation; in the former, Coverdale compiled a book of psalms and spiritual songs which was printed about the year 1539; and four of the psalms in this collection are almost verbatim with four of those in the book of Godly Ballads; and the presumption seems reasonable that these had been taken from Coverdale's collection. But, since the commencement of the reformation era, the chief source of modern hymnology may be traced to Germany. The Hussites in the fifteenth century had their devotional songs; Luther's collection of hymns was published in 1524, and it was enlarged from time to time by himself and by others. As these hymns were written in the vernacular tongue and many of them set to popular airs, they were admirably suited for private instruction as well as for public worship.²⁵ These hymns accompanied

²⁵ Dr. Laing's Pref., pp. 8-25, 33-39. Regarding the variety and extent of German hymns, Dr. Laing in his preface and notes to the *Godly Ballads*, gives a good deal of information. He notices the collections of Dr. Wackernagel and the Chevalier Bunsen; Miss C. Winkworth's "*Lyra Germanica*," first and second series, 1859. As to more recent works on German hymnology, he mentions

with the music which the people understood and loved, was one of the strong points of the German reformation. The poetic inspiration that glowed in the heart and stirred the soul of the German reformer, joined with his sublime confidence, rang out in many of his popular hymns.²⁶

A number of the spiritual songs in the collection of Godly Ballads are derived or founded upon German hymns of the reformation period: others are merely modifications of the original songs current among the Scots at the time; while others are entirely of a satirical turn, directed against Roman Catholicism, and naturally sprang out of the struggle of the reformation in Scotland. It is the two latter that are of most importance in connection with the subject in hand. In one of the spiritual songs the burden of a very old ballad is retained—"The wind blaws cauld". It is found in the following connection:—

"The wind blaws cauld, furious and bauld,
This lang and mony a day—
But Christ's mercy we man all die,
Or keep the cauld wind away.

Then be not wo, see that ye pray
To Peter, James, nor John,
Nor yet to Paul, to save your soul,
For power have they none.

"Hymns translated or imitated from the German, by the Rev. George Walker," 1860. A Lecture by Professor Mitchell, of St. Andrews, entitled "The Wedderburns, and their Work on the Sacred Poetry of the Scottish Reformation, in its historical relation to that of Germany," 1867. "The Scottish Reformation; a historical sketch by Professor Lorimer," 1860; see pp. 27-29, 60.

²⁶ In 1521 Charles the Fifth issued the first of a series of enactments for the extinguishing of heresy in the Netherlands; and in 1522, two monks were burned at the stake in Brussels. This execution moved Luther to write a stirring hymn, of which the following is one of the stanzas:—

"Quiet their ashes will not lie:
But scattered far and near,
Stream, dungeon, bolt, and grave defy,
Their foeman's shame and fear.
Those whom alive the tyrant's wrongs
To silence could subdue,
He must, when dead, let sing the songs
Which in all languages and tongues,
Resound the wide world through."

Quoted by G. P. Fisher in his work, *The Reformation*, p. 287; 1873.

Save Christ only, that died on tree,
 He may both loose and bind :
 In others more, if ye trust so,
 On you blaws cauld the wind.”²⁷

Another satirical ballad refers to events when the Protestants, under the name of the Congregation, had taken matters into their own hands, in the year 1559. It retains the following refrain :—“ Hay trix, tryme go trix, under the green-wood tree ”. The drift of the effusion is directed against the pope and all the religious orders : the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, the abbots, the monks, and the nuns, are each in turn severely handled—they are all charged with obscene immoralities. There are many very plain and coarse statements touching the immoral lives of the Roman Catholic clergy, and intimations about their children.²⁸ The doctrines of Catholicism were also boldly, fearlessly, and effectively attacked in these rude ballads : there is not a tenet of Romanism spared—all are treated with scorn and contempt. Of the fire of purgatory, it is said, there is not left a spunk ; the reek that was sold so dear had fallen into utter disrepute. Indeed, it was well known that the monks had long neglected to pray for the souls of the founders of the monasteries—“ their souls were left to burn and biss ” as they might. Touching the worship of saints,—“ I wat St. Peter, nor St. Paul, nor yet any saint can save your soul, though many lies make many brawl ”. Relics, the adoration of images, indulgence, the mass, and other doctrines of Catholicism, are treated with sharp and bitter derision.²⁹ It needs no effort to understand the effect of this upon the mind of the people ; and in connection with other influences the tone and spirit of these ballads and rhymes tended to intensify the Protestantism of the Scots.

²⁷ *Gude and Godly Ballads*, pp. 166-168. “ ‘ The wind blaws cauld.’ This is the burden of an English song in praise of Christmas, entitled ‘ A pleasant country ditty,’ merrily showing how to drive the cold winter away.”—Dr. Laing, *Notes*, p. 255.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 166-168, 158-161, 184.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165, 167, 169-173, 175-177, 183-186.

John Knox was more remarkable as a reformer and a preacher, than as a writer and a thinker. He was aware of this himself, for he said that, "considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and living voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come." That he did his duty to his country and to society, as thus conceived by himself, is matter of history. Looking to his life and the vast work which he so actively contributed to effect, the writings that he produced were surprising. It must be remembered that his compositions were hastily prepared, under the pressure of many disquieting influences, or amid constant and exciting occupation.³⁰ Neither great elaboration nor the finer graces of style could have been expected from him; yet, for all these unpropitious circumstances, his writings in the language of the people will compare favourably with those of any of his contemporaries in Britain. He had a good command of his mother tongue: his style is equally remarkable for strength and clearness and extreme vehemence. He never leaves any doubt about his meaning; as he held his own opinions firmly, so he expressed them with all the force of his nature; his thoughts and judgments are thrown out, as it were, with a rapidity and animation which is striking and effective. He had a keen vein of humour in his constitution, and he frequently adopted a strain of remark and expression of a grotesque and rather comic character; and sometimes touches of sarcasm and bitter scorn occur in his compositions. Indeed, his humour is

³⁰ *The Works of John Knox*, collected and edited by Dr. Laing, Vol. VI., p. 229. Pref., pp. 85, 86. This edition of our national reformer's writings in six volumes is a great literary monument to his memory. It has placed his life and work in a clearer and juster light. The learned editor bestowed much and unusual care on the execution of his task; and he deserves our warmest gratitude for his research, his unwearying industry, and his devotion to the accomplishment of a worthy object. Dr. Laing did his work in a manner that cannot fail to command the respect of his countrymen, while the principle of Protestantism retains a hold upon their minds.

often coarse and even vulgar ; but this was partly the fault of the age, and partly a result from the kind of work that fell to his lot to achieve.

Knox's works may be described as mostly admonitory and historical. In the department of theology itself he produced nothing, except a treatise on predestination. As a writer, he is best known by his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. He began to compose it in 1559, and finished the fourth book in 1566, which brought the narrative down to 1564. He left a few marginal notes and materials for a continuation of the history, which were used by others after his death in compiling the fifth book, and also the volume of memorials published under the name of Richard Bannatyne. Many references have been made to his history in the preceding chapters of this work, and quotations given, which render any lengthy account of its contents and character unnecessary. Its historical value and general accuracy have now been fully recognised. Although when he was narrating events which had happened under his own eyes, it could hardly be expected that he should always be able to refrain from bitter reflections on his opponents; but it must be admitted that he has often carried his humour for abusing them to an extreme length. The only palliation of the coarse expressions and the hard epithets which he hurled at the heads of the adversaries of his religion must be sought in the corrupted and immoral state of society, the inflamed and the enraged feelings of the people around him.

Knox's admonitory writings consist of his public letters, such as the "Admonition to the Faithful in England," "to the Godly," "to the Professors of the Faith," his "Letter to the Queen Regent," "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regime of Women," and others of a similar description. In this department he was particularly strong; he had a special faculty for scolding, and employed it with much effect. Many examples of this might be quoted from his writings. In his "Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in Eng-

land," which was printed and circulated in 1554, there are some extremely vehement passages touching Queen Mary and those at the head of the government of England. "And, now, does she not manifestly show herself to be an open traitress to the imperial crown of England, contrary to the just laws of the realm, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard king? to the shame, dishonour, and the destruction, of the nobility; to the spoil from them and theirs of their honours, lands, possessions, chief offices, and promotions; to the utter decay of the treasure, commodities, navy, and fortifications of the realm; to the abasing of the yeomanry, to the slavery of the commons, to the overthrow of Christianity, and God's true religion, and, finally, to the utter subversion of the whole estate and commonwealth of England." ³¹

After the death of Queen Mary Knox wrote, in 1559, "A brief exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of the Gospel." This tract was printed at Geneva. He at once struck the key-note and stated what should be done. "Touching reformation of religion, you must at once so purge and expel all dregs of papistry, superstition, and idolatry, that thou, O England, must judge and hold execrable whatsoever God hath not sanctified unto thee by his word, or by the action of our Master Christ Jesus. The glistening beauty of vain ceremonies, the keeping of things pertaining nothing to edification, by whomsoever they were invented, justified, or maintained, ought at once to be removed, and so trodden under the obedience of God's word, that continually this sentence of thy God be present in thy heart and ready in thy mouth:—'Not that which appears good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that shalt thou do: add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it'." ³² He goes on to admonish and counsel them to embrace the gospel, and to cast aside the devices of men, to rest only on the word of God.

³¹ *Works*, Vol. III., p. 294, *et seq.*

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 515, *et seq.*

There are some characteristic and very important passages in the reformer's letter to the queen regent of Scotland in 1558, which was printed the same year. "As Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holy ordinance of God's precepts, I mean of the first table, in the place of the spiritual honouring of God, introducing men's dreams, inventions, fantasies ; so hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted this precept of the second table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers ; for the devil hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at the least, will not, learn what appertains to God, and what to Cæsar. But, because the Spirit of God hath said, 'Honour the king,' therefore whatsoever they command, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But heavy shall the judgment be which apprehends such blasphemers of God's majesty, who dare be so bold as to affirm that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed against himself. Against God it is, that for the commandment of any prince, be he never so potent, men shall commit idolatry, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his word, or confirm by their silence wicked and blasphemous laws made against the honour of his majesty. Men, I say, that do so, give no true obedience ; but as they are apostates from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling against God." He goes on to cite examples from the Old Testament. "But, Madame, more profitable it is that the pestilent tumours be expelled with pain, than that they be nourished to the destruction of the body. The papistical religion is a moral pestilence, which shall assuredly bring to death eternal the bodies and souls from the which it is not purged in this life. And therefore take heed betimes, God calls upon you, beware that ye shut not yourself up. . . . I come to you in the name of the eternal God, and of Christ Jesus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath established Sovereign Judge over all flesh, before whose throne ye must make account with what reverence ye hear such as he

sends. It shall not excuse you to say or to think, that ye doubt whether I be sent of God or not. I cry unto you, that the religion which the princes and the blinded Papists maintain with fire and sword is not the religion of Christ; that your proud prelates are none of Christ's bishops. I admonish you that Christ's flock is oppressed by them; and therefore I require, and that yet again, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that with impartiality I may be heard to preach, to reason, and to dispute, in that cause, which ye deny; ye declare yourself to bear no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true religion." ³³

The Roman Catholic clergy did not show much energy in their writings, nor in their arguments in defence of their religion in England and Scotland; no memorable effort of eloquence or argument was put forth within the Island during the progress of the reformation. Indeed, those who desired to maintain the ancient worship unimpaired, staked the issue upon the fire and sword principle more than on reasoning and discussion; and they were wise in their generation, for when it comes to this, the palmy days of a conservative priesthood is well-nigh past. There were, however, a few from the humbler ranks of the Roman Catholic clergy, that came forward and wrote in defence of their faith. Quintin Kennedy, the abbot of Crossraguel, Ninin Winzet, a schoolmaster, and James Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit, were the only controversialists on the Catholic side in Scotland, whose writings have been preserved.³⁴ Kennedy was

³³ *Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 440-443.

³⁴ A full account of Winzet's tracts is given in a volume containing a reprint of them, issued for the Maitland Club in 1835; there is also a memoir of him in Dr. Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, Vol. I. In 1562 he presented to the queen a tractate addressed to her majesty, the bishops, and the nobility, asking permission to propose in writing various points of religion to the Protestant ministers; this referred to his book "of four score and three questions". A few days after, he directed three of his questions to Knox, touching his call to the ministry. But Knox rather arrogently declined to answer Winzet; and what immediately happened looks rather suspicious—the Romanist was forced to leave Edinburgh in disguise; and the magistrates had seized the copies of his book and imprisoned the printer. Winzet was appointed by the Pope to the Abbacy of the Scottish Monastery of St. James, at Ratisbon, in 1578. He died there in

the fourth son of Gilbert, the second Earl of Cassillis; he was appointed abbot in 1548. He attended the Provincial Council of the clergy held at Edinburgh in 1549. He had the reputation of being a learned man. His treatise entitled, "A Compendious Tractive, conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, Reason, and Authority" &c., was published in 1558. It was praised by his friends, and in latter times by bishop Keith, and others; it is hardly necessary to say, that the abbot's chief and final argument was what the Church of Rome said must be true and right. Kennedy's "Tractive," was answered by John Davidson, principal of the University of Glasgow, in a book printed at Edinburgh, in 1563.³⁵ The abbots' next work was an "Oration" in the year 1561, mainly intended to demolish a position held, "by a famous preacher called John Knox". After some correspondence had passed between Kennedy and Knox, a public discussion took place between them, on the subject of the mass. This event came off at Maybole, in September, 1562; the discussion lasted three days, and ended

September, 1592, at the age of seventy-four. Dr. Laing's Ed. of *Knox Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 152-153. Besides his book of questions, he translated several works of the Fathers into the Scottish language. In his own writings, he inveighs against the corruption of the higher ranks of the Catholic clergy as vehemently as any of the reformers. Winzet's *Tractatus, Life*, pp. 17-20.

³⁵ *Knox Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 153-155. The Writings of Kennedy are printed in the first volume of the Wodrow Miscellany, together with some correspondence that passed between him and John Willock, pp. 87-277. Davidson's answer to Kennedy's book is also printed in this Miscellany.

"Among the persons who accompanied Queen Mary from France was her preacher and confessor, Réni Benoist. He was a divine of some note, and produced two or three small treatises, in a vain endeavour to conciliate differences of opinion in matters of religious faith and practice. One of these was a Latin epistle, addressed to the most learned John Knox and other Protestant ministers, dated from Holyrood House, the 19th of November, 1561. It was translated by a certain friar, and was "greatly boasted of" or commended. At the urgent request of some of his brethren, David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, wrote an answer, passage by passage, to what he calls "this pithless Epistle". This answer, including the Epistle itself, was printed soon after, but it is of such rarity that only one single copy has been discovered; but having recently been reprinted, it is now beyond the chance of destruction." *Knox Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 151-152. It was reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, 1860.

as disputes of the kind usually end, without either of the parties convincing the other. In 1653, Knox published an account of this disputation; and it is a curious and rather interesting narrative of the three days' talk. The following is the concluding sentences. "And, therefore, must I say, the mass standeth groundless, and the greatest patron thereof, for all his sicker riding, hath once lost his stirrups, yea, is altogether, set beside his saddle. And yet the common brute goes, that you, my Lord, your flatterers and collaterals, brag greatly of your victory obtained in disputation against John Knox; but I will not believe you to be so vain, unless I shall know the certainty by your hand writ."

"Let all men now judge upon what ground the sacrifice of the Mass stands. The heavenly Father hath not planted within his Scriptures such a doctrine; it follows, therefore, that it ought to be routed out of all godly mens' hearts."³⁶

The latest of Knox's writings was a tract published in vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter of Tyrie, a Jesuit.³⁷ It was composed in 1568, and printed at St. Andrew's in 1572; it is written in an interesting form, he gives a portion of Tyrie's letter in separate paragraphs, then his own comments follow, and thus each in turn succeed the other to the end of the discussion. The Jesuit begins by asking—"What words if

³⁶ *Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 219-221.

³⁷ James Tyrie was born near Perth in 1543, and it is supposed that he spent some time at the University of St. Andrews. Early in the year 1563 he left Scotland with Father Edmund Hay, the Jesuit, to follow his theological studies at the University of Louvain. In August that year he visited Rome, and there joined the society of Jesus. He was afterwards appointed professor of philosophy and theology in the Jesuit College of Clermont, at Paris. His elder brother, David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, embraced the reformed faith, and the Jesuit was naturally anxious to reclaim him to the mother Church, and addressed to him several letters, including the one submitted to Knox. Tyrie in 1590 became Provincial of the Jesuits in France; he was in Rome in 1591; two years later he was appointed assistant to the General of the Jesuits for the provinces of France and Germany. He died at Rome in March, 1597, leaving behind him for publication several MSS. to the library of the professed house "Il Geni". Knox's *Works*, Vol. VI. pp. 475-478.

any, would apply to those new formed Kirks, and especially of your invisible Kirk of Scotland, not yet eight years old, he is convicted. . . . Wherefore if ye cannot show what place of the world afore three hundred years your Kirk was into, it follows of necessity, that it is not a kirk." The argument here is the very old one, namely, that there is but one Church—the Roman Church. Knox answered this point at great length, and closed with these words:—"We say yet again, that whensoever the Church of Rome shall be reduced to the state in which the Apostles left her, we are assured that she shall vote in our favour, against all such as shall deny us to be a Church, if God continue us in the simplicity which this day is mocked of the world."³⁸

The other points which the Jesuit advanced touching the reformed Church, were forms of the arguments always used by the Roman Catholic writers. Such as, that the Protestant Church had no succession from Christ; that there is a continual succession of doctrine which has never varied in the Catholic Church, but the same faith prevailed in all ages. With more truth and reason, he referred to the differences of the Protestants among themselves, and he specially noted the contrast between some of the congregations of Germany and those of Scotland. Immediately after Knox's answer appeared, Tyrie prepared a refutation, which was published at Paris in 1573, but ere this time Knox was dead. In March, 1574, the General Assembly had under consideration an answer to James Tyrie's book, composed by John Duncanson, minister of the king's household.³⁹

The longest of Knox's polemical works is his treatise on predestination, published at Geneva in 1560. It was directed against an anonymous adversary, and its full title was, "An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist and an adversary to God's eternal predestina-

³⁸ *Knox Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 486-497.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 497-511, 475-476; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 289, 361.

tion; and confuted by John Knox, minister of God's word in Scotland: wherein the author so discovers the craft and falsehood of that sect, that the godly knowing that error may be confirmed in the truth by the evident word of God".⁴⁰ At that time the doctrine of predestination itself, as well as other tenets of the Anabaptists, had evoked much controversy. But, before saying anything about Knox's contribution to the mass of this class of theological literature, it is necessary to refer briefly to the writings of Calvin himself, and to those of some of his predecessors and contemporaries.

At an early stage in the history of Christian doctrine the idea of an eternal decree of God began to arise. The notion of predestination was held with varying degrees of definiteness, and it early became associated with the freedom of the will. But the crude psychology of the Fathers was entirely subordinated to the assumed necessities of the conditions of salvation.⁴¹ About

⁴⁰ Knox's *Works*, Vol. V. "That it was prepared for the press before his final return to Scotland is sufficiently clear, when we consider how fully his time was afterwards occupied, and this renders it probable that it may have been chiefly written at Dieppe in 1559, during the interval of his application for permission; which was denied him, to pass through England on his way to his native country.

"That the author had no opportunity of correcting the sheets while at press seems also evident. . . . This task of revising the work at press seems to have been done by William Whittingham, an Englishman."—Dr. Laing, pp. 15-17. Knox's treatise on predestination was reprinted in 1591.

⁴¹ Several theories of the mind, or the soul, and of the relation between the soul and the body, were held during the early centuries of Christianity. Some considered the soul as forming the medium between the purely spiritual in man, the ideal principle of reason, and the merely animal, or the grosser and sensual elements of his nature. They also fancied that this threefold notion of the organ of the human mind was supported by Scripture. Several of the early Fathers, especially those of the Alexandrian school, adopted the triple division of the mind; while others, like Tertullian, adhered to the old opinion that man consists of soul and body only. A few of the Gnostic sects carried the triple notion so far as to divide men themselves into three classes, according as the one or the other of the three constituents prevailed to the apparent exclusion of the others. "Accordingly it is not every man who is composed of three parts, but he only who has received the gift of the Holy Spirit, as the third part."—Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Vol. I., pp. 141-143, 180, 183, 184; 1846, Baur.

This is not the place to enter into a full exposition of the curious theories of

the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries conflicting doctrines touching sin, grace, and liberty, were advanced and maintained. Original sin was supposed to have entailed utter ruin upon the human race; but Celestius and Pelagius both denied the natural depravity of man; and it was out of these controversies that the doctrine of predestination, or the eternal decree sprang. When St. Augustine carried the notion of original sin to its logical consequences, he arrived at the following statement of his doctrine:—"As all men have sinned in Adam, they are justly exposed to the vengeance of God, because of this hereditary sin and guilt of sin." He could see nothing in the natural power of man to choose between good and evil, but only a liberty to do evil, since the regenerated man alone can will aright. In short, Augustine held that all mankind were in a state of depravity; that those alone will be saved to whom the grace of God is imparted: in this way he led up to the eternal decree.⁴²

the mind which prevailed in the early centuries of the Christian era. It may be stated, however, that the anthropology of the Fathers was very different from that of the present time; though the problems demanding explanation were much the same, the modern conceptions of mind and matter have little or no resemblance to the ideas of Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and the rest of the Fathers. Touching the origin of the soul itself, there were three principal theories:—1, The pre-existence of all souls; 2, The continual creation of souls by divine agency; 3, The traduction of souls by natural procreation. Of these in their order: The first theory taught that all the souls and finite spirits in the universe were formed simultaneously at the beginning, and prior to the creation of matter: the intellectual universe thus precedes the sensible universe. The souls of men, therefore, existed before the creation of Adam. This theory is allied to the Pythagorean and Platonic speculations. The second theory maintained that God immediately created a new soul in every instance that a new human being was born. The body, however, was not created in this manner, it was naturally propagated. The third theory holds that both the soul and the body of the human individual are propagated. But the last view fell into disrepute; and in the Middle Ages the notion of the special and the continual creation of new souls generally prevailed.

⁴² Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Vol. I., pp. 297, 300-302, 304. "According to Augustine, not only was physical death a punishment inflicted upon Adam and all his posterity, but he looked upon original sin itself as being in some sense a punishment of the first transgression, though it was also a real sin, and can therefore be imputed to every individual. But it is on this point, viz., the imputation

But, on the other hand, Pelagius and Celestius held, along with other heresies, that every human being is a moral agent, and must be accountable for himself; hence it naturally followed that sin was a voluntary act of the individual. According to this ethical view, every infant is in the same state as Adam was before the fall; so that neither sin nor virtue is innate, but the one as well as the other develops itself when man comes to exercise his liberty, for which he alone is responsible. Touching liberty and grace, however, Pelagius admitted that man in his moral efforts had need of the Divine aid; the grace of God assisted man in various ways, although he thought that it is something external, merely added to man's own efforts. In short, Pelagius's theory assumed that man had it in his power to choose between good and evil. These opinions were condemned at Carthage in 412; again, in a synod of the North-African bishops at the same place, in 418. The controversy was hot, and the Emperor Honorius put a check to its external manifestation.⁴³

Still, the peculiar views of Augustine were not recognised in the east; even in the west his notion of predestination never became universally popular in the Roman Catholic Church. As

of original sin, that his views differed from all former opinions, however strict they were. He endeavoured to clear himself from the charge of Manichæism (in opposition to Julian) by designating sin not a substance, but a vitium, a languor; he even charged his opponent with Manichæism."—*Ibid.*, p. 302. See also Wiggers.

⁴³ Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Vol. L, pp. 299, 300, 302. The chief tenets of Pelagius, the heresiarch of the fifth century, have been summarised as follows:—"1. Adam was created mortal, so that he would have died whether he had sinned or not. 2. Adam's sin has only affected himself, and not the human race. 3. New-born infants are in the same condition in which Adam was before the fall. 4. The whole human race dies neither in consequence of Adam's death, nor of his transgression; nor does it rise from the dead in consequence of Christ's resurrection. 5. Infants obtain eternal life, though they should not be baptized. 6. The Law is as good a means of grace as the gospel. 7. There were some men, even before the appearance of Christ, who did not commit sin."—Wiggers, Vol. I., p. 60. Gieseler, sect. 87. Some of Pelagius's writings are preserved, among others, a treatise on "Free Will". Many works were written against the Pelagians.

we approach the reformation period it is evident that the doctrines of Augustine did not prevail. Instead of free grace through the mercy of God and the merits of Christ, the supererogatory works of the saints formed a ladder by which the greatest sinner might easily mount to heaven, provided he paid enough for the privilege, or left his lands to the church. It was therefore natural that the reformers should look back to the belief of the primitive Church, and receive with gladness some of the tenets of St. Augustine.

Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* was first published in 1536. Although in subsequent editions it was greatly enlarged, the principles which he then enunciated were pretty consistently maintained to the end of his days.⁴⁴ Knox followed Calvin, with little deviation, in dogma and doctrine. In 1559 he was very anxious "to read Calvin upon Isaie, and his *Institutes* revised," but the common troubles at that time were forcing him to forego such important things.⁴⁵ Calvin in his *Institutes* gave four chapters of the third book, 21-24, to the treatment of election and predestination. He was aware of the difficulties of the subject; and he discussed it with a sobriety of judgment, a sense of responsibility, and a power of intellect, rarely matched in theological literature. But the line of argument that he followed, the definite issue that he arrived at, and the evidence from

⁴⁴ The first edition of his *Institutes*, printed at Basle, is now extremely rare, not more than half a dozen copies are known to exist. It is a small octavo volume of 514 pages, with five pages more of index placed at the end. The whole work is described as one book, divided into six chapters. A second edition appeared at Strasburg in 1539. It contained seventeen chapters, the original matter being about doubled. This edition is also very scarce. The other editions are those of 1543, 1545, 1550, 1553, 1554, and an entirely new edition in 1559, containing his last revision, and from it all the subsequent editions were printed. An English translation was published at London in 1561.

Dyer, in his *Life of Calvin*, says that passages favourable to a mild and tolerant treatment of heretics which appeared in the earlier editions were expunged or made more intolerant in the latter ones.—pp. 357, 358. Calvin's final conclusions on the punishment of heretics and allied matters are given in the fourth book of the *Institutes*, chap. 12, sect. 1-13.

⁴⁵ Knox's *Works*, Vol. VI., p. 101.

Scripture which he adduced to confirm the doctrine of predestination, are not satisfactory.⁴⁶ After he had expounded, illustrated, and repelled objections to the doctrine of predestination, exhibiting much power, logical skill, and ingenuity, still the eternal decree was hard to reconcile with the moral attributes of a just and beneficent God of the universe.⁴⁷ On a pure moral principle the doctrine of the eternal decree as stated by Calvin cannot be consistently maintained. He asserted that the will of God is the supreme rule of right, and that the mere fact of his willing anything makes it to be right. Indeed, Calvin seems to have been controlled in the treatment of predestination by practical religious considerations. He did not look at it from a philosophical standpoint, and moral truth and consistency were subordinated to the assumed necessities of the conditions of sal-

⁴⁶ When answering the objection, that predestination was a stumbling-block, Calvin said, "I admit that profane men lay hold on the subject of predestination to carp, or snare, or cavil, or scoff. But if their petulance frightens us, it will be necessary to conceal all the principal articles of faith, because they and their fellows scarcely leave one of them unassailed with blasphemy. A rebellious spirit will display itself no less insolently when it hears that there are three persons in the Divine essence; than when it hears that God, when He created man, foresaw everything that was to happen to him. Nor will they abstain from their jeers when told that little more than five thousand years have elapsed since the creation of the world; for they will ask, Why did the power of God slumber so long in idleness? In short, nothing can be stated that they will not assail with derision. To quell their blasphemies, must we say nothing concerning the divinity of the Son and the Spirit? Must the creation of the world be passed over in silence? No. The truth of God is too powerful, both here and everywhere, to dread the slanders of the ungodly."—Chap. 21, sect. 4.

⁴⁷ "By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which He determined with Himself whatever he wished to happen with regard to every man. All are not created on equal terms, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation; and, accordingly, as each has been created for one or other of these ends, we say that he has been predestinated to life, or to death."—Chap. 21, sect. 5.

"The will of God is the supreme rule of righteousness, so that everything which he wills must be held to be righteous, by the mere fact of his willing it. Therefore, when it is asked why the Lord did so, we must answer, Because He pleased. But if you proceed further to ask why He pleased, you ask for something greater than the will of God, and nothing such can be found. Let human temerity then be quiet, and cease to inquire after what exists not, lest, perhaps, it fails to find what does exist."—Chap. 23, sect. 2.

vation. That God should voluntarily and knowingly condemn myriads of his creatures to endless torture, merely because He so willed it, is certainly not an elevated conception. On the other side, the doctrine of predestination afforded to all who adopted it ample scope for insisting on the duty of submission to the will of God ; for inveighing against the pride and self-conceit of those who might pretend that their own merits entitled them to claim a right to heaven, instead of being absolutely indebted for it to God's pleasure, grace, and benignity.

The doctrines of Calvin were opposed in his own lifetime by Jerome Bolsec, Sebastia Castellio, and others. Bolsec openly impugned the doctrine of the eternal decree of predestination, and fought over the points involved with Calvin himself. He had little difficulty in showing that the human mind was unable to cope with the eternal and unalterable counsel of God, or to lay down dogmatically what its issue must be in relation to mankind. Castellio vehemently attacked the Calvinistic doctrines, and especially assailed the tenet of election by grace, with the weapons of acute thought and satire. They maintained that the eternal decree tended to fatalism, and made God the author of sin, as everything happened according to an inexorable purpose. Calvin answered both opponents, and prepared a public declaration of the doctrine of predestination, which was approved by the consistory of Geneva. The controversy, however, went on ; but Calvin boldly faced all his enemies, and fought with an energy and a resoluteness which at last commanded a large measure of success.⁴⁸

In Geneva Calvin had many difficulties to contend against. There were anabaptists in the city who sometimes caused disturbance ; anti-Unitarian doctrines had also sprung up. After the burning of Severtus, his disciples published several libels and attacks upon Calvin. These parties were bitterly opposed to various points of his system of theology ; one of their

⁴⁸ Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, pp. 168-172, 265-283, 388 ; Henry's *Life of Calvin*, Vol. I., p. 289.

onslaughts is written in the following strain :—"Moreover, though you affirm yours to be the true doctrine, they say that they cannot believe you. For since your God very often says one thing, and thinks and wills another, it is to be feared that you may imitate him, and deceive men in like manner. I myself was once taken with your doctrine ; and though I did not quite understand it, I defended it, because I so much esteemed your authority, that it seemed to me forbidden even to think differently from you. But now, when I hear the objections of your adversaries, I know not what to reply." He concluded by requesting Calvin, "if you have any good arguments let me know them".⁴⁹ The anabaptists were annoying, and though often persecuted, not only in Switzerland, but also in Germany, in England, and in other countries, yet they continued to spread and to multiply.

As already mentioned, it was against one of the anabaptist class that Knox composed his book on predestination. Many of this unknown writer's objections to the Calvinistic tenets are stated with much force ; although Knox throughout insists that his opponents inferences are not deducible from their doctrines, this is not always the case.⁵⁰ In the sixth section of his book "the adversary" put forward the following statement on the Calvinistic conception of God :—"Of all sorts and sects of men, I have judged them to be the most abhorred who are called Atheists, that is to say, such as deny that there is a God. But now, methinks these careless men are much more to be abhorred ; my reason is because they be more injurious to God than the atheists ; for it is less injurious to a man to believe that he is not, than to call him a cruel man, a tyrant, and an unjust person ; so are they less injurious to God who believe that he is not,

⁴⁹ Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, pp. 66, 366-367, 446, *et seq.* ; Knox's *Works*, Vol. V., pp. 12-15 ; Dorner's *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, Vol. I. ; Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, Vol. II., pp. 290-296.

⁵⁰ Dr. Laing thought that the author of this book, which Knox set himself to refute, was Robert Cooke, one of the gentleman of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. Knox's *Works*, Vol. V., p. 16.

than they that say he is unmerciful, cruel, and an oppressor. Now what greater cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, can be, than to create the most part of the world to everlasting damnation? so that by no manner of way they can escape and avoid the cruel decree and sentence against them. Seeing that the philosopher Plato judged them unworthy to live and to be suffered in any commonwealth who spoke evil of God, what ought the judgment to be of such men who have so wicked an opinion of God? Whatever our judgment be of them, and whatsoever their deserving be, let us labour rather to win them than to lose them. But, forasmuch as he that touches pitch is in danger of being defiled therewith, therefore ought we to walk warily with such men that we be not defiled and infected of them; seeing that now-a-days this horrible doctrine does fester even as the disease of a canker, which infects from one member to another until it has occupied the whole body, unless it be cut away; even so this error hath already infected from one member to another a great number. The Lord grant them the true meaning and understanding of his word, whereby they may be healed and the sickness cut off, the member being saved."

Knox answered this reasoning in a carping way. He did not attempt to grapple with the real difficulty; the inconsistency of the decree of predestination and special election of only a small number of the human race to everlasting happiness; while the great majority is inevitably doomed to endless suffering. He merely said—"Because that in all this your long discourse, ye more show your malice, which unjustly against us ye have conceived, than that either you expunge our belief, either yet promote your false opinion. I will not spend time to recompense your dispute. Only this I will offer in the name of all my brethren: that if you will be able, in the presence of a lawful judge and magistrate, evidently to convict us that either we speak evil of God, either yet that by our writings, preaching, or reasoning, it justly can be proved that our opinion is evil of His eternal majesty, power, and wisdom, and goodness, that

then we refuse not to suffer the same punishment which by the authority of Plato ye judge us worthy of. . . . What is your study to win us, and whether our doctrine be a horrible error or not, I do not now dispute. Thus you reason :—

“ God created man a very good thing ; and dare you say that God ordained a very good thing to destruction ? thus God delights in the destruction of that which is good. Man at his creation was a just and innocent creature, for before the transgression there was no evil neither in Adam nor in us ; and think you that God ordained his just and innocent creatures to condemnation ? What greater tyranny and unrighteousness can the most wicked man in the world, yea, the devil himself, do, than to condemn the innocent and just person ? Hereby may we see that these careless men are more abominable than the Atheists who believe there is no God. But these affirm God to be as bad as the devil, yea, and worse ; forasmuch as the devil can only tempt a man to death, but he can compel none to fall into condemnation ; but God may not only tempt, but also compel by his eternal decree the most part of the world to destruction, and has so done, as they say, so that of necessity, and only because it was his pleasure and will—then must God be worse than the devil ; for the devil only tempted man to fall, but God compelled them to fall by his immutable decree. Oh, horrible blasphemy ! ’ ” ⁵¹

To these questions Knox has given no satisfactory answer, nor has anyone yet done so. Though these points of doctrine have engaged the minds of many writers, they remain in much the same state at the present day, so far as theological exposition is concerned. But the moral sense has made great progress, and few cultivated preachers would now attribute the wrathful and avenging character to God which it was common to do in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the statement of the theory of the eternal decree in any form is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in connection with the doctrine of the conditional and

⁵¹ Knox's *Works*, Vol. V., pp. 88-90.

limited salvation of the human race, especially when it is deemed right to employ all the examples of what is called the pouring out of God's wrath upon the enemies of the Jews, and upon the Jews themselves, when their turn came. From one standpoint this is the weak side of Calvinism; yet to many it has been, and is now, exceedingly fascinating to imagine that they know the eternal counsel of God, and can formulate His will and intention.

One other quotation and then we will leave the subject. "If God reprobated man before the foundation of the world, then God reprobated man before he had offended; and if God reprobated and damned man before he offended, then is death the reward of God's ordinance before the world, and not the reward of sin. But the apostle teaches us, that by sin death entered into the world, and also that death is the reward of sin. I pray you, does either God's law, or man's law, condemn any man before he has offended? I am certain ye are not able to prove it to be so; then ought you to be ashamed to burden God with such unrighteous judgment. Does not God rather forgive the offence already committed? Let him be your God who condemns the innocent before he offended; but he shall be my God who pardons and forgives the offence already committed, who in his very wrath thinks upon mercy. And so with Job will I conclude,—'The great God casts away no man'." Knox's answer to this is the following:—"How ignorantly and how impudently ye confound the eternal purpose of God's reprobation with the just execution of his judgments I have before declared, and therefore here it only rests to admonish the reader that most unjustly ye accuse us in that ye say, that we hold and teach that God damned man before he offended. This ye be never able to show in any of our writings; for constantly, in word and writing, we affirm that man willingly fell from God, and made himself a slave to Satan before that death was inflicted upon him; and so neither make we death to be the reward of God's ordinance, neither do we burden Him with unrighteous

judgments.”⁵² This reasoning is not to the point; the adversary’s objections are deductions from the theory of the eternal decree of predestination, election, and reprobation, which were all fixed before the foundation of the world. It is no refutation to say that his opponent cannot find the words which he used in their writings. How could man “have willingly fallen from God,” when, according to their theory, God had it all inexorably settled before the creation? These are questions which the human mind cannot solve dogmatically; they are immeasurably beyond the compass of its powers. But when men adopted the assumption that they could form definite ideas and pronounce true judgments upon these mysterious and in a sense inscrutable matters, and enforce people to profess their belief in them; then suffering and persecution have often ensued, and men have been tortured and put to death for not believing what they could not understand, not only so, but for not believing things which no human being has ever yet been able fully to comprehend. The arrogance of those that assumed to fix what must be the eternal counsel of the Godhead in the fathomless abyss of eternity and the immensity of the universe, could hardly be expected to manifest much respect for people who could not think and believe like themselves; we need not therefore be surprised that intolerance was a characteristic of men that professed to know the eternal counsel and will of the Supreme Being. Seeing that they were thoroughly convinced and firm in their faith, they deemed it their highest duty to compel others to adopt their creed, that they too might have a chance of entering into the glories of heaven, and of escaping the torment of hell. It is easy for us now, with more varied, wider, and more minute knowledge of nature and of mankind, to point out the weak side of the great men of the sixteenth century; at the same time, we are bound to recognise the noble and unfaltering spirit which the leaders of the reformation displayed, however much we may deplore

⁵² Knox’s *Works*, Vol. V., pp. 110, 111.

the use of coercive means which they were far too eager to wield.

Perhaps the most interesting class of Knox's writings is his letters ; of these upwards of a hundred are included in Dr. Laing's edition of his works. They chiefly relate to the reformation and the historical events of the time ; and many of them are valuable. His letters also show him in a more amiable light than that in which he is usually represented. He had a warm and tender heart, and for all his reputed harshness of demeanour and his inflexible firmness of purpose, he was by no means a man of blood ; indeed there is no evidence that he was ever accessory to the death of any one for his religious opinions. In his history of the reformation there are passages full of comic humour. The description of the scene that happened in Edinburgh, at the close of the procession on St. Giles day, is a fair example of his wit—"The people began to cry down with the idol, down with it ; and so without delay it was pulled down. . . . Then might have been seen so sudden a fray as seldom has been seen among that sort of men within this realm ; for down goes the crosses, off goes the surplices, round caps corner with the crowns. The Gray Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got to the house ; for such a sudden fray never came among the generation of Antichrist within this realm before."⁵³

The Literature of the Reformation in Scotland may be said to close with George Buchanan, whose life was prolonged to a comparatively old age. Though he wrote very little in the language of the people, his Latin works had much influence, not only in Scotland but also in other countries. It is well known that Buchanan was equally successful as a Latin poet, a classic prose writer, and an eloquent professor. He passed more than twenty years of his life teaching in France, Portugal, and Italy. Having returned to his native country shortly after the establishment of the reformation, he joined the Scottish

⁵³ Knox's *Works*, Vol. I., p. 260.

Church. He was acting as classical tutor to Queen Mary in 1562; and he was afterwards entrusted with the education of her son, James VI. He was appointed principal of St. Leonard's College in 1566, and held this office till 1570; he was closely associated with the regents, Moray, Lennox, and Mar; during the regency of Morton, he held the office of keeper of the privy seal for several years.⁵⁴ He died in September, 1582, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

A review of his Latin poems does not come within the scope of this work, but his prose writings demand more notice. His largest and most popular work is the history of Scotland in twenty books. Though the early portion of it is unmistakably fabulous, it is written throughout with great animation and force; and for the part of the work relating to the history of the sixteenth century, he is an original and contemporary authority; and from his official position it may reasonably be assumed that he had access to the most trustworthy sources of information for the later portion of his history. He was an ardent party man, but at the same time, it must be remembered that he had a strong sense of justice, a good judgment, and a love of truth; and his narrative is enriched with wise and just political reflections: his sentiments are almost always liberal and for that age even radical. This feature of his history drew down upon it the vengeance of all who were attached to Romanism, all the enemies of freedom and all the lovers of despotism; even at this day, there are some persons that profess to write history, who utterly detest the political principles of George Buchanan. The personal responsibility of kings for their conduct which he emphatically asserted in his history was the most unpalatable of all, and it met with virulent and bitter opposition.

⁵⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 181, 689, 702, 707. In 1563 Buchanan was appointed to interpret documents written in foreign languages; *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 234. Very full information of the life and of the writings of Buchanan will be found in Dr. Irving's *Memoirs*, published in 1807, the second edition in 1817. Buchanan kept up a literary correspondence with some of the most learned and famous scholars of the age.

But the work in which Buchanan most fully and logically developed the principles of political freedom is the—"De Jure Regni apud Scotos," published in 1579. This work was written in the form of a dialogue, and it is a masterly compend of political philosophy. It at once excited a large degree of attention.⁵⁵ The principles which he enunciated were clear and decisive, they were derived from reason and experience, and unflinchingly directed against every form of tyranny. The argument was put in the following manner:—Men were naturally formed for society, but in order to arrest the internal broils that sprang up among them, they created kings, and in order to restrain the power of their kings, they enacted laws. As the community is the source of legal power it is greater than the king, and may therefore judge him, and since the laws are intended to restrain the king in case of collision, it is for the people not for the ruler to interpret them. It is the duty of the king to associate himself with the law, and to govern

⁵⁵ There were several editions of the dialogue published in a separate form, in 1580, 1581, one at Glasgow 1750; one at London 1765; and it has been repeatedly translated into English: besides, Dr. Irving states that it is printed with all the editions of Buchanan's works, except the first. As we have seen, it was condemned by the Scottish parliament in 1584, but probably this had little effect in retarding its circulation. At the end of last century there was a MS. version of the dialogue in English, in the Lambeth Library. In 1680, a translation was published, but the place of printing is concealed: English translations of it appeared at Edinburgh 1691; at London 1689, 1721, 1799.

There have been many editions of Buchanan's other works, of the history there have been at least twenty editions. His translation of the Psalms into Latin metre was long and universally admired, and has passed through numerous editions both in England and Scotland, and in other countries. In the beginning of the present century Dr. Irving wrote—"Buchanan's paraphrase continues to be read in the principal schools of Scotland, and perhaps in those of some other countries. Lauder's attempt to supersede it by that of Johnston proved unsuccessful. During the lifetime of Buchanan, it had begun to be introduced into the schools of Germany; and its various measures had been accommodated to appropriate melodies, for the purpose of being chanted by academics. Pope Urban VIII., himself a poet of no mean talent, is said to have averred that it was a pity it was written by so great a heretic, for otherwise it should have been sung in all churches under his authority."—*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Buchanan*, pp. 130-131.

exclusively according to its decisions. A king is one that rules by law, and in accordance with the interests of the people; but a tyrant is one that rules by his own will, and contrary to the interests of the people. An opinion had been promulgated that a king who was hampered by recognised constitutional ties might be resisted if he violated them, but that a tyrant who reigns where no constitution exists must be always obeyed; this view however was wholly false. The people may justly make war against such a ruler, and may pursue him till he is slain. Buchanan sent home and illustrated these political opinions by examples drawn from history. He had also the merit of completely disentangling politics from the puerile conceits and endless subtleties of the Catholic theologians; the theory of the deposing power of the Pope, which had so long been surrounded with a web of the most cunning fabrications, was once and for ever blown in the air.

The teaching of the reformed preachers had prepared the Scots for the reception of the political opinions proclaimed by Buchanan: they were in harmony with the spirit of the time, and they had a great influence. Buchanan's political principles offer a striking contrast to the slavish opinions then entertained by the majority of the English clergy. The English Church for more than a hundred and fifty years was the servile handmaid of monarchy, and the steady enemy of political liberty and freedom.⁵⁶ While the body of the English Puritans and the Scotch clergy struggled hard against the despotism of the crown, the clergy of the Church of England constantly taught the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and insisted on the people that passive obedience and absolute submission to the will of the king was their first and highest duty. But the clergy of Scotland taught and preached a very different doctrine; they, at least,

⁵⁶ Hallam's *Const. History of England*, Vol. I., p. 415. Jeremy Taylor, "Eternal damnation is prepared for all impenitent rebels in hell with Satan the first founder of rebellion. Heaven is the place of good, obedient subjects, and hell the prison and dungeon of rebels against God and their prince."—*Homily on Wilful Rebellion*. Quoted in Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, Vol. II., p. 194.

were not afraid of rebellion when it was necessary, and it would have been the last thing that they would have thought of doing, to maintain that it was unlawful for the people to rise against their king, if he proved an unworthy ruler or had encroached upon their freedom.

The Scottish poets of the later half of the sixteenth century are not of high rank, and therefore need not detain us long. They did not exercise much influence on the people, none of their writings appear to have been very popular. The name of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, a lawyer, a lord of session, and a privy councillor, in the reign of Queen Mary, is associated with the history of Scottish poetry more from the fact of his having been a collector of the verses and poems of others, than for the importance of his own compositions. He was born in 1494, and after a long and active life, during the last twenty years of which he was deprived of his eyesight, he died in March, 1586, at the great age of ninety. His poems were all written after his sixtieth year, and they bear the impress of the sober reflection of mature age : none of his verses are soaring or glowing, but they contain some very pointed references to the state of society and the events of the period. The subjects of most of his poems are lamentations for the disturbed state of his country, such as the feuds among the nobles, the discontent of the common people, complaints against the courts for long delay in deciding cases, and the depredations of the border thieves. Touching a remedy for the delay of law suits, Maitland advised the king to increase the number of judges, and to augment their salaries out of the funds of the abbacies, the parsonages, and the provosteries, which were then at the disposal of the crown. His poems were first printed in a separate and complete form in 1830 by the Maitland Club ; some of them, however, had appeared before in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, and in other collections of early poetry.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, Vol. II., p. 275-345, 349-353. Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, Vol. III., pp. 76, 319.

Maitland's collections of early Scottish poetry consists of two volumes, containing two hundred and seventy-two pieces, and specimens of these have long been before the public. He is the author of a book entitled *The History and Chronicle of the House and Surname of Seytoun*, which was printed for the Maitland Club in 1829.

George Bannatyne was a writer of verses, but more remarkable as a collector of early poetry, and his name is inseparably associated with the history of this department of our vernacular literature. He formed his collection in the year 1568, when a young man, while the plague was raging in Scotland. His MS. is neatly transcribed, and extends to eight hundred pages folio. He was engaged on it for three months. In the beginning of the manuscript he stated that he was forced to have recourse to old and mutilated copies. There are only a few of his own compositions in the collection, two of which deal with amatory subjects. He concludes the MS. with an address to the reader in the following words:—

“ Here ends this book, written in time of pest,
 When I fra labour was compelled to rest,
 Into the three last months of this year,
 From our Redeemer's birth, to know it here,
 Ane thousand is, five hundred, threescore eight.
 Of this purpose no more needs be taught.
 So, till conclude, God send us all good end,
 And after death eternal life us send.”⁵⁸

Only a few of Bannatyne's own poems are preserved, and they have not much poetical merit, though they are interesting as the effusions of one that was so instrumental in transmitting to posterity the early poetry of bygone generations.

Alexander Scott wrote poetry during this period, and his poems were edited by the late Dr. Laing, but nothing has been

⁵⁸ Many particulars about the poems contained in this MS. may be seen in *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published by Lord Hales in 1770; in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*; in a volume printed by the Bannatyne Club, containing a memoir of the worthy collector, Bannatyne; by Sir Walter Scott, and in several of the writings of the late Dr. Laing, relating to the early poetry of Scotland.

definitely ascertained about his parentage or profession. From his writings it appears that he was married; but his wife left him, and fled with some wanton man; however, after expressing his sorrow for this mishap, he avowed his determination to choose another wife, and to forget the faithless one. His poems are mostly founded on subjects of an amatory character, and he often shows a considerable degree of fancy and harmony. The longest of his productions is entitled "A new-year's gift to the Queen Mary, when she came first hame," but it has little poetic merit. His "Justing between Adamson and Sym" appears to be an imitation of "Christ's Kirk of the Green".⁵⁹

Alexander Arbuthnot was born in 1538, and educated at the University of St. Andrews, and in 1561 he passed to France, and for five years prosecuted the study of the law under Cujas in the University of Bourges. He returned to Scotland in 1566 with the intention of following the profession of the law, but he was induced to enter the ministry, and became an able adherent of the reformation. He was highly respected for his learning and knowledge, and in 1568 he was appointed principal of the University of Aberdeen. He took an active part in the proceedings of the church courts, and was twice elected moderator of the General Assembly. He was a man who joined the study of letters with that of theology; he is the author of an elegant Latin work, entitled "Orations on the origin and dignity of the Law," which was printed at Edinburgh in 1572. But he departed from the example of most of his learned countrymen, who were ambitious of composing verses in Latin, while they left their native tongue to be used by writers of less learning; he wrote his poems in the Scottish language. He mostly confined himself to subjects of a serious cast, and some of his pieces are pervaded with a pleasing air of melancholy and a warm

⁵⁹ Alex. Scott's *Poems*, 1821. Dr. Irving's *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, pp. 417-424. Eighteen of his pieces are included in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, Vol. III., pp. 115-175.

benignity. He died in 1583, regretted by his contemporaries, who united in recording his virtues.⁶⁰

Only four or five of Arbuthnot's poems are preserved. The most lively of his compositions is the one entitled "The praise of Women"; it extends to 224 lines, and contains a very warm encomium of the fair sex. His effusion entitled "The miseries of a poor Scholar" is rather an interesting composition, and shows that he had a vein of keen and glowing though somewhat carping sentiment.⁶¹

Among the writers of rhyme of this period may be mentioned John Davidson, a regent of St. Leonard's College, and afterwards minister of Liberton and Prestonpans. He wrote a metrical panegyric on John Knox, entitled "A brief commendation of Uprightness," which was printed at St. Andrews in 1573. The aim of this rhymed production was to record in popular language the memorable service that the reformer rendered to the nation. Every stanza of the poem closes with the word *uprightness*. About the same time he composed a poem called "A dialogue between a Clerk and a Courtier," which was printed in the beginning of the year 1574. It contained an exposure of a practice adopted by the Regent Morton for the purpose of retaining at his own disposal a large part of the thirds of benefices, by uniting two, three, or four churches under the care of one minister, thus restoring the abuse of pluralities. But Morton was much offended at the outspoken style of the poem; and its author was cited and convicted before a court at Haddington, and banished from his country. Lekprivic, the printer of the rhyme, was also prosecuted, and confined for some time in the castle of Edinburgh.⁶² They were indicted on an act of parlia-

⁶⁰ Spottiswood; *Delitice Poetarum Scotorum II.*, p. 120. Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 114-117, 283.

⁶¹ These two poems are included in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, Vol. I., pp. 138-155; and quotations are given in Dr. Irving's *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, pp. 432-436.

⁶² *Poetical Remains of John Davidson*, 1829; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 27, 28; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*; *Life of Knox*, pp. 447-460; 1855.

ment, of 1551, "against blasphemous rhymes," although there was little in Davidson's book that could have given reasonable ground of alarm to any well regulated government; it merely described a subject of public interest in a comparatively sober manner. Davidson returned to Scotland after the fall of Morton, and, as we have seen in preceding pages, he took an active part in the proceedings of the church.

The literary merits of the piece, which had offended the regent, are not great. The versification however is easy, and the conversation is carried on in a natural and spirited style. Shortly after its publication, Davidson composed a poem to the memory of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, a man that had shown his attachment to the reformed religion by his steadfast support of Knox. Campbell died while endeavouring to shelter Davidson from the effects of persecution, and the latter gratefully commemorated the virtues of his protector. This poem was published in 1595. Davidson was a warm promoter of popular education. After a life of activity and earnest work, he died in 1604, leaving behind him a collection of papers relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.⁶³

⁶³ *Poetical Remains of J. Davidson*; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 131-132, 449-453. Davidson's other writings consisted of a letter in answer to Dr. Bancroft's attack on the Church of Scotland: an account of Scottish Martyrs, written in Latin, but this work is now lost; though Calderwood had the use of it when he compiled his history: a Catechism entitled "Some helps for young scholars in Christianity," Edinburgh 1602, it was reprinted in 1708. "A little before his death he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesie Christi*, wherein he affirms that the erecting of bishops in this Kirk is the most subtle thing to destroy religion that ever could be devised."—Row's *Hist.*

There were several other minor versifiers in the later part of this century, but their productions are hardly of sufficient importance to warrant any lengthy notice. Robert Semple was a versifier of some repute in his day; he wrote a poem on the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, which was printed in 1573. Another of his rhymes is entitled, "The Legend of the bishop of St. Andrew's;" this was an attack upon the character of Archbishop Adamson: but Semple's compositions are rather coarse. *Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*, Vol. I.; Pinkerton's *List of the Scottish Poets*; Birrells *Diary*, p. 14; Ramsay's *Ever Green*, Vol. I., pp. 67, 71.

There were also several anonymous poems relating to public events, published

Alexander Montgomery was one of the most eminent and popular of the Scottish poets of the later half of the sixteenth century. Of his life and character very few facts are known; he seems to have been for sometime employed in the service of James VI.; and it appears that he experienced some of the vicissitudes of favour which so often fall to the lot of the courtier. It is supposed that he died about 1609. Several of his short poems occur in Bannatyne's manuscript and must have been composed forty years before his death.⁶⁴

Montgomery's poems are numerous, embracing sonnets and short pieces of very varied degrees of merit. It has been supposed that his taste was partly formed by the study of the Italian poets, as some of his quaint turns of fancy betray their Italian origin. He has written on many subjects, and tried his ingenuity in a variety of measures, but his happiest efforts are those of a lyric cast. To him amorous subjects afforded the most common themes for the exercise and the display of his powers. He had a good command of language, and, like some of his predecessors, especially of words of abuse and scorn.⁶⁵

His greatest effort is "The Cherrie and the Slæ," a poem of about this time.—"The Testament and Tragedy of the late King Henry Stuart of good memory;" another, "A declaration of the Lord's just Quarrel," both were printed in 1569; and are very bitter against Queen Mary. "A Tragedy in form of a Dialogue, in commemoration of the merits and fate of the regent Moray," was published in 1570. This performance has little or no poetic value; many of the author's expressions are in extremely bad taste. Some parts however of the regent's public service is clearly stated, his subjection of the borderers is narrated quite distinctly. This rhyme is printed in *Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*. "The Lamentation of Lady Scotland," which was published in 1572, is a production of a similar description; but it contains some important information regarding the state of the people; the oppressive character of the nobles is very plainly stated. Lady Scotland concluded with a fling at the practices of the dignitaries of the Roman Church. *Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*. There were several rhymers who frequented the court of James VI., some of them Englishmen, but their writings are of little interest.—Dr. Irving's *Hist. Scot. Poetry*, pp. 461-470.

⁶⁴ *Poems of Alex. Montgomery; Biog. Notices*, pp. 5-16; 1821

⁶⁵ The production entitled "The flying between Montgomery and Polwart" (Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth) teems with the coarsest and most abusive strings of terms to be found in any language. It is equally as coarse and vulgar as the

considerable ingenuity ; it extends to one hundred and fourteen stanzas, comprising one thousand five hundred and eight-six lines. The poem begins in an amatory mood and ends with a moral. Though the allegory is rather obscure and the thought too dim, many of the stanzas are rich in imagery and smooth in diction. It was very popular, and continued to be printed till a recent period.⁶⁶

Montgomery's sonnets were mostly all addressed to some of his contemporaries or friends, to the king, the lords of session, and to others, male and female : they have not much poetical merit, nor much interest now ; some of his miscellaneous poems, however, are more valuable and interesting. The following lines are from his short piece headed "The opposition of the Court to Conscience" :—

"The court some qualities requires
Which conscience cannot but accuse ;
And specially such as aspiris
Mon honest adulation use.
I dar not say, and doubly deill,
But court and conscience wallis not weill.

Sin every minioun thou must make

performance between Dunbar and Kennedy, in the same department. Montgomery began the sport with the following lines :—

"Polwart, yee peip like a mouse amongst thornes ;
Na cunning yee keipe. Polwart, yee peip ;
Yee look like a sheipe, and yee had twa hornes.
Polwart, yee peip like a mouse amongst thornes.
Beware what thou speiks, little foule earth tade ;
With thy Cannigate breiks, beware what thou speiks,
Or there sal be wat cheiks for the last that thou made.
Beware what thou speiks, little foule earth tade."

—P. 103.

The quantity of low slang that occurs in this curious composition is enormous, and many of the words are still current among the lowest class in Scotland.

⁶⁶ As far as known, the first edition of *The Cherrie and the Slae* was published at Edinburgh in 1597 ; in that year two editions were printed by Robert Waldegrave. Several stanzas were afterwards added by the author to an impression which appeared in 1615, from the press of Andrew Hart. The subsequent editions were—one at Edinburgh, 1536 ; another there, 1675 ; another, 1706 ; one inserted in Ramsay's *Evergreen*, 1724 ; one at Aberdeen, 1645 : editions printed at Glasgow, 1668, 1746, 1751, 1754, 1757 ; a modernised edition printed at Edinburgh, 1779.

To gar them think that thou art theirs,
 Howbeit thou be, behind their back,
 No furtherer of their affairs,
 But mett them moonshin ay for meill ;
 So court and conscience wallis not weill.”⁶⁷

Montgomery versified several of the Psalms, and also wrote many devotional verses.⁶⁸

We have already seen that James the Sixth was fond of displaying his learning and his theological knowledge ; and he was equally anxious to show his subjects and the world that he was a poet. In 1584, when only eighteen years of age, he published his first work, entitled “Essays of a prentice in the divine art of Poesie”. This publication consisted of a mixture of poetry and prose : the poems were mostly a kind of sonnets, none of which were of high merit, but, emanating from such an exalted person, they were greatly praised, and he was soon recognised as a poet and a scholar. He appeared as a contributor to the Cambridge collection of verses on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, published in 1587. In this book the king’s verses were placed first.⁶⁹ His subsequent writings were numerous, but a review of them here would not repay the trouble and the space which it would occupy. It may at once be stated that his books have contributed nothing to the advancement of an enlightened and liberal policy of government, nor to the progress of civilisation.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Poems*, pp. 136, 137.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-287.

⁶⁹ There is much information about the writings of James the Sixth in Dr. Harris’s account of his life. 1753.

⁷⁰ In the list of King James’s works the following may be mentioned :—1. *Ane Fruitful Meditation*, containing a plain and facile exposition of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth verses of the twentieth chapter of Revelations, in form of a sermon ; set down by the most Christian king, and sincere professor and chief defender of the truth, James the Sixth, King of Scots. Edinburgh, 1588. 2. *Demonology*, in form of a dialogue, divided into three books, Edinburgh, 1597 ; again, 1600 ; at London, 1603. 3. *His Majesty’s Poetical Exercises in vacant hours*. Edinburgh, 1591. 4. *Instructions to his Son, Prince Henry*. 1603. 5. *Basilicon Doron* : a poem. London, 1603. 6. *The True Law of Free Monarchies*. 7. *Counterblast to Tobacco*. 8. *Mysteries of State*. 9. His other writings chiefly consist of speeches, declarations, and the like. There is an enumeration of them in Dr. Watt’s *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Vol. II., p. 541.

Towards the end of the century there is some indication of improvement in the moral sentiment and tone of the popular literature. Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, in the later years of his life, produced a number of hymns or sacred songs ; he died in 1609. His volume of hymns was printed at Edinburgh in 1599 ; they amount to eight, with a short poem on the defeat of the Spanish Armada ; and in a prose Epistle subjoined, he recorded the experiences of his youth : here he expressed himself pretty freely ; he touches on the corruption of the judges, and animadverted boldly on the Scottish Court.⁷¹ His hymns are very unequal, but the versification is occasionally fluent and easy ; and some of his descriptions are natural and vigorous. The following lines is from the hymn entitled “ the Day Festival ” :—

“ O perfect light ! which shed away
 The darkness from the light,
 And left one ruler o’er the day,
 Another o’er the night.
 Thy glory, when the day forth flies,
 More vively does appear
 Nor at midnight unto our eyes
 The shining sun is clear
 The shadow of the earth anone
 Removes and drawis by ;
 Syne in the east when it is gone,
 Appears a clearer sky :
 Which soon perceives the little larks
 The lapwing, and the snipe ;
 And tunes their songs, like nature’s clerks,
 Our meadow, moor, and stripe.
 What pleasure ’twere to walk and see
 Endlong a river clear,
 The perfect form of every tree
 Within the deep appear ;
 The salmon out of crooves and creels
 Up hauled into skouts,
 The bells and circles on the weills
 Through louping of the trouts.

⁷¹ “ Hymns or sacred songs, wherein the right use of poetry may be espied. By Alexander Hume. Whereunto are added, the experience of the author’s youth and certain precepts, serving to the practice of sanctification.” Edinb. 1599.

O then it were a seemly thing,
 While all is still and calme,
 The praise of God to play and sing
 With cornet and with shalme."

This is certainly a great advance from the rude and coarse rhymes of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads"; there is an ease and artless vividness of description in this beautiful hymn, which renders it exceedingly pleasing to read; and it must have been more touching when sung.

James Melville, the nephew of Andrew Melville, whose valuable and interesting *Diary* has been often referred to in the preceding pages of this work, also indulged himself in writing Scottish poetry. In early life he acted as a professor both at Glasgow and St. Andrews; and afterwards as a parish minister. James Melville was one of the ministers that were deprived of their livings after the accession of the king to the throne of England; and he died at Newcastle in 1614. He was a mild and estimable man, more remarkable for his piety than original poetic powers. In 1599 his work entitled a *Catechism* was published at Edinburgh. The first part of it is in prose, and consists of prayers and meditations for different occasions, directions for self-examination, a form of examination for those seeking to be admitted to the communion, in the form of question and answer: the second part is in verse and has the following title—"A morning Vision, or poem for the practice of piety, in devotion, faith, and repentance: wherein the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Commands and so the whole Catechism, and right use thereof, is largely expounded". He composed many other pieces in verse all on religious subjects; but his poetry is very homely and tame; and it appears that his *Catechism* was not popular; although all his writings are interesting as specimens of the native language, and for the curious and plain statement of customs and notions which prevailed in Scotland in his day.⁷²

⁷² James Melville's *Diary*, ed. by Robert Pitcairn, *Prefatory notice*, pp. 8-31, 45. The editor gives a list of his various works, pp. 44-48. But the *Diary* itself is by far the most valuable of his writings to the student of history.

The fashion of the age led the learned to make attempts to write Latin poetry and rhymes. The quantity of effort spent in learning to read and compose in the Latin language was enormous; and although this had a tendency to improve the standard of culture, it may be doubted if it was not carried too far. We are told that "in all the schools and colleges, and from the age of six to sixteen the youth spoke and heard nothing but Latin". And that in their correspondence, and in their ordinary conversation with each other, the learned used the Latin tongue.⁷³ Supposing this to be literally true, it can hardly be said to have been the most effective way to develop the faculties of the mind or to advance the civilisation of the nation; this mode of culture tended to separate men of letters from the general community, and prevented them from exercising an influence over the mind of the people; and thus deprived literature of the advantages to be derived from its diffusion among society. It may, indeed, be said that the Scottish Latinists of this period exercised an indirect influence upon the national

⁷³ Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 330-332. "But perhaps, the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature at this period was the enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated by our countrymen; divines, lawyers, physicians, country-gentlemen, courtiers, and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled '*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*' were originally published, or at least written, at this time. They are of course possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems composed by natives of Italy. If this was not the classic age of Scotland, it was at least the age of classical literature in it, and at no subsequent period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated. Besides Andrew Melville, the individuals who attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature were Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Johnston, and Hercules Rollock."—Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., p. 328. To these may be justly added—Archbishop Adamson, who wrote sacred poetry, translations of various books of the Bible in verse, a Catechism and other treatises in Latin. He died in extreme poverty in 1591. He also wrote many works which have never been published.

mind, which in one sense must be granted ; but, after the reformation the spell of Latin Christianity was broken, and in Protestant nations the Latin language as a formative power inevitably became greatly circumscribed. This was a consequence of the reformation, whether learned men saw it or not, that did not control its operation.

Remembering the comparatively unsettled state of the nation, the religious and theological literature produced in the later part of the century was considerable. Before this period no commentary on Scripture, nor any collection of sermons, had appeared in Scotland. But Robert Rollock, the first principal of the University of Edinburgh, was an earnest educationalist and a warm promoter of literature, and his name is closely and honourably associated with the history of education and religious literature in Scotland. In connection with his profession, he composed commentaries on many parts of the Bible, some of which were published at Edinburgh towards the end of the century, and they were shortly after reprinted at Geneva, and commended by several foreign divines. He wrote in Latin, and though his mode of exposition is by no means free from the fetters of the pedantic logic of Scholasticism, themes that involved the most momentous moral issues were handled as mere obstructions. Having formed certain premises, the intermediate conclusions to which the rules of their method led, they treated these deductions as logical symbols, and reasoned them out, utterly forgetting the difficulty and the doubt which so often attends the steps of moral reasoning. Everything rested on the truth of the definitions and the premises ; to change or doubt any of these was fatal to the whole structure. Protestantism has only gradually and with difficulty extricated itself from this purely dogmatic method ; even now we are not altogether clear of its meshes. Rollock's good sense and feeling of the practical often appears in his commentaries on the Scripture in spite of the art of the dialectician, though in some of his Latin writings he revels in dialectics. His sermons in

the Scottish dialect published at Edinburgh in 1599, from notes taken by some of his students, are pretty concise and practical discourses, and exhibit him in a favourable light. His work entitled "God's Effectual Calling" originally published in Latin at Edinburgh, 1597, is rather an elaborate performance; it formed a portion of the system of theology which he taught. In this treatise Rollock touched upon a variety of topics relating to the Scriptures; and like other protestant divines of the period, he had an unhesitating and firm belief in revelation. He mentions various early translations of the Old and New Testament, and briefly discussed the authorship and claims of the Vulgate, passing to the consideration of translations into the modern tongues, he inquired whether it was lawful to translate the Bible into every modern language, whether the common prayers should be in the mother tongue, and whether the people should read the Scriptures.

He deemed it necessary to enter into a series of arguments to prove that it was lawful to translate the Bible into the mother tongue for the instruction of the people. The arguments of the Roman Catholics against the free communication of the Bible to the people are minutely examined and effectively exposed.⁷⁴

Robert Bruce, as we have seen in preceding pages, was a bold and popular preacher; he was a man of strong and vigorous mind, intensely earnest, honest, and steadfast in principle. His sermons in the Scottish dialect were published at Edinburgh in 1590 and 1591; they are exceedingly interesting specimens of vernacular composition, shortly before the period when it was generally superseded by modern English. They are full of doctrinal points and arguments, remarkably regular in style and clear in expression. He had a good sense of method, and the

⁷⁴ *Select Works of R. Rollock*: Wodrow Society, 1849, Vol. I., pp. 127-160. A list of his works is given at pages eighty-nine and ninety-five of the introduction to this volume. Some of his writings were popular for several generations after his death.

faculty of making an intricate subject intelligible to the ordinary understanding.⁷⁵

Robert Pont was born about 1528. Educated in St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, he early embraced the reformed opinions, and his name appears among the members of the first General Assembly. From this time till his death in 1606, he took an active part in the affairs of the Church. In 1572, with the consent of the General Assembly, he accepted an appointment to act as a senator of the college of justice, he held a seat on the bench till 1584. He was chosen minister of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, in 1574; the same year he was appointed to revise all the books that were printed and published.

Pont was one of the most learned of the early ministers of the Church of Scotland. In 1566 he published *A Translation and Interpretation of the Helvetian Confession*. At the request of the General Assembly, he composed three sermons against sacrilege in 1594, which were published in 1599. This is an interesting subject, and has been often touched in preceding chapters; yet a short quotation from a well informed contemporary cannot be out of character:—"From the year of our Lord 1560 to this present time, the greatest study of all men of power of this land has been, by all kinds of inventions, to spoil the Kirk of Christ of her patrimony, by chopping and changing, diminishing of rentals, converting of victual in small sums of money, setting of feus under the value, long tackes upon tackes, with two or three life-rents, with many twenty years of a tack, annexations, erections of Kirk-rents into temporal livings and heritage, pensions, simple donations, erecting of new patronages, union of teinds, making new abbots, commendators, priors, and other papistical titles, which ought to have no place in a reformed Kirk and country, with many other corrupt and fraudulent ways, to the detriment and hurt of the Kirk, the schools, and

⁷⁵ Bruce's sermons were translated into English, and published at London in 1617; they were reprinted for the Wodrow Society.—*Fasti Ecclesiae Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 18.

the poor, without any stay or gainsaying.”⁷⁶ His other writings chiefly related to chronology. “A new treatise on the right reckoning of the years and ages of the world and men’s lives, and of the state of the last decaying age thereof, this year of Christ, containing sundry singularities worthy of observation, concerning courses of times and revolutions of the heavens, reformation of kalendars, and prognostications,” &c., published at Edinburgh, 1599. His work, entitled *Chronologiam de Sabbatis*, was published at London in 1626. He also wrote a tract on the union of the kingdoms, in the form of a dialogue, which was published in 1604. In this dialogue he gives a deplorable description of the tyranny of the aristocracy, the weakness of the law, and the terrors of the judges, who trembled before the power of the nobles.⁷⁷

The Reformation movement was admirably adapted to call forth any talent that existed in the nation; it tended to arouse the latent powers of the mind, and to widen the range of ideas and the objects of study. After the Revolution, the department of jurisprudence began to receive more attention; indeed, it may be said that in Scotland the teaching of the civil law only commenced at this period. Previously, the canons were the great object of study; those who delivered lectures occasionally on the civil law were in priests’ orders. It was not till the later part of the 16th century that the institutes and pandects began to be substituted for the sacred canons and decretals. Dr. Edward Henryson edited and wrote a preface to a collection of the acts of parliament, from 1424 to 1564, which was published at Edinburgh in 1566: this volume, however, is rather carelessly arranged.⁷⁸ Sir John Skene, the clerk registrar, edited a

⁷⁶ Pont’s *Sermons against Sacrilege*.

⁷⁷ *History of the Church and Parish of St. Cuthbert’s*, 1829; Tytler’s *Life of Sir Thomas Craig*, p. 218; Wodrow’s *Biog. Coll.*, Vol. I.

⁷⁸ Dr. Henryson is the author of a work, entitled *Commentatio Tit. X. Libri Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis*, published in 1555. It is a kind of running commentary, and it was inserted in the great work of Gerard Meerman, *Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici*. Henryson is reported to have written some other books, which are not now in existence.

collection of the acts of parliament, from 1424 onwards to the later part of the sixteenth century, which was published at Edinburgh in 1597. He also, for the first time, published in 1609, in Latin and in English, a collection of the laws and constitutions of Scotland, from the days of Malcolm II. to the reign of James I.; to this he added a treatise on the explanation of difficult words and terms.⁷⁹ Although modern investigators have found many reasons for the rejection and the modification of not a few of Skene's opinions and conclusions touching the early laws of Scotland, it must be acknowledged that his labours were valuable and meritorious, and at the time of their publication threw much light on the ancient customs and laws of Scotland.

Sir Thomas Craig was an eminent and successful lawyer in the reign of James VI. His best known work is the learned treatise on the feudal law, "*Jus Feudale, Tribus Libris Comprehensum*," which he finished in 1603, but it was not published till 1655, forty-seven years after the author's death. It is written in a vigorous Latin style. It obtained a wide and authoritative reputation; many translations and editions of it were published. He was a vigorous thinker, and made the first regular attempt to treat the feudalism of Scotland in a philosophic spirit. It is not surprising, however, that he failed to explain the peculiar form that feudalism had assumed in Scotland; when he wrote, feudalism was full of life in the kingdom; and it may be questioned if a professional lawyer is the best qualified person to give a true exposition of the system in operation around him. Every one that has tried to grasp and comprehend the special form of feudalism which so long prevailed in this country, is well aware of the difficulties of the subject. As we have seen, Scotch feudalism is partly a natural growth of the clan organisation, and partly a more artificial system of land tenures, implying the relations and duties of

⁷⁹ Skene's first edition of the *Regiam Majestatem* was published in 1613; the origin and authorship of this book has caused much disquisition.

superior and vassal throughout their manifold ramifications. In the days of Craig, the distinctive feature of feudalism was connected with the holding of land—the customary rights and claims of the superior, and the obligation of his vassals to satisfy all his demands; but one by one, here and there, the feudal burdens were gradually lightened and outgrown, till at last the tenants of the land only paid a money rent.

William Welwood was for sometime professor of law in the University of St. Andrews, and published several useful treatises on juridical subjects. He wrote both in Latin and English. In one of his works, he drew a parallel of the points of resemblance between the Jewish and the Roman codes. His tract on ecclesiastical processes was intended to distinguish the forms of procedure in the civil courts, from the forms that should be used in the church courts, touching citation, the mode of trial, and appeals. His abridgment of sea laws—one of the most useful of his productions—was the first systematic book on maritime jurisprudence that appeared in Britain. But Welwood ventured into other fields: he wrote a treatise on practical theology, which was published at Middleburgh in 1594. He had an inquiring mind, and in all his writings there is a worthy desire to turn his knowledge to the good of mankind.⁸⁰

This very industrious man is also connected with the progress of physics and the arts. In 1577, while teaching at St. Andrews, he obtained from the government a patent for a new mode of raising water with greater facility from coal pits, sinks, and low places. He afterwards published an account of his plan, and of the principles upon which he calculated that it would produce the intended effect: this publication appeared

⁸⁰ Welwood's work on Sea Laws has the following title:—"Abridgement of all Sea Laws; gathered forth of all Writings and Monuments, which are to be found among any People or Nation upon the Coasts of Great Britain and the Mediterranean Sea." London, 1613. Watt's *Bibliotheca Brit.*, Vol. II., p. 957. The learned Selden afterwards wrote on this subject, in the seventeenth century, and even later various points of the law relating to the sea were fiercely disputed.

in 1582. It is an interesting indication of the state of hydraulic science at that time, and of those experiments which gradually led to the discovery and to the application of its true principles.⁸¹ In 1594, parliament granted to two men the exclusive right of making certain pumps for raising and forcing water out of mines.⁸²

But the most celebrated name in connection with the history of science in Scotland is John Napier of Merchiston. This remarkable man, who contributed so much to extend the bounds of knowledge, was born in the year 1550. He was educated at the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards in France at the University of Paris. He had returned to Scotland before 1571, and for many years took an active interest in the affairs of the Church. He was twice married, and had a family of sons and daughters. Although he was of a studious and inquiring turn of mind, he was by no means a mere recluse; he attended to his domestic duties, and the business of his father, who was connected with the mint and mining operations of Scotland. In short, he interested himself in many projects, and seems to have

⁸¹ Welwood's plan of raising water was summarised by Dr. M'Crie in his *Life of Melville*: "If Welwood had persevered in his experiments, he might have accidentally made the discovery which afterwards occurred to Galileo. He proposed to produce the effect by means of a leaden pipe bent into a syphon, and extended on the exterior so as to discharge the water at a point below the surface of the well. Having shut up the two extremities of the pipe, he introduces water into both legs, by an aperture at the upper point or elbow of the syphon, till they are completely full; and then closing this aperture with great exactness, and opening both ends of the syphon, he maintains that the water will flow out of the exterior or lower leg, as long as there is any in the well. It cannot, he argues, flow out of the shorter leg, for it has no head or difference of level to give it the power of issuing in that direction. It cannot flow out of both legs at the same time; for then it behoved to separate somewhere in the middle, which, according to him, is impossible, as nature abhors a vacuum. Therefore, it must flow out of the well by the longer leg. The well is supposed to be 45 cubits deep (for our author was not possessed of the important fact that water will not rise to a height above 33 feet). In other respects the principles of his demonstration are not more unscientific than those which Galileo would have employed sixty years after the time of Welwood." Vol. II., pp. 320-321.

⁸² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., p. 176.

passed a comparatively happy life. He died in the month of April, 1617.⁸³

The dominant feelings and the belief of the age had taken a firm hold upon Napier's mind, as his earliest publication manifested. This was an ingenious and extremely curious book, containing an exposition of the whole Revelations of St. John.⁸⁴ He prefaced this work with a short poetical address to Anti-christ; and to his interpretation he annexed certain oracles of Sibylla, which he conceived to agree with the Revelations and other parts of Scripture. This treatise must have been comparatively popular, as the first edition was published at Edinburgh in 1593, and the fifth, corrected and amended, appeared in 1645.

⁸³ M. Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, 1834, pp. 56, 91, 104-107, 129-131, 147-173, 227-234, 282, 415, 430; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 559.

⁸⁴ The full title of this work will perhaps give a better idea of its contents than any lengthy description: "A plain discovery of the Revelations of St. John, set down in two treatises; the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof; the other applying the same paraphrastically and historically to the text: by John Napier; with a resolution of certain doubts, moved by some well affected brethren; whereunto are annexed certain oracles of Sibylla, agreeing with the Revelations and other places of Scripture; and also an epistle omitted in the last edition, 1645. This was printed for Andrew Wilson, and sold at his shop at the foot of the Ladie's Steps."

The conclusions which he draws from the introductory and expositive treatise on the Revelations of St. John are thus set forth in his own words:—"Then for conclusion, by these interpretative propositions followeth four things, marvellous and notable. First, that the interpretation of every part of the Revelations is accessory or consecretory to another—that is to say, it is so chained and linked together, that every mystery opens the other, to the discovery of the whole. Secondly, that the first half of the book is orderly—that is to say, it containeth in order of time the most notable accidents that concerneth God's Church, from the time of Christ's baptism successively to the latter day. Thirdly, that every history prophesied is limited or dated with its own number of years. Fourthly, and last of all, that whatsoever history is more orderly and summarily than plainly set down in the first orderly part of the book, the same is repeated, interpreted, or amplified in the last part of the book, which therefore we call the amplificative part of the book, dividing the whole Revelations according to the following table, before we proceed to the principal matter."—p. 61. 1645. The table which Napier drew is ingenious and elaborate; and his interpretation and exposition of the Book of Revelations is fully as sensible as many others that have appeared since his day.

In 1596 Napier published a letter, entitled "Secret Inventions, profitable and necessary in those days for the defence of this Island, and withstanding of strangers, enemies of God's truth and of religion." The inventions which he proposed do not appear to be very hopeful, and at first sight they seem to hover between the possible and impossible; yet some of his schemes are not incredible or beyond the limits of realisation;⁸⁵ they afford evidence of his speculative powers, and the scientific bent of his mind struggling with the narrow resources within his reach to produce practical results. Although the existing

⁸⁵ The following are the words in which he announced the new inventions:—"First, the invention, proof, and perfect demonstration, geometrical and algebraical, of a burning-mirror, which receiving the dispersing beams of the sun, doth reflect the same beams altogether united and concurring precisely in one mathematical point, in the which point most necessarily it engenders fire, with an evident demonstration of their error who affirm this to be made a parabolic section. The use of the invention serveth for burning the enemies' ships at whatsoever appointed distance.

"Secondly, the invention and sure demonstration of another mirror which, receiving the dispersed beams of any material fire or flame, yields also the former effect, and serveth for the like use.

"Thirdly, the invention and visible demonstration of a piece of artillery, which shot passeth not linally through the enemy destroying only those that stand on the random thereof, and from them flying idly as others do; but passeth superficially, ranging abroad within the whole appointed place, and not departing forth of the place till it hath exhausted its whole strength, by destroying those that be within the bounds of the said place. The use hereof not only serveth greatly against the army of the enemy on land; but also by sea it serveth to destroy and cut down, and one shot the whole masts and tackling of so many ships as be within the appointed bounds, so long as any strength at all remains.

"Fourthly, the invention of a round chariot made of metal of the proof of double musket, which motion shall be by those that be within the same, more easy, more light, and more speedy by much, than so many armed men would be otherwise. The use hereof, as well in moving, serveth to brake the array of the enemy's battle, and to make passage, as also in staying and abiding within the enemy's battle, it serveth to destroy the environed enemy by continual charge and shot of harquebush through small holes; the enemy in the meantime being abashed, and altogether uncertain what defence to use against a moving mouth of metal.

"These inventions, besides devices of slaying under the water, with divers other devices and stratagems for harming of the enemies, by the grace of God and work of expert craftsmen I hope to perform."—M. Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier*, pp. 247, 248.

conditions—say the requisite mechanical skill—may not admit of the immediate application of a discovery or an invention, that is no evidence of the possible value and ultimate practicability of such things. In the Introduction of this history it was observed, that the lack of combined action and organised means have always greatly retarded the realisation of many things, even after the discovery, the invention, or the knowledge of a principle, had been reached.⁸⁶ Most of the sciences begin at a point too remote from the real struggle of human life to be obviously useful, and would have made no progress at all if they had waited to justify their existence by their usefulness: their progress is mainly due to their own internal, intellectual, and moral interest. If science had always been absorbed in the search after obvious utilities, the highest discoveries would never have been made, and the greatest utilities would in all likelihood have been missed.⁸⁷

In 1614 Napier published his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio*. This work presented a mode of calculation which greatly abridged the labour and facilitated the solution of all the vast problems involving numbers. The distinctive peculiarity of the invention of logarithms consisted in finding the indexes of the ratio of numbers one to another on a definite method. "The general idea which Napier formed was that of two flowing points, generating magnitudes by infinitely small degrees, so regulated in their respective motions, that in the one case, the successive increments would be equal to each other; and in the other case, would differ proportionally from each other in an infinitely small degree." He had a fine faculty of exposition, and he developed his conception with unrivalled clearness. The

⁸⁶ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis*, Vol. I., pp. 62-65.

⁸⁷ Joseph J. Murphy. *Habit and Intelligence*, Vol. II., pp. 225, 226. "All inorganic science, at least, depends on measurement; and all other measurements ultimately depend on the measurements of space. Now space is altogether external to the mind; we think in time, and not in space; yet the measurement of time depends on that of space, and not the converse; and geometry, which is the science of the properties of space, was the earliest of the sciences."—*Ibid.*

invention was soon known throughout Europe among men of science. The work was speedily translated into English by Edward Wright and Henry Briggs: the former set himself to translate it, and the latter became a warm and able co-operator of Napier's in computing improved tables. Wright finished his translation and sent it to the author for revisal in 1615. He shortly after died, and the task then devolved upon his son, Samuel Wright, assisted by Briggs, and the translation was published in London, 1616. Edward Wright had specially directed his attention to navigation, which stood greatly in need of the aid of exact science. He published a treatise at London in 1599, entitled "Certain errors in Navigation detected and corrected"; he also computed tables of latitude, and is distinguished for his sea rings, his great quadrant, his sea quadrant, and other ingenious astronomical contrivances.⁸⁸

The only other work that Napier published in his lifetime was his short treatise on the method of computing by figured rods, known by the name of Napier's bones, 1617: it contained the most important of his minor inventions touching various numerical properties. The following is a part of his own description of it, from the dedication to the Earl of Dunfermline:—"Of which logarithms, indeed, I have found out another species much superior to the former; and intend, if God shall grant me longer life and the possession of health, to make known the method of construction, as well as the manner of using them. But the actual computation of this new canon I have left, on account of the infirmity of my bodily health, to those conversant in such studies; and especially to that truly and most learned man, Henry Briggs, public professor of geometry in London, my most beloved friend. In the meantime, however, for the sake of

⁸⁸ M. Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier*, pp. 323, 438-444. For comprehensive views of the theory of logarithms, see the *Works of Bailly*, *Astronomie Moderne*, Tome II.; *Delambre Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne*; *Montucla Hist. des Mathematiques*, Tome II., p. 2, *et seq.*; Dr. Minto's *Account of Napier's Inventions and Writings*; Colin Maclaurin's *Treatise on Fluxions*, and several articles in the eighth edition of the *Encyc. Brit.*

those who prefer to work with the natural numbers as they stand, I have excogitated three other compendious modes of calculation, of which the first is by means of numerating rods, and these I have called 'Rabdologia'. Another, by far the most expeditious of all for multiplication, and which on that account I have not inaptly called the promptuary of multiplication, is by means of little plates of metal disposed in a box. And lastly, a third method, namely, local arithmetic performed upon a chess-board."⁸⁹

In 1619 Napier's son published the work which his father had left incomplete—"Lograithmorum Canonis Constructio," that is, the method of their construction. The purpose of the work is to show the way that he conquered the second difficulty in his path to the logarithms; namely, how to calculate the actual numbers to be intercalculated between the terms of his progressions, in order to reap the fruits of his original conception. Though the author did not live to give it the final touches, the book is teeming with profound thought, and exhibits a grasp of the subject and a clearness of exposition which is rare even among the efforts of the highest genius. Professor Playfair has well said, "Napier's view of the subject is as simple and profound as any which after two hundred years has yet presented itself to mathematicians. The mode of deducing the results has been simplified; but it can hardly be said that the principle has been more clearly developed." Sir John Leslie has said, "his sublime invention of Logarithms about this epoch eclipsed every minor improvement, and as far transcended the denary notation, as this had surpassed the numerical system of the Greeks". Robert Napier in the preface to his father's posthumous work said—"Some years ago, my father, of ever venerable memory, published the use of the wonderful Canon of Logarithms; but the construction and method of generating it, he, for certain reasons, was unwilling to commit

⁸⁹ M. Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier*, pp. 413-415. The original edition of this little work is now extremely scarce.

to types, as he mentions upon the seventh and the last pages of the Logarithms; until he knew how it was judged of and criticised by those who were versed in this department of letters. But since his death, I have been assured from undoubted authority, that this new invention is much thought of by the most able mathematicians; and that nothing would delight them more than if the construction of his wonderful Canon, or so much at least as might suffice to illustrate it, were published for the benefit of the world. . . . I doubt not, however, that this posthumous work would have seen the light in a far more perfect and finished state, if the author himself, who according to the opinion of the best judges, possessed among other illustrious gifts this one in particular, that he could explicate the most difficult matter by some sure and easy method, and in the fewest words—if God had granted a longer use of life. You have the doctrine of the construction of Logarithms—which here, he calls artificial numbers, for he had this treatise composed for several years before he invented the word Logarithms, most copiously unfolded, their nature, accidents, and various adaptations to their natural numbers, perspicuously demonstrated. I have thought good to subjoin to the construction a certain appendix, concerning the method of forming another and more excellent species of Logarithms, to which the inventor himself alludes in his epistle prefixed to the *Rabdologia*, and in which the Logarithm of unity is 0. . . . I have also published some lucubrations upon the new species of Logarithms, by that most excellent mathematician, Henry Briggs, public professor in London, who undertook most willingly the very severe labour of calculating this Canon, in consequence of the singular affection that existed between him and my father, the method of construction and explanation of its use being left to the inventor himself.”⁹⁰

⁹⁰ M. Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier*, pp. 417-418, 445, *et seq.* This book contains a vast amount of information, but its author is rather too laudatory of the inventor of Logarithms.

Henry Briggs was the greatest mathematician of his day in England; he

It was observed in the preceding volume, that there was little or no medical science among the Scots at the end of the fifteenth century.⁹¹ According to the statement of the elder Scaliger, who visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, the kingdom did not contain more than one regular practitioner. It is known, however, that this learned man was rather fastidious in his taste and in his mode of life.⁹² It is possible that he might have exaggerated a little, or that his information may have been incomplete. At least, this science had made some progress in the country before the end of the century; though as yet there was no medical school in the kingdom, as now understood; and Scotsmen intending to follow this profession were trained abroad.

The people suffered greatly from the frequent recurrence of pestilence; and in 1568 Gilbert Skeine, doctor in medicine, published at Edinburgh, "A Brief Description of the Pest". This treatise consists of forty-six small pages, and may be supposed to give the views of the learned of those days touching the pest. He described it as "a feverable infection, most cruel, and in sundry ways striking down many in haste. It proceeded from a corruption of the air, which has strength and wickedness above all natural putrefaction, and springs from the wrath of the just God at the sins of mankind." He recognised, however,

was a man of remarkable powers of mind, and of great industry. He is the author of several valuable treatises on Logarithms, his greatest work appeared in 1624, entitled "*Arithmetica Logarithmica*". He died in 1630.

⁹¹ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 477-478.

⁹² "At Agen the elder Scaliger was now exercising the profession of a physician. That city, when he there fixed his residence, could not furnish him with a single individual capable of supporting literary conversation, and he was therefore led to cultivate an intimacy with some of the more enlightened inhabitants of Bordeaux. Buchanan, Tevius, and other accomplished scholars, who then belonged to the College of Guienne, were accustomed to pay him an annual visit during the vacation. They were hospitably entertained at his house; and he declared that he forgot the torture of his gout whenever he had an opportunity of discussing topics of learning with his guests. For the society of this singular man, who possessed some bad and many good qualities, Buchanan has expressed a natural relish" (in Latin verses).—Dr. Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 45-46.

other causes, "as stagnant waters, corrupting animal matters and filth, the eating of unwholesome meat and decaying fruits, and the drinking of corrupt water. Great humidity of the atmosphere, dearth of victual, whereby men are forced to eat bad meat." He adverts to the suspicious intermeddling of the comets and the shooting stars. He observed that the poor were more subject to this fearful disorder than the rich; indeed, his description of the state of the former is deplorable—"Every one is become so detestable to another, which is to be lamented, and especially the poor in the sight of the rich, as if they were not equal with them touching their creation, but rather without soul or spirit, as beasts degenerated from mankind". This worthy doctor's regimen for the pest, regarding both its prevention and its cure, consisted of a vast variety of curious recipes and rules of treatment, written partly in Latin and partly in English.

Dr. Peter Lowe had practised in various parts of the continent, and returned to his native country towards the end of this century. He published a system of surgery in 1597, giving a popular view of the healing art, along with some descriptions of cases which had occurred in his own practice.⁹³ About this time he was appointed by the government to examine the persons that proposed to practise the art of surgery in the west of Scotland. He resided in Glasgow, and was the founder of the faculty of physicians and surgeons of that city.

⁹³ The title of Dr. Lowe's work will give the best idea of its character :—"The Whole Course of Surgery; wherein is briefly set down the Causes, Signs, Prognostications, and Curations of all sorts of Tumours, Wounds, Ulcers, Fractures, Dislocations, and all other Diseases, usually practiced by Surgeons, according to the opinion of all our ancient Doctors in Surgery: Compiled by Peter Lowe, Scotsman, Arellian Doctor in the Faculty of Surgery in Paris, and Surgeon Ordinary to the King of France and Navarre. Whereunto is annexed the Book of Presages of Hippocrates, divided into three parts; also the Protestation which Hippocrates caused his Scholars to make. The whole collected and translated. London, 1596." Reprinted in 1597, 1612, 1634, 1654. It was regarded as a work of merit in its day, and was translated into several languages. Dr. Lowe also wrote a book entitled—"An Easy, Certain, and Perfect Method to Cure and to Prevent the Spanish Sickness. London, 1596."

Dr. Duncan Liddel was born in Aberdeen, 1561, and attained an eminent position as a professor of mathematics and a physician. In the later part of the sixteenth, and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, he was a professor of mathematics and of medicine in the University of Helmstadt; he acted as first physician to the court of Brunswick, and he had a large private practice among the families in the neighbourhood. He was elected to fill several posts of honour in connection with the University of Helmstadt, and achieved much celebrity. About 1608 he returned to Scotland, and directed his attention to the diffusion of science among his countrymen. He died in December, 1613.

Dr. Liddel is the author of several works composed in Latin, which were well received on the continent. His work entitled "*Disputationes Medicinales*," in four volumes, was published in 1605; it was reprinted as late as 1720; it contained the theses maintained by himself and his pupils at Helmstadt from 1592 to 1605. In 1607 his well known work "*Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata*" was published at Hamburgh; a second edition was published at Lyons 1624, and a third at Hamburgh in 1628. This work was pretty highly esteemed during the seventeenth century. Like other works of the period in the same department it treated largely on metaphysics as well as on medicine.⁹⁴

Having concluded the examination of the literature of the nation in the sixteenth century; we may pause a little, and reflect on the characteristics of the works, the opinions, the sentiments, and the feelings, manifested in them. Looking backwards we find that there had been some advance in physical knowledge among the Scots, but by no means a marked progress in this department during the century. Although Napier announced an important invention in the department of mathe-

⁹⁴ A sketch of the life of Dr. Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen, 1790. There is also an interesting article relating to Dr. Liddel in the eleventh volume of the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. A. Gibb, F.S.A., Scot., pp. 450, *et seq.*

mathematical science early in the seventeenth century ; no one can fail to see that the intellectual and scientific advancement of the Scots was comparatively meagre as contrasted with the radical changes of their religious belief, their sentiments, and their feelings. The great intellectual revival in Europe, however, was beginning to be felt in the sixteenth century. The Copernican system of the universe was first printed in 1543, but it met with much opposition, even among the learned its acceptance was extremely slow ; there is not the slightest reason to believe that any of the chief reformers recognised or comprehended it. Long after their day, the far famed Lord Bacon rejected the Copernican system to the last ; he also treated the valuable discoveries of Gilbert about the magnet with the most arrogant contempt. When this great philosopher assumed such an attitude to the greatest conception of his age ; we can hardly suppose that the mind of the Scots had as yet been in the least affected by these scientific ideas ; that some individual Scotsmen towards the end of the century might have been aware of them, is very possible ; but the religious revolution was accomplished before this ; and the conclusion pointed to is that the reformation depended more upon moral causes than intellectual and scientific ones. Throughout the literature of the period it will be found that there is more evidence of change in the feelings and sentiments of the people, than in the display of increasing intellectual power.

The writers in the Scottish dialect of the later part of the century are inferior to those of the earlier half of the century in point of intellectual power. After the reformation there is no Scottish poet equal to Dunbar or even to Gavin Douglas, the versifiers of the close of the century stand lower than those of the first quarter of the century ; the balance in range of imagery, in ideas, and in appropriate construction, is on the side of the earlier poets. When however we look at the feelings and the sentiments which were expressed in the compositions of both, the later writers appear in a more favourable light ; the extremely

coarse expressions which Dunbar and Sir David Lyndsay often used, were gradually cast aside, and a better moral tone was beginning to be observed. The improvement of the moral sentiments and the broadening of the national sympathy is indicated in various directions, especially in the emphatic complaints touching the oppression of the poor and the earnest efforts to relieve them.

The revolutionary waves of the sixteenth century were mainly religious and moral, and considering the state of society, not merely in Scotland, but throughout Europe, we need not be surprised that the Reformers were only partly successful. The reactionary spirit of Roman Catholicism was enormous, and to this hour it retains an undaunted opposition to every form of liberal policy and moral freedom; Rome still claims a supremacy in all matters of morality and religion; the Pope is the supreme and only visible head of this planet, appointed by God to rule over the human mind and to fight against the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the race; centuries roll on, revolutions in governments, in knowledge, and in education, are brought to pass among the nations; the Pope remains unchanged, the same narrow views and the same unblushing arrogance characterise the Popes of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDUCATION AND ART IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

EDUCATION has long been a subject of interest ; indeed there is nothing more important in a civilised nation than its system of educational establishments. An educational system, like all other human institutions, must in some degree conform to the laws of social organisation and progress, if it would maintain the complement of its influence upon the mind of the nation. It is not enough that an educational system should maintain its efficacy according to a stereotyped standard, it must also take account of changing circumstances, accommodate itself to the requirements and the wants of a highly artificial and progressive society. It is on this ground that many of the knotty questions connected with national education arise. The chief difficulty to a just and wise reform springs out of the conservative interests, class prejudice, hereditary pride, and narrowness of sympathy ; or on the part of some, a fear, not unreasonable, that the ancient landmarks may be altogether obliterated. In every nation where a comparative degree of civilisation and freedom has been attained, there are always persons and parties who cling with extreme tenacity to whatever is old and established, as if the least change or modification of an institution was certain to derange the order of the universe ; while other parties are more inclined to push onward and to improve the existing institutions, to bring them more into harmony with circumstances and the realised results of the age. The great revolution which we have been attempting to explain in the preceding chapters, is a grand exemplification of these conflictive tendencies of parties ; and when the demand

for reasonable and necessary reform is obstinately resisted and withheld, it needs no prophet to announce that the consequences must be ruinously disastrous.

In the first volume some notices of the early schools of the country were given;¹ and in this chapter it is proposed to present a brief history of the origin of the parish schools and the other educational institutions of the kingdom. Before the Reformation, in Scotland there were at least two classes of schools, besides the universities: one of these was called the "lecture-school," in which the children were taught to read the vernacular language; the other was the grammar schools, in which the Latin language was taught; the last were attached to the monasteries and to the boroughs. Prior to the reformation, however, the first class of schools were not numerous. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were schools in Edinburgh for the instruction of children, and at this time there were female teachers; but there are some early indications of a disposition to give the grammar schools a monopoly of teaching. In 1520 the town council of Edinburgh, on grounds which they deemed sufficient, enacted that no inhabitant of the town should put their children to any particular school within the borough but to the principal grammar school, "to be taught in any science, but only grace-book, primar, and plain duty," under a fine of ten shillings.²

We have seen, that after the reformation strenuous and worthy efforts were made to extend the means of education to the people. Where regular schools were not erected, the readers in the churches often supplied the deficiency, by teaching the youth to read the catechism and the Bible. The reformed clergy took a warm interest in the education of the people, by exerting themselves to establish parish schools; the Church courts were untiring in their exertions to forward the cause of popular edu-

¹ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 262, 538-541.

² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. I., pp. 76, 193; *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 97, 98, 107.

cation.³ At the annual visitation of the parishes by the presbyteries, the state of the schools always formed a subject of inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were examined; where no schools existed, means were employed to establish them. The parochial schools of Scotland were not originated by the act of council in 1616, which was ratified by parliament in 1633. Long before that time the church courts had a "common order" touching the rate to be raised for the salary of the teacher, the fees to be paid by the scholars, and many other regulations for the organisation of the primary schools. In this way many schools were erected before the close of the sixteenth century. There is often reference to the trial and inspection of schoolmasters in the registers of the Church courts, and regulations for providing means to educate the children of the poor. Although it is undoubted that many schools were founded and then in operation, it would be a mistake to suppose that every parish had a school; ⁴ there were many and great difficulties to be overcome ere a popular system of education could be carried to this point of completeness.

After the reformation, in all the schools the children were learned to read the catechism, the prayers, and parts of the Bible; even to rehearse the catechism and parts of Scripture from memory. It was common to instruct the boys in manly exercise and sports to develop their bodies and limbs, by the practice of archery, fencing, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming, and other games.⁵

All the chief towns in the kingdom had grammar schools before the reformation; it is unnecessary, however, to give an account of each; only a general description of their character,

³ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 17, 33, 60, 108, 279, 311, 415, 432, 693, 737, 965.

⁴ *Records of the Presbytery of Haddington*. Quoted by Dr. M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 497, 499.

⁵ "And by our master we were taught to handle the bow for archery, the club for golf, the batons for fencing; also to run, to leap, to swim, and to wrestle."—Melville's *Diary*, pp. 16, 17, 21.

and the aim of the instruction afforded in them, and the changes which the reformation introduced, is all that is attempted. With comparatively few exceptions, the whole of the educational institutions of Scotland were under the control of the Church both before and after the reformation ; it is only recently that the control of the Church in education was limited to special branches, and altogether excluded from others.

In the first half of the sixteenth century there were sometimes two or more grammar schools in Edinburgh : the Canon-gate had one from an early period. The magistrates exercised authority over these schools, although the abbot of Holyrood had the right of nominating the head masters. The town council paid the master of the grammar school various sums of money and mails annually ; they also attended to the building and repairing of the schools. In 1555 there was a school for teaching French in Edinburgh, and that year the town's treasurer paid ten marks to the master of the French school ; and French seems to have been occasionally taught as a branch of education in the grammar schools.⁶

In 1521, John Marschall, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, asked the provost to tell him of whom he held the school, and the answer was, that he had it under the appointment of the magistrates of the borough. This, however, was not exactly correct ; for in 1537 the chancellor of the diocese of Aberdeen claimed the right of appointing the master of the grammar school, and nominated Robert Skene to that office, and requested the town council to accept him. The master of the grammar school claimed a monopoly of teaching in the city, both before and after the reformation. In 1529, Mr. John Bisset, the master of the grammar school, received from the town council the sum of ten pounds Scots yearly to help to pay his board, till they promoted him to a benefice. The council, in 1542, unanimously ordered that the master of the grammar

⁶ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 179, 271, 281, 292, 210, 241, 218 ; *Melville's Diary*, p. 17.

school should have forty shillings from the humblest persons, who received him and the bishop on St. Nicholas day for his wages, and every other honest man to give him at their pleasure. Four years later, Hugh Monro, the master of the grammar school, by the order of the council, was to get ten pounds yearly ; and, at the same time, the citizens were requested to give him the accustomed wages on St. Nicholas day. Hugh Monro had a wife and a family ; thus it seems, he was not in priest's orders. In 1550 he resigned ; and the council nominated Mr. James Chalmer to the office of master of the school, and presented him to the chancellor to be admitted according to usage of bygone times.⁷

The grammar schools of Glasgow, Dunfermline, Perth, Stirling, Linlithgow, Dundee, and others, had attained to some importance. Andrew Simson was master of the grammar school of Perth from 1550 to 1560, and it is reported that he had sometimes three hundred boys under his charge. He was the author of a Latin grammar, which kept its ground in the schools of Scotland till the eighteenth century, when it was superseded by Ruddiman's grammar. On the eve of the reformation, Ninian Winzet, the opponent of Knox, held the post of master of the grammar school of Linlithgow ; and in one of his works he complained bitterly that "so little respect has ever been paid to the grammar schools".

The chief subject taught in these schools was the Latin language. The amount of information imparted to the scholars was very limited. It consisted of the matters connected with the Roman Catholic religion, and of portions of Latin authors, which were read and explained. At the reformation these institutions were taken under the charge of the Protestants ; but

⁷ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. I., pp. 97-98, 107, 120, 122, 151, 186, 231, 272, 277 ; Vol. II., pp. 90, 154. It is evident that the grammar schools of the boroughs were partly under the magistrates. It seems to have been the policy of the Church to allow the local authorities and the citizens to have as much of the management of the schools as would cause them to take an interest in these establishments.

the teaching of grammar and the Latin language still continued to be their distinguishing characteristic.

At the time of the reformation, the grammar school of Edinburgh was taught by William Robertson, who remained attached to the Roman Catholic faith ; and the magistrates had much difficulty in removing him from office, as his appointment was vested in the abbot of Holyrood. In the month of April, 1562, the town council requested Lord James Stuart to deal with his brother, Lord Robert, abbot of Holyrood, for ejecting Mr. Robertson from the school ; and the council proposed to grant the post of master to the most learned man that could be found. At the same time the council expressed a desire to have a college built within the borough for regents, and suggested that the queen might be persuaded to grant to the town the yards and rents of the friars and the altarages of the kirk.⁸ The master of the grammar school, however, was not to be so easily removed as had been supposed. He was ordered to produce his right, and a long process of disputes between him and the council ensued. He insisted that his fee should be paid ; and in 1565 the queen interposing in his favour, the council was obliged to pay him for the year 1566. Though Robertson was superseded by another master, as late as 1580 he interfered with the grammar school of the Canongate, and interrupted the teaching for three months.⁹

The council and the deacons of the crafts united in their endeavours to find a qualified master for their grammar school. In July, 1568, the council ordered their treasurer to ride to St. Andrews for Thomas Buchanan. At a meeting of the council in August, after long reasoning with this learned man concerning the instruction of the youth of the town, knowing him to be an able and qualified teacher, they resolved to appoint him on the following terms :—"For the first year, in case it be known to them that the said Thomas, with the fifty merks they

⁸ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 131-132.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 139, 141-145, 149, 193, 196-197, 215.

have granted him of yearly pension, with the duty of the bairns, which is four shillings each, be not worth three hundred merks for the first year or thereby, they shall cause their treasurer to give him other fifty, which shall be one hundred merks for the first year, and each year thereafter according to their appointment." He entered on his duties in February, 1569; but he left the situation in July, 1570.¹⁰ The citizens of Edinburgh manifested a keen interest in education, and their persistent efforts were at last rewarded.

In the year 1578, the High School of Edinburgh was completed on the ground where the monastery of the Black Friars had stood. This school soon took a high place among the educational establishments of the kingdom. It was fortunate in having at its head two excellent teachers in succession, who laid the foundation of its reputation. Hercules Rollock was appointed master of the High School of Edinburgh in 1584, and filled this post for eleven years; and, by his energy and example, and the success of his teaching, he contributed much to raise the character of the school. Alexander Hume, the next head-master, was appointed in 1596. He was a good classical scholar, and proved to be a very acceptable teacher. He was the author of a Latin grammar, which the privy council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, ordered to be used in all the schools of the kingdom. This injunction, however, was frustrated by the action of some of the bishops, and by the opposition of Ray, who succeeded him in the High School.¹¹ In the year 1598, a set of rules was framed for the High School by a committee of learned men, and were intended to regulate the mode of teaching and the government of the youth; but we will again return to this matter when we come to describe the method of teaching and the subjects taught.

After the reformation the grammar school of Glasgow was

¹⁰ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 157, 250, 251-252, 259.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; *Crawford's History of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 19-20, 64; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 157, 374; *Dr. M'Crie's Life of Melville*, Vol. II., pp. 298-300.

taught by Thomas Jack, who had the reputation of being well qualified for the task. He is the author of a work entitled "Onomasticon Poeticum," published at Edinburgh in 1592. It contains an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets; and composed in Latin verse with the view of being committed to memory by the boys. He left the school of Glasgow in 1574, and became minister of the parish of Eastwood. Jack was succeeded by Patrick Sharp, who held the office of master of the grammar school till 1582; and he was afterwards appointed principal of the University of Glasgow. Sharp was succeeded by John Blackwood, who held the post of master of this school for thirty years.¹²

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the town council of Glasgow was much occupied with the building of a new grammar school. In May, 1600, they ordered the master of work to go with two craftsmen, a mason and a wright, to inspect the school and to ascertain what repairs it required. But at a meeting of the council in August the same year, it was "condescended that in respect that there was nothing more profitable, first to the glory of God, next to the well of the town, than to have a good grammar school"; as it was altogether ruinous and must be entirely rebuilt, they resolved to prosecute the undertaking till it was finished.¹³

Touching the method of teaching and the books used by the teachers, some interesting information has been preserved. In 1575 the Lords of the Privy Council deemed it expedient for the upbringing of the young of the kingdom, that there should be only one form of grammar taught in all the schools: that this important end might be attained by common consent, the council ordered letters to be sent to the most learned schoolmasters—"Mr. George Buchanan, or Peter Young, preceptors to the king's majesty, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. William Robertson,

¹² *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, pp. 99, 243, 246, 310, 311.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 210, 216, 217, *et seq.* There were schools in Glasgow for teaching English or reading in the Scottish dialect.

Mr. Andrew Simson, Mr. James Carmichael, and Mr. Patrick Auchinlek—schoolmasters of Stirling, Edinburgh, Dunbar, Haddington, and St. Andrews, requesting them to appear personally before the regent and council at Holyrood on the 10th of January, to give their advice concerning the form of Grammar that should be used in all the Schools of the realm hereafter: thus at once to show their desire to promote so necessary a work, and to manifest their loyalty".¹⁴ It does not appear that this order led to the production of a Latin grammar; but in the later half of the century there were at least four different Latin grammars written by Scotsmen—Simson's, Duncan's, Carmichael's, and Hume's: several attempts were made by parliament to cause the same grammar to be used in all the schools of the kingdom.¹⁵

As before observed, the aim of these schools was to impart to the pupils a knowledge of the Latin language; as it was then the medium through which Greek, theology, and ancient literature were universally taught. That the method involved an excessive degree of labour in order to reach its end is quite evident; nor was the result obtained at all commensurate to the waste of energy; that it was so long followed, is only another illustration of the strength and power of habit.

In the year 1598 the town council of Edinburgh adopted a set of rules framed by one of the senators of the College of Justice, six advocates, the principal of the university, and three of the ministers of the city, for regulating the mode of teaching and the management of the youth in the High School. The school was divided into four classes, each to be taught by a separate master, one of whom was the rector. The boys passed from master to master at the end of each year; the subjects and the books to be taught as well as the mode of teaching were minutely laid down. No boy was to be admitted to the school till he had learned to read English perfectly, and all

¹⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II. p. 78.

¹⁵ *Act Parl. Scot.*, Vol. IV., pp. 157, 371.

the common schools were strictly prohibited from teaching Latin.¹⁶

¹⁶ The following is a part of the rules—"They think it best and expedient that there be four learned and godly men appointed regents to teach the grammar school of Edinburgh, in all time coming by four several classes in the following manner:—The first class, the regent thereof shall teach the first and second rudiments of Dumbair, with the Colloques of Corderius; and on Sunday the catechism platatine. The second regent shall teach the rules of the first part of Pelisso with Cicero's familiar epistles; and to make some version thrice in the week; and to teach them on Sunday the foresaid catechism lately set out in Latin, with Ovid de tristibus. The third regent shall teach the second part of Pelisso, with the supplement of Erasmus Sintaxis Terence, the Methamorphosis of Ovide, with Buchanan's psalms on Sunday. The fourth regent shall teach the third part of Pelisso, with Buchanan's Prosodia, Taleus figures and rhetoric figure, constructions, Thome Linacri, Virgilius, Salustius, Cesaris Commentaria, and florus Ovidij epistle, and the heroic psalms of Buchanan on Sunday. Each of the foresaid regents shall teach their class in separate apartments and to this effect the High School shall be divided into four houses.

"And that there may be the better harmony between the four regents in their procedure and teaching, and that they may the better answer for their duty, discharges simpliciter masters or other persons whatsoever from teaching of any rudiments or any other book in Latin in any of their lecture schools. So that the first regent may be the more answerable in grounding and instructing them in rudiments. It is always provided in favour of lecture schools, that none shall be received in the said first class but he who can read first perfectly the English with some writ; and the first regent shall in no ways be suffered to teach any one the first A. B. C.

"The fourth regent shall be principal of the school and of the regents, and have the oversight of them all, namely, he shall see and animadvert that every one of the regents keep their own hours in the manner and form of teaching presently set down, and that each of them continually await all the day long upon the school in teaching and examining their bairns. That all the regents the principal as well as the other three inferiors, each of them teach their own class, and that each of them use correction upon their own disciples, except in great and notorious faults, then all the four to be assembled in a house and have the principal regent to punish the same."

Regarding the fees—"It has been thought good to make the fees and quarter payments of the regents in this manner—The first and second regents shall have quarterly each thirteen shillings and fourpence, the third fifteen shillings, and the fourth twenty shillings."

"Their salaries, the first and second regents each twenty pounds; the third forty merks; and the principal two hundred merks. The same day the provost, bailies, and council, discharged all masters, regents, and teachers of bairns in their grammar schools of all craving and receiving of any bleyis silver of their bairns and scholars; as also of any bent silver except fourpence at a time only." *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*. These extracts are quoted at greater length in the

Passing to the universities, the next and the highest educational institutions of the kingdom, we naturally begin with the earliest. Additions were made to the University of St. Andrews early in the century. Near the church of St. Leonard's, within the precincts of the Abbey, there was an hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in pilgrimage to visit the relics of St. Andrews; and the patrons resolved to convert it into a college, "for training up poor scholars in learning and the arts, to the glory of God and the edification of the people." The foundation charter of St. Leonard's college was executed in 1512, by John Hepburn, prior of the abbey, and confirmed by the archbishop and his father James IV. The prior and conventual chapter were the patrons of this college, and retained the power of visiting and correcting it; and the teachers were always taken from the monastery. The college was intended for the support and education of twenty poor scholars. The principal was appointed to lecture twice in the week on Scripture or on theology to the priests, the regents, and others who chose to attend.¹⁷

The college of St. Mary was begun under the direction of Archbishop Beaton, who obtained a papal bull in 1537 authorising him to erect the buildings. The branches authorised to be taught in it were grammar, logic, theology, medicine, canon and civil law; and within the establishment divine offices were to be performed, and a common table provided for the members from the rents and benefices annexed to the institution. The building was begun by Archbishop Beaton, and carried on by his successor the cardinal; but the college was not completed till 1554, when Archbishop Hamilton obtained a papal bull empowering him to alter the arrangements made by his predecessors. Accord-

second volume of Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, pp. 499-503. For comparison it may be noticed that the town council of Aberdeen in 1579 resolved to give the master of the grammar school a yearly pension of fifty merks—"for bringing up, teaching, and instructing the bairns and scholars thereof, in virtue, learning, letters, and good manners". *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, Vol. II., p. 24.

¹⁷ Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 219-222.

ing to Hamilton's foundation of the new college, there were to be four principal teachers, called respectively, the provost, the licentiate, the bachelor, and the canonist; eight students of theology, three teachers of philosophy, and two of rhetoric and grammar. A pretty full course of studies was prescribed; there were to be lectures on the Bible, the canon law, logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics; and minute rules were laid down for the order and regulation of the institution. The teachers, regents, and students, had to wear caps after the Parisian fashion; and all the students, the nobles, as well as the bursars, had to wear gowns bound round them with a girdle, but the bursars were to add to this a black hood.¹⁸

There were now three colleges at St. Andrews. The defence of the Roman Catholic faith was a special end of the erection of all the colleges in the kingdom; but how far they contributed to this is not difficult to discover. There can be no doubt that the Scottish universities aided the revolutionary movement; the carefully calculated system of instruction yielded results little suspected by those who originated it. During the thick of the reformation struggle the number of students at the universities diminished; but many of the masters and regents of the colleges embraced the reformed opinions.

Everything relating to the Roman Catholic faith and worship, in any way connected with the laws and practice of the universities, was removed as soon as possible after the establishment of the reformation. But the modes of teaching philosophy and the arts were little changed; even in the theological faculty some of the old forms of teaching were retained.

At St. Andrews the regular length of the course was four years, though it was usually finished in three and a half. The session began on the 1st of October and continued throughout the year, except the months of August and September. All the scholars who entered for the first time were placed under the tuition of a regent, who carried them through the whole curri-

¹⁸ *Records of St. Andrews University.*

culum. He assembled his class three hours every day, and read and explained the books of Aristotle; beginning with dialectics, then ethics, physics, concluding the course with arithmetic and mathematics, and the highest branch of philosophy, to wit, metaphysics. In the progress of the course the students were often engaged in disputations and declamations, both before their class and publicly before the university. The principal occasionally read public lectures on what was deemed the higher branches of philosophy, which were attended by the advanced students.¹⁹

About the middle of the third year of the course, the students that had obtained an attestation of regular attendance and good behaviour from their regent and the principal of the college, were then admitted to enter on trials for the degree of bachelor. Every year the faculty chose three of the regents as examiners; and in their presence the candidates determined a question in logic or morals in a connected discourse, and answered the questions proposed on any of the branches which they had studied under their regents. The examiners reported to the faculty, and those that passed were confirmed by the dean, and the rest sent to a lower class. At the end of the course they were examined in all the subjects taught, and candidates for graduation had to defend a thesis, which had before been affixed to the gates of the different colleges. They were divided into circles, and their names arranged in the order of merit, but with a preference to persons of rank; then the degree of master of arts was solemnly conferred by the chancellor of the university, in the name of the Trinity.²⁰

¹⁹ *Records of the University of St. Andrews*; *Melville's Diary*, pp. 24-28.

²⁰ *Statutes of St. Andrews University*, 1570, and previous regulations. When receiving the degrees of bachelor and master, the graduates paid certain sums of money to the purse of the university, to the dean, and to other officials; those that were too poor obliged themselves to give what was due to the public fund as soon as they were able. An old law enacted that each student, including the bursars, was bound to give his regent annually, for three years, a Scots noble, which in later times was made to answer to a pound Scots.—*Ibid.*, 1561, 1579, 1583.

The *First Book of Discipline* sketched a scheme for remodelling the three universities, but it was not adopted. In vain the reformers recommended it to the aristocracy, and argued for its acceptance with all their powers of persuasion; in vain they urged, "if God shall give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the way prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity—a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more likely to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort".²¹

Naturally, the reformation had more or less affected the teaching staff of all the universities, and to a much greater extent the funds on which they were supported. The University of Glasgow was nearly ruined by the change of religion. As several of its professors were maintained by their livings in the church; and, as they adhered to the old religion, there were no salaries for the Protestant professors, its small revenue was also partly alienated and unjustly seized. If the principal of the college, John Davidson, had not embraced the reformed opinions, and continued his academical labour, the institution indeed might have been utterly extinguished. As it was, Queen Mary in 1563 granted to the College of Glasgow some houses, lands, and annual rents, which had mostly been held by the friars, to found bursaries for five poor scholars. The same year a petition was presented to the queen and the lords of the articles, "in the name of all that within this realm are desirous that learning and letters may flourish". This petition stated that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, especially those of St. Andrews, was wasted; and the sciences that were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, which was equally injurious to the people, to their children, and to posterity. The petitioners earnestly requested that measures should be taken to remedy these matters. Parliament appointed a committee to visit the univer-

²¹ Knox's *Works*, Vol. II., pp. 213-221.

sities, and to report their opinion as to the best mode of improving the state of education. No report from the committee is preserved. But there is a scheme for the University of St. Andrews, which was drawn by Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners.²² The civil war put a stop for a time to these educational reforms.

But in 1572 the town council of Glasgow granted lands, houses, and rents to their college, which was called a new foundation. It was, however, only sufficient to support fifteen persons. Andrew Melville was appointed principal of the University of Glasgow in 1574, and by his energy and talents contributed much to raise the institution. He set to work with great earnestness, and determined to conduct a class himself through what he deemed a complete course of study.²³

His method and the subjects which he led the class through have been minutely detailed by his nephew, James Melville. He began by teaching his class the principles of Greek grammar, rhetoric, and logic, using the dialectics of Ramus. Once the students were engaged in these fascinating subjects, he read with them the best classical authors, pointing out their beauties, and thus illustrated the principles of logic and rhetoric. He next treated geography and mathematics, using the arithmetic and geometry of Ramus, the tables of Hunter, and the astrology of Aratus. Moral philosophy followed; he read the ethics and politics of Aristotle, Cicero's offices, paradoxes, and Tusculan questions, and some of Plato's dialogues. In physics, he commented on some parts of the works of Aristotle and Plato. At last, entering upon the subjects of his own special department, he taught the Hebrew grammar; first cursorily, and then by a

²² *Records of the University of Glasgow; Report of the University Commissioners, 1826-7 and 1836-7*, Vol. II., pp. 236, 237; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II., p. 544. The plan of education proposed for the University of St. Andrews is printed in Dr. Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, app. iii. It gave too exclusive attention to the learned languages, though in some respects it was a marked improvement on the existing modes of teaching.

²³ *Report of the University Commissioners*, Vol. II., pp. 237-239; Melville's *Diary*, pp. 48, 49.

more searching examination of its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and the books of Solomon. Proceeding to the Chaldee and Syriac, he read the parts of the Books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the Epistle of the Galatians in the Syriac version. He also went through the common heads of divinity, following the order of Calvin's institutes; and gave lectures on the different books of the Bible. This course was completed in six years. During all this time Melville met his class twice every day, including Sunday; besides holding occasional discussions after dinner and supper with such as were present.²⁴

Andrew Melville was enthusiastically attached to his profession. In 1575 his nephew, James Melville, began a class in the college of Glasgow. He stated that he was the first regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors to his class in the original. In 1577, Andrew Melville attempted to appoint permanent teachers to the different departments of study; at the same time the revenue of the university was augmented, and its privileges anew confirmed by a royal charter.²⁵

The leaders of the reformed church were fully aware that the universities needed more reform. The General Assembly in 1576 appointed commissioners to visit and examine the state of the University of St. Andrews; the following year parliament appointed a committee to visit all the universities of the kingdom, but it appears to have done nothing; and the General Assembly which met in 1579 presented a petition to the government, urging the necessity of reforming the University of St. Andrews, and nominated commissioners to act along with those whom the council might appoint. The council at last named commissioners, and gave them ample powers; they were authorised to remove superstition, disqualified persons, and, if necessary, to change the form of study and the number of professors and regents, to join or to divide the faculties, and generally to

²⁴ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 48-50.

²⁵ *Ib'd.*, pp. 53, 54; *Records of the University of Glasgow*.

make such arrangements in the universities as should "tend to the glory of God, the profit of the nation, and the upbringing of the youth in the sciences which are needful for the continuance of religion." They found that all the colleges had departed from their original foundations, and that the foundations themselves disagreed in many ways with the true religion, and were not nearly up to "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves".²⁶

The commissioners introduced the following in St. Salvator's College : a principal, and four ordinary regents of humanity and philosophy were instituted. The first regent was to teach the Greek grammar ; to exercise the students in Latin composition during the first half year of the course, and in Greek the second half. The second regent was to teach rhetoric and elocution, illustrating them by examples from the best Greek and Roman authors ; this class had also an hour every day for Latin composition, and during the last half of the session they had to declaim an oration once every month in Latin and Greek alternately. The third regent was to teach the most useful parts of Aristotle's logic, ethics, and politics, all in Greek, and the offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent was to teach as much of the physics as was necessary, and the motions of the sphere. On Sunday a lesson on the Greek New Testament had to be read in all the four classes. There were also to be regents in mathematics and law, who were to lecture on four days of the week. The principal of the college himself was to act as professor of medicine. Similar arrangements were adopted in St. Leonard's, except that in it there were no classes for mathematics and law ; and the principal, instead of teaching medicine, was to expound the philosophy of Plato.

St. Mary's, or the New College, was limited to the study of theology and the languages connected with it. It was to have five instructors, and a course of study extending to four years. The chief subjects embraced in the course were the Hebrew,

²⁶ *Book of the Universal Kirk ; Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., p. 98.

the Chaldee, and the Syriac languages, in connection with the books of the Old Testament. One regent was to continue explicating the New Testament throughout the course. The principal himself, the fifth instructor, was to lecture on the system of divinity during all the time of the course. Public disputations were to be held every week, declamations once a month, and, at three different times during the course, a solemn examination was to be held, at which "every learned man should be free to dispute". The regents and masters then in office were ordered to remove without delay; the commissioners elected those whom they thought best qualified for teaching. They enacted that when a vacancy occurred in the future, it should be filled by an open competitive trial; and vacancies in the other two colleges were to be filled up in the same way. Regulations were made to prevent the revenue of the university from being diverted to improper purposes. At the end of every four years, there was to be a royal visitation of the university to inquire into the effects of this reformation, and to see that the regulations were observed.²⁷

This scheme of educational reform shows that its authors were anxious to promote the study of the higher literature, and the various branches of learning inseparably associated with Christian theology and religion. The new plan, however, was not fully carried out. In the Colleges of St. Salvador and St. Leonards, the act of parliament touching the number of regents was not carried into effect.

Andrew Melville was translated from Glasgow to St. Andrews, and appointed principal of St. Mary's College in 1580. After being installed, he delivered his inaugural oration, and began to lecture on theology. He went through the course of lectures and teaching with much energy and ability. His lectures excited unusual interest in the university, and were attended by some of the regents in the other colleges, as well as

²⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III., pp. 178-182; Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I., pp. 241-244.

by the class of theological students. Yet Melville met with many difficulties in carrying out the new regulations, and his own ideas of educational reform.²⁸ It has always been proverbially difficult to reform old corporations; owing to various well known influences, the wisest reforms are often rendered almost nugatory. An outside and powerful agent often sought to control the teaching in the universities; each dominant party at the head of the government deemed it necessary to apply their tests, and to purge the educational institutions; thus the field of culture and the forms of religious thought were narrowed within the walls of the universities.

The University of Aberdeen was reformed from the old religion by Alexander Arbuthnot, who was appointed principal in 1568, and held that office till his death in 1583.

We have seen that the citizens of Edinburgh took a warm interest in education: they were exceedingly anxious to have a college in the capital. In 1579, the town council resolved to begin the building on the piece of ground where Darnley met his fate. Owing, however, to the opposition of some parties the undertaking was for a time suspended; but in 1581 the work was pushed forward with energy. It was not a new and regularly designed structure; it was patched up partly by repairing the old houses upon the spot, and partly by the erection of others upon the most economical plan. A royal charter was granted in 1582, authorising the foundation of the college, and confirming the rights of the town council, with the advice of the ministers of the city, as the patrons of the institution, conferring on them "full freedom to elect the best qualified persons that could be found for the discharge of the duties of the institution, with power to instal and remove them as should be deemed expedient; prohibiting all other persons from teaching these sciences within the burgh, unless with the permission of the magistrates and council."²⁹

²⁸ Melville's *Diary*, pp. 83-86, 122-128; *Life of Archbishop Adamson*.

²⁹ *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., pp. 528-529; *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. III., pp. 105-106, 132, 163; *Crawford's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 1-16.

The patrons intended the students to lodge within the college, and to dwell there during the course of their study. This was the custom in the other Scottish Universities, and was continued till a much later period. In King's College at Aberdeen, by a regulation of the Senatus in 1753, all the students had to live within the college gates.³⁰

The Town Council of Edinburgh in 1583 appointed Robert Rollock to take charge of the youth in the new institution; he had been acting as a regent of philosophy in the University of St Andrews. In October the magistrates issued a proclamation requesting those that desired to be taught in the college to present themselves before one of the bailies, and enrol their names. A considerable number appeared, and with them Rollock began the first year of the course. Many of them, however, were too deficient in the Latin language for entering on the subjects con-

³⁰ The second section of the statutes enacted by the Senatus of King's College, touching the lodging of the students in 1753, after stating that the practice of the students living and eating in private houses had been attended with bad results: "Therefore, the masters have decreed that for the future all the students shall lodge in rooms within the college, and eat at the college table during the whole session, and that no student whatsoever shall be exempted from obedience to this statute without a dispensation from the principal or sub-principal, who are empowered to grant such dispensations, for weighty reasons to be therein expressed." At the same time we find the following interesting statute:—"That students may have the benefit of those parts of education which are not reckoned academical, such as dancing, writing, book-keeping, French, &c., without losing time in attending Masters at a distance from the college, the sub-principal, and regents shall appoint proper rooms in the college, and proper hours when these things may be taught, and shall bespeak masters of the best characters and qualifications for instructing those who chose to attend them." As directly applicable to the later part of the sixteenth century, we may transcribe what James Melville said about similar matters in connection with his own education at St Andrews between 1569 and 1573. "Moreover, in these years I learned my music, in which I took great delight, of one Alexander Smith, a servant to the principal of our college, who had been trained up among the monks in the abbey. I learned of him the gamut and plain song, and many of the trebles of the psalms. . . . I loved singing and playing on instruments passing well, and would have gladly spent time when the exercise thereof was within the college; for two or three of our condisciples played tolerably well on the virginals, and other instruments. Our regent also had the spinet in his chamber, and learned something, and I after him." *Diary*, p. 29.

templated in the college. He recommended Duncan Narne as one of the regents of philosophy, and proposed that Narne should take those that were deficient in Latin and prepare them for a new Bajan class the next session, when those under his own charge would be in the second year of their course. This plan was followed, so during the first session of the college, which lasted from October, 1553, till the end of August, 1554, there were only two classes and two instructors. During the second session there was no more, but the two regents proceeded with their classes.³¹

In the winter of 1556 Rollock was appointed principal of the college; he continued, however, to teach his class to the end of the course. When the fourth session was opened, the teaching staff was the principal and two regents, each having one class. In August, 1557, the first graduation took place, Principal Rollock conferred the degree of Master of Arts on the students of the fourth year educated by himself—the number graduated was forty-seven. After this Rollock resigned the post of regent, and was appointed teacher or professor of divinity, an office which continued to be attached to the principalship of the college till 1620. In 1559 a fourth regent of philosophy was appointed, and in 1597 Mr. John Ray was elected regent of humanity. The college now had six instructors—a professor of divinity, four regents of philosophy, and a regent of humanity. At this strength the teaching staff of the institution remained for many years.³²

Rollock in his mode of exposition followed Ramus and no man knew how to make a better use of this famous philosopher's dialectics than the first professor of the college of Edinburgh. The writings of Ramus, however, though adopted by Andrew Melville and some of the other regents in the Universities, did not supersede the authority of Aristotle, whose writings were

³¹ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*; Crawford's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 23.

³² Crawford's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 30-31; Dalzel's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, ch. I.

for long the texts of the philosophical teaching imparted by the regents in Scotland. Rollock, according to all accounts, was a very successful teacher, an exceedingly industrious man, and did much to ensure the success and to raise the character of the new institution. He was cut off in the midst of his arduous work in the forty-third year of his age in 1598. After his death the greatest respect was shown to his memory, his body was followed to the grave by a vast concourse of the people, lamenting him with the deepest manifestations of grief. His old pupils and literary friends composed upwards of forty Latin elegies in his praise; and the magistrates of Edinburgh did not forget to provide for his widow and his daughter.³³

The salaries of the principal and the regents of the college of Edinburgh were comparatively small, not at all calculated to tempt a man of worldly ambition. In 1594 the four regents of philosophy had each one hundred pounds Scots, that is £8 6s. 8d. sterling; even in 1620 the principal had only five hundred pounds yearly, or £41 14s. 4d. sterling; in consequence of the smallness of their salaries the regents seldom remained long and vacancies were always occurring.³⁴

From the opening of the college of Edinburgh to the end of the sixteenth century, the number of students graduated in the faculty of arts was about three hundred and twenty-two; the average attendance including the four classes, probably did not exceed one hundred and fifty. The number of students attending St. Andrews in the later half of the century was about two hundred;³⁵ and the number of students at the other two Universities was at least, somewhat less than the average at St. Andrews.

Before leaving this subject, it seems desirable to give some account of the kind of literature and science which was taught

³³ Charteris's *Narrative of the life and death of Rollock*; *Select Works of Rollock*, Vol. I., pp. 65-72, 86-87; Crawford's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 44-45.

³⁴ Dalzel's *History of the Univ. of Edin.*

³⁵ Crawford's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*; *Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Edinburgh*, 1858.

in the college of Edinburgh. As it was founded after the reformation, it may be assumed so far to represent the views of the Protestants, touching learning, literature, and science; this may also assist us to understand the cast of the national mind, when we get a glimpse of one of the moulds which so long contributed to form it. As then conceived, the main aim of a liberal education was to acquire a knowledge of the Latin, as without this it was impossible to read the works of Roman authors, which with the writings of the ancient Greeks, were deemed the only genuine standards of fine composition. Much of the student's time was occupied in hearing the regents read and explain Latin authors, in translating Latin exercises themselves, and in translating Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek. When they became adepts in this kind of work, and had learned the rules of formal logic, with the ethics of Aristotle, they were supposed to have received a liberal education.

When the students returned to their work in the month of October, they were employed in reading Latin and Greek, preparing for the ensuing session: and about the first of November, when the classes were fully assembled, the principal in a meeting in the public hall, at nine in the morning, prescribed to the Bajan class a piece of Scotch, which being copied and read aloud, the students were separated and under the observation of the regents who attended by turns, they translated it into Latin, then having copied their versions, and each subscribed his own one with his name and the name of the master, who had instructed him in Latin, they delivered the versions to the attending regent before twelve o'clock. At four in the afternoon they re-assembled in the presence of the principal and the regents, and each being called by name, read his Latin version aloud under the inspection of one of the regents, and then returned the paper to be perused by the principal and the regents; if any one of them was so deficient in Latin as to be unable to follow the instruction given in the class, they were advised to return to the study of that language. The next day, a Latin theme was

prescribed to the Semi class, to be translated into Greek, and afterwards read and examined in the form above stated. A passage of some Latin and Greek author was set to the third class to be analysed, and this was disposed of in the same manner. At the opening of the session, the Semi class was engaged for several days in repeating what they had learned before; after this they were publicly examined by the regents and the professor of humanity: they were examined on Ramus' Dialectics and the compend of Ars Syllogistica, the Greek poets and prose authors; an account was taken of what had been taught publicly, and also of what each student had acquired by his own energy and industry. The third class was examined on philosophy and the categories, some other parts of Aristotle's logic, and on Ramus. The magistrand, or fourth year's students, were examined on logic, demonstration, on a few acromatical books and on Aristotle's ethics.

In the month of July, near the close of the session, the fourth class gave up their names for trial in the public hall, preparatory to receiving the degree of Master of Arts. This examination was nearly similar to the preceding. The evening before the public disputation on the thesis, they met in the presence of the principal and the regents, and subscribed the Confession of Faith. When the principal found that they had all received certificates, that they had performed the necessary exercises, he took the report of the five regents touching the behaviour and ability of every one, and according to their merit enrolled their names, distinguishing them into ranks. The disputation upon the thesis commenced in the morning, and concluded in the evening about six o'clock, when the candidates were called in by name according to their ranks, and the principal briefly exhorted them to follow a virtuous life, and then performed the ceremony of graduation in the form still practised on such occasions.³⁶

³⁶ Crawford's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*; Dalzel's *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 46-50. 1862. There is no complete list of the philosophical theses which were printed before the day fixed for the graduation of Master of Arts; the earliest one that has been found is that for the year

There was a steadily growing interest in national education, and the educational institutions were increasing. In the year 1592 a college was founded at Fraserburgh by Sir Alexander Fraser, of Philorth. It did not succeed, however, though its foundation was ratified by parliament, and sanctioned by the General Assembly. The change of Church government, and the disturbing influences thence arising, told against it; while the establishment of Marischal College in the new town of Aberdeen in 1593 probably interfered with the chance of success of the College of Fraserburgh. As originally endowed, Marischal College had only a principal, three regents, and six bursars; but the number of its professors and bursars gradually increased, and it became a very useful educational institution.³⁷

In forming an opinion on the educational system as it existed in the later part of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to remember the limited range of the scientific knowledge of the age. As yet the majority of learned teachers had no idea of the modern system of the universe; they knew that the earth is a globe, but they thought it was in the centre of the universe, and that all the heavenly bodies moved round it every twenty-four hours. The idea that it was the earth that moved they thought to be absurd; the earth stood still, they maintained, like the everlasting hills. From this limited view of the universe there has sprung up a vast accumulation of childish and absurd notions: the most learned men of the age thought that the planets were moved by angels, and that the stars had a magic influence upon the affairs of men. Thus they were ready to believe in visions and in prodigies and in witchcraft, and in the power of the devil to fight pretty successfully against God and mankind. Although the beginning of a wider view of the universe had been opened up long before the end of the sixteenth

1596. In 1599 and subsequent years the names of the candidates and the presiding regent are affixed, with a dedication to the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, or to some distinguished person.

³⁷ *Acts Parl. Scot.* Vol. IV., pp. 35, 147, 148; *Book of the Universal Kirk; Records of Marischal College.*

century, the mind of Europe had been so long held in leading-strings that centuries were required for its emancipation.

An educational system that assumed that the ancients knew everything could not have been expected to show much favour to any new discoveries in physical science. Hence the comparatively narrow course of education which so long prevailed in our universities. This education, however, produced logical habits of mind, and, along with many other influences, contributed to form a strongly marked national character. The encouragement given to dogmatic instruction in religion, in the humblest of the parish schools to the divinity halls, powerfully conduced to mould that argumentative cast of mind, so characteristic of the Scottish people. This dogmatic and logical system of theology ran very much in one groove for two centuries after the reformation, before it was at all seriously challenged among the Scots: they were well contented with their church and her doctrine, and both held their ground till recently with wonderful completeness.

The deficiencies of the system in its early stages are seen in the fact that it was long after the Reformation till either law or medicine reached the maturity of a faculty in any of the Scottish universities. The languages and the literature of the Island itself were not deemed worth the attention of the higher schools till the present century.³⁸ There were no chairs for history before the eighteenth century; and many other requisites, such as large libraries, were almost entirely wanting in the Scottish universities at the end of the sixteenth century.³⁹

³⁸ Dr Bain, in his work entitled *Education as a Science*, devotes a long chapter to the discussion of teaching the "mother tongue," and handles the subject in an exhaustive and interesting style. Ch. 9, pp. 312-358; 1879.

³⁹ It is known that there was a collection of books in King's College at Aberdeen in the sixteenth century, but there is no record touching the library or its management prior to 1634. There were collections of books in the University of Glasgow before the Reformation, but that event in a great measure dispersed them; yet there was a small library in the college in 1578. From that date it has gradually increased, and in the first quarter of the present century it contained upwards of 30,000 volumes. The library of the University of St. Andrews was

We have seen that music was cultivated and taught in the schools from a very early period,⁴⁰ and there is evidence that singing was regularly taught throughout the kingdom before the reformation. In January, 1553, the Town Council of Edinburgh resolved to grant a licence to James Lauder, the prebendary of their choir, to go to England and France, to remain for a year, and learn better music and more aptitude for performing on musical instruments. In 1554 the Council ordered the Dean of Guild to repair the song school in the churchyard, so that the bairns may enter and attend it. The same year the magistrates engaged Alexander Stevinson to sing in the choir every festival day, at the masses of Our Lady and the Holy Blood, and ordered their treasurer to pay him twenty merks for the year. To cheer the hearts of the national legislators, four musicians were paid for playing during the sitting of parliament in 1555. That year the musicians who played before the image of St. Giles on his day received forty shillings. In the year 1556 the Council agreed to give Alexander Scott a pension of ten pounds a year for his attendance and singing in their choir, and playing on the organs, when required by the town. The same year Jacques and his sons were paid for playing on All-hallow-even, and all the time of the fair twice in the day through the town.⁴¹

The reformation, however, was not favourable to the musical art. An act of parliament was passed in 1579 stating that the teaching of the young in the art of music and singing had begun to be neglected. It goes on to affirm that the instruction of the

never large. In the year 1580, Mr. Clement Little, one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, bequeathed his library for the use of the citizens of the capital. It consisted of 268 volumes, which at that time was considered a valuable collection. They were at first placed in the lodgings of Mr. Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was a warm promoter of the scheme for erecting a college in the city. And in 1584 the Town Council ordered Mr. Little's donation of books to be removed to the college, and delivered to the care of Principal Rollock. This was the foundation of the library of the University of Edinburgh, which now contains over 138,000 volumes and 700 MSS.

⁴⁰ Mackintosh's *Hist. Civilis. Scot.*, Vol. I., pp. 266, 538.

⁴¹ *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, Vol. II., pp. 176, 192, 197, 219, 220, 336, 360.

children in music and singing had almost decayed, and must decay altogether, if a timely remedy was not provided. The provosts and councils of the boroughs throughout the kingdom, and the patrons and provosts of colleges, were enjoined to repair and "to set a-going the sang-schools," and to appoint qualified masters to instruct the young in the science of music.⁴²

Although psalms were always sung, and sometimes hymns, in the reformed Church, the organs and all instrumental music were entirely discarded from the public worship. From this and other influences the musical faculty of the people was not so much encouraged and cultivated as it might have been : in fact in some of its forms, music was directly discouraged ; dancing was frowned upon, and sometimes denounced as a sin.⁴³

There are numerous early editions of the metrical Psalms which were adopted by the reformed Church of Scotland. Touching the singing of the Psalms in the sixteenth century, only the Church part, or the melody of the tune, was given on the tenor cleff C, and not, as now, on the treble cleff G, thus leaving the harmony to be supplied at discretion, according to the skill of the different congregations. The music of the reformed Church at that time was what is called "plain song".⁴⁴ The importance justly ascribed to singing in public worship seems to have suggested this simple mode.

During the sixteenth century architecture made no remarkable progress in Scotland ; the only notable peculiarities of the

⁴² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. III.

⁴³ *Second Book of Discipline*, chap. 7; Melville's *Diary*, p. 350.

⁴⁴ " *The Scottish Metrical Psalter* of A.D. 1635, reprinted from the original work ; the additional matter and various readings found in the editions of 1565, &c., being appended ; edited by the Rev. Neil Livingston." 1864. "There is a peculiarity in the mode of harmonising the Church tunes in the sixteenth and early part of the following century which requires notice. The melody, or plain song, as it is sometimes called, is given to the tenor voice, and not, as in the generality of modern music, to the treble. This mode of arrangement was derived from the Roman Church, where the *canto fermo*, or plain song, is to this day sung by men's voices. It was, no doubt, intended that the congregation should sing the tune (which from its pitch and compass would suit any kind of voice), and that the accompanying parts should be sung by a choir of voices."—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. VII., p. 446.

buildings of this period was the adoption of several features of the French flamboyant style, which was mixed with other characteristics of native growth; this peculiarity was often exhibited in the castellated architecture of the period. The flowing tracery was retained in Scotland till the reformation; but from that date church architecture has declined.⁴⁵

Wood work, especially carving in oak, had attained a high degree of perfection; but foreign artists have usually got the credit of executing the best specimens of this description of work. The ceiling of the audience-chamber of Queen Mary in the palace of Holyrood was executed about 1558, and it is a fine example of oak carving. Many admirable specimens of the wood-workers' art are preserved in public and in private collections, such as cabinets, chests, and other articles of household furniture.

Touching the higher forms of art, painting and sculpture were as yet a blank in Scotland. The remarkable revival of art in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had no effect in this northern corner of Europe. Indeed, painting may be said to be an importation among us; with a few exceptions, Scotland had no painters till recently. It is not, however, to be supposed that the Scots made no attempts at the figurative arts; only their efforts in this department were so crude, comparatively, as to place them beyond criticism.

The reformation in Scotland was at first unfavourable to the culture of the fine arts. Calvin admitted painting and sculpture to be gifts of God, which should be used purely and lawfully; but he was disposed to limit the subjects of the artist and the sculptor. He objected to all images in churches and places of worship.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ There is a pretty full account of the baronial and ecclesiastical architecture in Billing's *Work*, 4 vols. ; 1845-52.

⁴⁶ Institutes B. I., Chap. 12. The relation of fine art to Christianity is well discussed by Mr. Symond in his "Renaissance in Italy". He said—"Looking back upon this phase of painting, we are able to perceive that already the adoption of art to Christian dogma entailed concessions on both sides. . . .

Returning to the ultimate problem of the reformation, in order to indicate its bearing generally, and especially in relation to time and place, it is necessary to make a short statement. . To the question whether religion be coeval with the human race, history cannot return a direct answer—the origin of religion is in one sense beyond the resources of historical research. If such a question can be answered at all, it must be by the aid of psychology—by philosophical inquiry conducted on the comparative method; for if religion be a universal characteristic of mankind, it will come under the scope of the analyses of mental phenomena. In order, however, to analyse religion, the ultimate elements and the functions of the mind itself must be distinctly ascertained, and this has only been very slowly accomplished. As yet it cannot be said that the philosophy of the mind is complete, while several conflicting theories obtain varying degrees of credit and recognition: even the threefold division of mental

There was consequently a double compromise, involving a double sacrifice of something precious. The faith suffered by having its mysteries brought into the light of day, incarnate in form, and humanised. Art suffered by being forced to render intellectual abstractions to the eye through figured symbols.]

“As technical skill increased, and as beauty, the proper end of art, became more rightly understood, the painters found that their craft was worthy of being made an end in itself, and that the actualities of life observed around them had claims upon their genius no less weighty than dogmatic mysteries. The subjects they had striven to realise with all simplicity, now became the vehicles for the display of sensuous beauty, science, and mundane pageantry. The human body received separate and independant study, as a thing in itself incomparably beautiful, commanding more powerful emotions by its magic than aught that sways the soul. At the same time the external world with all its wealth of animal and vegetable life, together with all the works of human ingenuity in costly and and superb buildings, was seen to be in every detail worthy of most patient imitation.” Vol. III., pp. 21-23.

“On the very threshold of the matter I am bound to affirm my conviction that the spiritual purists of all ages—the Jews, the iconoclasts of Byzantium Savonarola, and our Puritan ancestors—were justified in their mistrust of plastic art. The spirit of Christianity and the spirit of figurative art are opposed, not because art is immoral, but because it cannot free itself from sensuous associations. It is always bringing us back to the dear earth, from which the faith would sever us. It is always reminding us of the body which piety bids us neglect. Painters and sculptors glorify that which saints and ascetics have mortified.” *Ibid.*, p. 24, *et seq.*

phenomena into those of cognition, feeling, and will, though gaining ground, is not indisputably established.

Although a direct historical answer touching the origin of religion cannot be enunciated, a proximate one has been given by ethnology and anthropology. The various forms which religion has assumed, from a very early period, have been traced with more or less distinctness to the present time.

The lowest forms of religion are characterised by confused and indefinite notions, comprising a sort of belief in ghosts and spirits, which do not rise to the height of worship. The spiritual beings or gods are generally conceived as more disposed to hurt than to assist man. Hence a kind of magic is often associated with the lower forms of religion, for acquiring power over the spirits by spells, talismans, and such devices, in order to cripple or to prevent their dreaded influence. This is followed by more direct efforts to propitiate the spirits and to calm their wrath. At this stage of religious development, fear is more active than any other feeling, and morality has little or no connection with these forms of religion. The exact relation, however, of the lower religions to the great historical ones has not as yet been clearly defined.⁴⁷

But recent investigations seem to indicate that the general civilisation had not then reached a higher stage than that of the savages of the present day. In such circumstances it is assumed that the ideas, the religious beliefs, and the rites of our early ancestors must have resembled those which we find among existing savage communities. The religions of the Egyptians and of the Chinese bear evident marks of the early animistic notions, while much of the mythology and theology of the civilised nations can be traced in undeveloped forms in the ideas and in the traditions of savages; and this is best explained as survivals

⁴⁷ Professor Flint promises to examine, in the last volume of his "*Philosophy of History*, whether the various hypotheses as to heathenism, animism, fetichism, spiritism, the succession of the simpler phases of religion, &c., as held by Max Müller, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Tylor, Sir John Lubbock, and others, are psychologically well founded and historically just or not." *Antitheistic Theories*, p. 534; 1879.

of the elements and notions of the earlier religions. At the same time, it must be remembered that the religions of existing savages only imperfectly represent those of prehistoric times, because they have not been preserved in their original state, but have undergone changes.

The religion of the ancient Greeks and Romans was elaborately polytheistic, and only slightly connected with morality. The polytheism of the Romans, after passing through various modifications, ended in the deification of the emperor. Their morality had become so utterly coarse and earthy, that they saw nothing amiss in worshipping an incarnate tyrant of the universal empire. Cæsar in his lifetime was honoured as a god, and after his death he was enrolled among the deities by the senate with much formality. Most of the succeeding emperors were deified; men talked of their majesty and eternity; they were called gods; sacrifices were offered to their images, and the sacred fire was carried before them; and combined with the cultus of the other gods, the worship of the emperor became the religion of the empire. The relation between this religion and the Catholicism which succeeded it is easily discerned.

The religion of the inhabitants of Europe, on this side of the Alps, was a rude polytheism. Its moral standard was low and grovelling. There was no clear distinction between moral and physical good and evil. Indeed lying and stealing were common within the circle of the gods themselves, and magic still prevailed. Their cultus on the whole was extremely crude; their stage of civilisation was comparatively low, and human life was little respected.

Such was the state of the people of Europe when Christianity began to be introduced among them. But the Gospel of Jesus was too pure for them, and the result was that many of their old notions and rites were incorporated with the nominal system of Catholicism, which had gradually spread itself from the seven hills to the limits of the Baltic kingdoms and the British

Islands. Thus the pure morality of Jesus became allied, and for many centuries almost hid beneath a mass of notions and rites belonging to the earlier and cruder forms of religion. The polytheism of Roman Catholicism, however, did not entirely destroy the identity of Christianity, though the Gospel was superseded by a mass of legends, traditions, and ceremonies, which for a long time were in harmony with the ancient cultus of the people. But throughout the centuries of credulity and comparative darkness, there was a slow moral and intellectual progress, which at length assumed a definite direction ; it became the primary aim of the reformation to free Christianity from these accretions. The conception of this end itself was gradually evolved ; it did not arise at once in the mind of any man.

The higher moral sentiments and ideas are extremely slow in developing, and are only imperfectly realised even in the highest stages of civilisation yet attained. The virtues of truth and honesty are long in making their appearance, and longer still ere they are generally realised among civilised nations throughout the circle of their action and proceedings. Morality is not merely progressive, but it is also the most distinctive attribute of humanity.⁴⁸

Though religion and morality are distinct, they have much in common. If a religion is not moral, it must be degrading ; or if the object of worship be not pure, just, and perfect, it cannot be an elevating religion. The ultimate test of every religion, and of every religious doctrine, is a moral one.

The morality of the New Testament was a marked advance on that of the Jews, and on that of all preceding religions. Jesus earnestly inculcated the duty of doing good, and introduced a higher moral ideal. But the New Testament did not profess to contain a complete system of ethics ; hence the failure of those that have vainly endeavoured to find in it what it was never intended to teach.

⁴⁸ See Appendix C.

The fundamental principles of civilisation, in the most comprehensive sense, just embrace the agencies of external nature, the surrounding influences, and the human mind itself. The first was touched upon; the second has been handled at length in the preceding pages; and here we must have a word on the third. The three fundamental or leading attributes of the mind—feeling, will, and cognition or intellect—are essentially interdependent; although the one or the other of these attributes may, and actually is, found to be developed in varying degrees in different individuals, and in different nations and communities. Some men are highly emotional, others remarkable for strength of will and persistence of purpose, some most notable for the compass of their intellect; a very high development of all the three is comparatively rare.

Feeling, emotion, sympathy, and will, have always entered more into religion than intellect or thought. Just as some individuals display this emotional side of the mind more than others, or even the same individual at different times, under certain influences or changed circumstances, may manifest it in higher or lower degrees; so there are periods in the history of nations when this psychological phenomena becomes unusually prominent; the reformation era is of this description. It was remarkable for a great, an intense, and prolonged excitement of the emotional and the volitional phases of the human mind. That these two leading attributes of the mind were the most active and powerful factors in the reformation struggle appears to be indisputable. There was, however, another influence in relation with the will—the belief in the divine revelation of the Bible, but this point is treated elsewhere.

I. Let us summarise briefly some of the evidence supplied by the history of Scotland, touching the progress of social organisation, the moral sentiments, and the religious emotions of the people, with reference to their bearing on the reformation. In the first volume it was indicated that the nation was gradually formed out of a number of small clans; it was shown how the

social and the moral elements of the national character had been developed; and many of the difficulties and obstacles which had to be overcome were minutely explained. It was noticed that the local customs of the people passed into written laws, which were in turn modified and improved by the current flow of events and the increasing command of means. The growing complexity of the internal organisation of the nation, as in the rise and the incorporation of the towns, was elucidated; also the rise and the incorporation of the various bodies of craftsmen in these small centres of industry. It was observed that attempts were early made to distinguish between public justice and the primitive feeling of revenge; and many efforts were made to improve the administration of justice, and to introduce better order among the people. The relations of the different ranks of society to each other was pointed out; the form of the government and the position of the king was described. Ample evidence was adduced touching the religious feelings and notions of the people from prehistoric times to the end of the fifteenth century.

II. We have now to recapitulate the evidence embraced in this volume in support of the generalisation regarding the chief causes of the reformation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters much evidence of the awakening of the moral and the religious consciousness was given; even the Catholic clergy and the most orthodox were compelled to recognise this, and exerted themselves to the utmost to stifle it. Many of the heretics proved the sincerity of their convictions and the strength of their faith by suffering at the stake. It was shown that the political causes of the reformation were insufficient to produce it, and could not have sustained it, because when the aims which stimulated such causes were gained, they fluctuated and shortly ceased to operate. But the religious sentiment was constant in its action and persistent in its manifestation, even in the face of danger and death itself. There were indications of widening sympathy in the earnest appeals of the reformed clergy in behalf of the oppressed tenants and labourers of the land, and in

the efforts to mitigate the suffering of the poor and helpless. In the exertions of the reformed church and of the authorities to procure the cessation of labour on Sunday, and to devote it to the moral and the religious instruction of the people. The reformed ministers in the daily exercise of their functions, and in the church courts unweariedly struggled to improve the habits and the morals of the people ; they endeavoured to check disorder, to place the institution of marriage on a proper footing, and manifested a desire to protect the life of infants. They fearlessly exposed the immorality and the vice of the court and of those in authority, and fought manfully against crime in all its forms. When harassed by the government and deserted by the nobles, they steadfastly contended for what they believed to be the truth. Lastly, they made great and successful exertions to introduce and to extend the means of education to the humblest class in the kingdom. Thus influences were brought to bear upon the people which ultimately effected a marked improvement in their moral habits and character. The tentative deduction stated at the end of the eighteenth chapter may now be repeated : " That the supreme sustaining power of the reformation throughout was the moral sentiments and ideas, coupled with the religious feeling and aspiration ". If this generalisation be well founded, it would tend to confirm the more general principle that morality is a prime factor in social organisation and in every form of progressive society and civilisation. It also fully recognises that Christianity has been a powerful factor in civilisation.

But the reformation ultimately produced intellectual results no less important than the religious ones ; the general intelligence of the people of Scotland at the present time is largely due to the reformation. The scientific and literary position to which many Scotsmen have attained, is partly traceable to this revolutionary movement of the sixteenth century.

Another important result of the reformation was to weaken the claims of authority ; and this gave an impetus to those

habits of mind so necessary in all kinds of scientific inquiry—the scrutinising spirit. Men began with greater boldness to interrogate nature; the human mind awoke from a long sleep, and with refreshed strength and glowing energy entered on the career of modern scientific progress: improvements in the methods of investigation were made; original discoveries and inventions soon followed; conquest after conquest succeeded each other in regular sequence; and of this we see the varied and beneficial results around us. But after a relatively advanced stage of scientific knowledge is reached, intellectual ideas begin to influence religious beliefs and doctrines, and in some directions even moral conceptions. The diffusion of knowledge tends to purify religion; it diminishes the number of the gods; the hosts of demons which once filled the air, and constantly threatened the ruin of mankind; the multitudes of witches and sorcerers which everywhere performed such wonderful things: all disappear with the advance of definite intelligence. Our conception of the Supreme Being gradually becomes more and more enlarged and elevated; and we cease to be terrified by the phantoms which ignorance created, and habit and custom so long transmitted; while in several ways a comprehensive intelligence may correct moral views, widen the scope of the moral vision, and devise more effective modes for the culture and the further development of the moral nature.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A, P. 271.

INFLUENCE OF THE BELIEF IN REVELATION ON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION.

IN this note it is unnecessary to say anything regarding the possibility or the truth of revelation. As there was no dispute about its reality among those to whom I refer, Catholics and Protestants both believed in the supernatural origin and in the divine authority of Scripture; the latter, especially, explicitly believed in the divine and the absolute authority of the Bible. Now, it is just the influence of this belief, its effect on the conduct and life of men and nations, that is the special point of inquiry. Their belief was truth to them. Many have struggled hard to realise it, and to convince all with whom they came in contact that it was the verity, and must be believed. The Bible among the Protestants, at least, was emphatically declared to be the word of God, and the rule of life for the Christian.

We have already seen, that the diffusion of the Bible among the people of Europe in the mother tongues was one of the deepest and most powerful causes of the reformation.¹ In con-

¹ Under pp. 44-51, 56, 57, 134, 136. Within recent years the number of books treating on the Old and New Testament, from the critical and negative standpoint, have been increasing; many, however, of these are little heard of. It would be dishonest not to mention that there are other religions which claim to have a divine revelation, committed to writing. Max Müller has stated that there are only eight religions which have sacred books: these include the Chinese, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and a few others. The Brahmans not only maintained the authority and the infallibility of the Veda (their sacred book), but at last they declared it to be eternal and uncreated.—Introd. to the *Science of Religion*, pp. 104-107; 1873. *Outlines of the History of Religion*, by C. P. Tiele, pp. 112-124, 152-155; 1877. There is a pretty large and rapidly increasing literature which treats on these eastern religions.

junction with other influences, the Bible assisted to awaken the religious consciousness and to intensify the emotions ; but moreover, it alone contained the doctrines and the precepts and the promises which could sustain the religious and the moral life. It is a common observation that Christianity has often divided men and nations, led to wars and embittering conflicts ; but is there anything in this world that cannot be turned to a wrong and mischievous purpose ? if there be, what is it ? Admitting, in the widest sense, that suffering and great injury have often been inflicted in the name of Christianity, that is not a conclusive argument against its influence for good. Though Christianity has sometimes divided men, it has also been a strong influence in uniting them. A common belief, or faith, is a definite and powerful element in a nationality ; and in bygone ages among some of the ancient nations, it was even more important in this relation. It is the social, the moral, and the religious feelings and influences that binds society into groups, unities, and nations ; intellectual and scientific ideas are inexpressibly valuable, yet they do not form the basis of organised society, nor hold it together : it is the former that performs this part of the work in the upward movement to civilisation. On the whole there is evidence that the belief in the divine revelation of the Bible had a vast and beneficial influence on the progress of civilisation.

Open atheism was rare in the sixteenth century, but from the end of that period to the present time, a series of works against atheism and unbelief have flowed from the press, one after another with gradually increasing rapidity. Until very recently, however, atheistical views and writings had no effect upon the people of Scotland ; very little upon the body of the English people ; and none whatever upon the Irish.

Since the reformation the belief of the divine revelation of the Bible had been carefully taught in all the schools and colleges of Scotland : and what was stated in the Introduction of this work may be repeated :—"The Christian religion is a

prime element in the civilisation of Scotland, and throughout played an active part in her history. By this I mean, it is interwoven with the government, the institutions, the music, the literature, the amusements, and the whole life of the people; from the cradle to the grave its influence operated."² It may be added, that Christianity might have been even more beneficial, if the Old Testament had not been deemed of equal authority with the New; as when the reformed clergy wanted a justification for intolerance or some other extreme measure, they sought and got examples from the Old Testament.

The belief in a future life is closely connected with the belief in the divine revelation of Christianity. Now, the belief in the promise of eternal life as offered in the Gospel, has had a great and a beneficial influence in sustaining human effort. This belief has also had a considerable effect in moulding the morality of civilised nations; and, as yet there is no other doctrine, or idea, or conception, to fill its place. Indeed if there was no hope beyond the present life of struggle and toil, it seems pretty evident that the heartless, cold, and gloomy theory of pessimism would prevail, and life itself would hardly be worth having.

Mr. Spencer in his *Data of Ethics* has attempted to overthrow the pessimist's view of human life; but it appears to me that he has not been very successful. Mr. Sully's work on pessimism is a valuable contribution to philosophical literature. It is thoroughly candid and exceedingly interesting. He ably discusses both the pessimistic and the optimistic views of human life and destiny, and touches upon many points of momentous import.

² Mackintosh's *Hist. of Civilis. in Scot.*, Vol. I., p. 113.

APPENDIX B, P. 324.

EARLY IDEAS OF SPIRITS, GHOSTS, DEMONS, AND WITCHCRAFT.

IT is well ascertained, that the belief in ghosts, in spirits, and in hosts of demons swarming in the air, have descended from the early notions of mankind through many ages. Some writers have classed these phenomena as a sort of religion or primitive philosophy of the surrounding objects of nature. The chief cause of the continuance of the belief in these imaginary beings into relatively advanced stages of civilisation, is seen to be the extreme credulity of uncultured man, and the craving for the marvellous which is so notable a trait of many even in the most advanced stages of culture. The unhesitating belief which mankind have manifested in the agency of evil spirits, is one of the most perplexing points in the history of Religion.

In early stages of culture there is scarcely any distinction between the facts of inspiration, and the facts of divination. The diviner employs his power for practical ends; the medicine man of the savage is something like an exorcist. He invokes supernatural agents and then proceeds to make the body of the patient so disagreeable an abode that the demon is glad to get out of it. In the more developed forms of exorcism one demon is employed to drive out another, or the priest summons a friendly spirit to his assistance. As indicated in preceding pages, conjuration and exorcism was practised in the Roman Catholic Church, and she still retains specially ordained exorcists.¹

¹ Under pp. 26, 136, see also H. Spencer's *Sociology*, Vol. I., pp. 256, 260. In the Neo-Platonic philosophy—that curious mixture of subjective thought,

This power of the exorcist over evil spirits grows into power used for many other purposes, and assumes the form of sorcery. Various practices of savages very much resemble the modes of operating in modern witchcraft. In the earlier forms of religion the evil spirit or god is most feared, and a sort of devil worship prevails. The trials and executions of witches in the sixteenth century is a fearful proof of the continuance of the belief of demoniacal agency. The story of Luther's conflict with the devil is well known. Calvin did not trouble himself so much with the question of satanic agency. The belief in the power of the devil, as something which manifested itself in the life of men, was universal; the reformation failed to shake it; even now it is not altogether extinct. About the end of the seventeenth century some theologians ventured to question the prerogatives of his majesty.²

The belief in witchcraft and in spiritualism originating in ecstasy, and theosophy, which flourished from the beginning of the third century to the sixth, there was a large element of theurgy and magic. These philosophers were addicted to sorcery, and some of the most eminent professed to have divine communications, to foresee the future, and to perform miracles. Schwegler's *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 139; Maurice's *Hist. of Philosophy*. Even in the present century the belief in demoniacal possession of the body, which continued among the lower classes of the people in Germany in spite of the progress of civilisation, was revived among educated Protestants; and the doctrine touching the devil was again prominently brought forward. Swedenborg held very curious notions about angels, but he denied the personal existence of the devil. In the eighteenth century one of the name of Kerner belonging to the Protestant Church, practised exorcism. Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, Vol. II., pp. 422-425.

² In England laws were passed against sorcerers in 1544, 1563, and in 1603 it was made a capital crime. But, inconsistently, the King's-evil (a disease of the scrofulous kind), supposed to be cured by the touch of the King of England, continued to be practised. In the reign of Charles II., in fourteen years, 92,107 persons were touched; and, according to the testimony of the King's physician, they were nearly all cured. On the 12th of March, 1711, Queen Anne officially announced in the *London Gazette* her intention to touch publicly for the cure of the evil.

The 73 canon of the Church of England, passed in 1603, prohibited the clergy from casting out devils. Barrington estimated the number of witches executed in England during 200 years at 30,000. Matthew Hopkins, the witch finder, caused the execution of 100 persons in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk in 1645-47.

In 1515 five hundred witches were burnt at Geneva within three months. One

the lower forms of civilisation have existed together for thousands of years; as stated in the text, modern spiritualism is based upon the same class of notions as magic and sorcery. At the present time spiritualism "is really a religion, having a definite creed, preachers and teachers without number, and upwards of ten millions of disciples, of whom about eight millions are to be found in the United States, one million in Great Britain and her colonies, and another million about equally divided among the other countries of Europe. In all languages able journals are actively devoted to the propagation of this creed, whose success is altogether without precedent, and doubtless is due to this, that its foundation is laid entirely upon facts and not wholly or chiefly upon faith. The evidence it offers is not to the feelings nor to the reason, but to the senses, and it asserts that every man may assure himself of its verity if he pleases. Its preachers do not invoke authority nor ask for confidence; but they say, 'Behold and see!' They call this new cult Spiritualism."

"It is one thing to say that furniture moved by an unknown force and communications are made by an undiscovered intelligence, and another thing to conclude that these motions and utterances are by spirits of the dead. To reasoning and reflecting minds, and especially to such as have been trained to the pursuit of science, there is a wide region of research to be traversed between acceptance of the fact that intelligent communications are made by some unexplained process under certain unascertained conditions that are obviously physiological and psychical, and the conclusion that spirits of the dead are the producers of the phenomena and the authors of the communications."³ The author just quoted has written a treatise of great

thousand were burnt in the diocese of Como in a year. In 1520 a great number were burnt in France, when one sorcerer confessed to having 1200 associates. Nine hundred were burned in Lorraine between 1580 and 1595; in Bretagne twenty poor women were put to death as witches in 1654. In 1634, Grandier, the priest at Ludon, was burnt, on a charge of having bewitched a whole convent of nuns.

³ *What Am I? A Popular Introduction to Mental Philosophy*, by E. W. Cox, Vol. II., pp. 272-273; 1874.

length to discover and prove that there is a "Psychic Force, that is to say, the force which the soul possesses—which if there be a soul it must possess—which, in the normal state of its alliance with the body, operates evenly and regularly upon the entire organism, through the medium of the nerve system, which is the proper channel for its expression, and therefore is not perceptible save in the smooth, healthful, and harmonious action of the whole structure".⁴ I do not think that he has succeeded in establishing the existence of this special force or power, which he credits with performing so many feats of table lifting, rapping, and so on. In the end he asks: "Ghost or no ghost! Is there such positive proof of any one case as would justify the assertion that a ghost has been seen, therefore that soul is, and that soul survives the body, preserving its individuality and identity? For my own part I have sought in vain for an authentic ghost. I have searched books, I have examined living witnesses, but I can find no unexceptionable testimony."

In regard to modern Spiritualism Tylor says: "It is not a simple question of the existence of certain phenomena of mind and matter. It is that, in connection with these phenomena, a great philosophic-religious doctrine, flourishing in the lower culture but dwindling in the higher, has re-established itself in full vigour. The world is again swarming with intelligent and powerful disembodied spiritual beings, whose direct action on thought and matter is again confidently asserted as in those times and countries where physical science had not as yet so far succeeded in extruding these spirits and their influence from the system of nature."⁵

Another writer says:—"Of the higher phenomena of Spiritualism—the levitation of chairs and tables, and even of men and women; the elongation of Mr. Home's body, his handling of heated bodies, and his heaping hot coals on the head of a bald

⁴ *What Am I? A Popular Introduction to Mental Philosophy*, by E. W. Cox, Vol. II., p. 416.

⁵ *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I., p. 129.

gentleman without any discomfort to him ; the untying of knots and change of coats ; the production of spiritual photographs ; the bringing in of fruits, flowers, or live lobsters, in dark séances—the very catalogue speaks, to any sober and unprepossessed mind, of the extreme improbability that any spiritual agents should so manifest their presence. And in regard to the spirit writing by pens or pencils, I can only say that of the revelations given by its means I have seen none that could claim any higher character than that of unmitigated twaddle. It is because the present generation knows little of the history of former epidemics of this kind, and is therefore not in a position to profit by the experience they have afforded, that I have rather dwelt on the lessons of the past in regard to the credibility of testimony on these subjects, than discussed the truth or falsehood of the statements now in currency in regard to the recent doings of the spirits.”⁶

* W. B. Carpenter on *Mesmerism and Spiritualism*, pp. 105-106 ; 1877.

APPENDIX C, p. 481.

ETHICAL THEORIES.

I ORIGINALLY intended here to have entered at some length into the discussion of the chief ethical theories, but I have found it impossible to do this within the limits at my disposal. Besides, it seems to me that the time is not come for an exhaustive criticism of the "Evolution Ethics," as this system has not yet been published in its entire form. What follows in this note should be taken as a brief indication of views, but by no means supported by the arguments and illustrations which could be adduced. In future volumes appropriate opportunities will occur for discussing the ethical questions at greater length.

When entering upon ethical investigation, it would be well if all *à priori* and preconceived ideas could be set aside. No one, however, can do this altogether; but the more that he holds his *à priori* ideas in abeyance, he is the more likely to arrive at true results. In the order of the sciences, and in the scheme of development, life and mind are at once the latest and the highest in the circle, and should be most interesting.

The historical or comparative method of research has for some time past been generally followed in many departments of knowledge, and it has already yielded valuable results. Yet in some branches of investigation there is a tendency to expect too much from it, and to carry it beyond legitimate limits, as is sometimes done in philological inquiries.¹

¹ The following is an instance of what is meant above:—"After reading my book *On the Origin of Language*, Max Müller wrote to me, and, while acknowledging the progress made, continued:—

Postponing the discussion of the other questions of ethical theory, it is most fitting to express the view taken in this work of the moral faculty—the moral sense, or conscience. For the innate or intuitive existence of conscience it is argued that our judgments of right and wrong are immediate, that we are able in almost every instance at once to declare an action to be right or wrong; that conscience is a faculty common to all mankind; that it is distinct from any other fact or element of the mind, and that it cannot be resolved into simpler modes of feeling, will, or thought.² This view of the moral faculty, with unim-

“Now I come to my difficulties. The real problem seems to me to lie in the origin of thought, or, to put it briefly, in the transition from perception to conception. Explain to me how man becomes able to conceive ‘two,’ and you will have explained to me the origin of language. . . . Language is the Child of Will, of an active, not of a passive, state. The roots of words contain the proper activity of men, and receive their significance from the effects of this activity in so far as it is phenomenal, *i.e.*, visible. Human thought arises from a double root, the subjective activity, or the will, and the objective phenomenon, which is accessible to the senses. Max Müller has since expressed his full assent to this view.

“The task upon which philosophy and comparative philology are engaged is one of supreme importance, though only duly understood and estimated by the more intelligent few. The work is nothing less than to renew, to reconstruct, and complete on an empirical base, the gigantic work done by Kant, to fathom and interpret the origin and growth of that supreme miracle of creation, the human reason. Such a task is far higher in importance even than theories of the rise and fall of planetary systems.

“And when the solution has been uttered, in accordance with the conviction so confidently expressed by Max Müller, and fully shared by the present writer, all future philosophy will be exclusively the philosophy of language.” Philosophers must be happy men when this time comes. Max Müller and the *Philosophy of Language*, by Ludwig Noiré, pp. 68-71; 1879. The imperfection of the comparative method, when applied to ascertain the thoughts and feelings of primitive man, is generally admitted by the evolutionist. They do not maintain that existing savages can be taken as an exact analogy to the state of primitive man, but that this mode of reasoning and inferring is the only one now available. H. Spencer discusses this point in the appendices to the first volume of his *Sociology*. See Mackintosh's *Hist. Civil.*, Vol. I.; Intro. Note, 48.

² Dr. Bain's *Mental and Moral Science*, pp. 448-451. In this work there is a pretty full and very useful account of ethical systems. Reference may also be made to Mr. Laurie's *Notes on British Theories of Morals*, and to Sir James Mackintosh's *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*. For obvious reasons ethical subjects have lately begun to assume more prominence. Among

portant differences of method, exposition, and detail, has been held by some eminent philosophers, and adopted and defended by many theological writers.³

recent works in this department may be mentioned Sidgwick's *The Methods of Ethics*, an elaborate and thoroughly conscientious book, but not very remarkable for philosophic grasp. Bradley's *Ethical Studies*; Mr. C. S. Wake's work, *The Evolution of Morality, being a History of the Development of Moral Culture*, 2 vols.; 1878. Mr. Edgeworth's *Essay on Ethics*; 1877. Various articles and discussions which have recently appeared in *Mind*, and occasional articles in several other periodical publications.

³ Writers on theism, and on Christian Ethics, sometimes attach a rather wide meaning to conscience, as well as a very precise one. Dr. Flint says:—"We all know what conscience is as well as we know what seeing or hearing is. . . . It exists as a consciousness of moral law, as an assertion of a rule of duty, as a sense of responsibility. When it pronounces an action right it does so because it recognises it to be conformed to law; when it pronounces an action wrong it does so because it recognises it to fall short of or to transgress law. . . . It claims to rule over body and soul, heart and mind, all our appetites, affections and faculties; and the claim is implicitly admitted even by those who have most interest in denying it."

"Conscience reveals a purpose as well as declares a law. Its very existence is a proof of purpose. The eye is not more certainly given us, in order that we may see, than conscience is given us in order that we may use all our powers in a righteous and beneficent manner. Is it conceivable that any other than a righteous God would have bestowed on us such a gift, such a faculty?"—*Theism*, pp. 216-220.

Cardinal Newman writes: "Conscience is a personal guide, and I use it because I must use myself; I am as little able to think by any mind but my own as to breathe with another's lungs. Conscience is nearer to me than any other means of knowledge. And as it is given to me, so also is it given to others, and being carried about by each individual in his own breast; and requiring nothing besides itself, it is thus adapted for the communication to each separately of that knowledge which is most momentous to him individually,—adapted for all classes and conditions of men, for high and low, young and old, men and women, independently of books, of educated reasoning, of physical knowledge, or of philosophy. Conscience, too, teaches us, not only that God is, but what He is; it provides for the mind a real image of Him, as a medium of worship; it gives us a rule of right and wrong, as being His rule, and a code of moral duties. Moreover, it is so constituted that, if obeyed, it becomes clearer in its injunctions, and wider in its range, and corrects and completes the accidental feebleness of its initial teachings. Conscience, then, considered as our guide, is fully furnished [for its office]."—*The Grammar of Assent*, pp. 384-385; 1870. It will be seen that Dr. Flint and the Cardinal are very much at one touching the office they assign to conscience.

Another theological writer on Christian Ethics makes some notable admissions; "Therefore we assert that conscience, not on its divine but on its human

But it must be admitted that neither the past nor the present state of the human race affords much evidence of the existence of this innate, special, and definite moral faculty. A moral faculty of this description is unquestionably a relatively late product of civilisation. Strictly speaking, there is no evidence of a universal innate moral faculty. The lower and narrower forms of moral tendency spring out of human nature and the necessities of life—the social and sympathetic feelings and emotions; the higher sentiments and the definite ideas of right and wrong, of justice, of honesty, of truth, and so on, are only developed slowly and with extreme difficulty. The moral side of man needs much culture, as well as his intellectual powers and his æsthetic emotions. Indeed it is only by a more complete moral education of the people that we can reasonably expect any progress in the future; not only so, but there are many distinct indications among the people of Europe that if this be neglected a reign of anarchy is not improbable.

Politics presupposes morality, and the two departments are in many ways closely related. The great department of jurisprudence is based upon morality. In short, it is always becoming more manifest that the very existence of a Supreme Being must ultimately be settled on moral grounds and moral

side, may err, that it often requires to be corrected and enlightened, and is always to be cultivated. The conscience may be blunt and require to be sharpened; it may be lethargic, and require to be roused. It may be confined, limited to too narrow a sphere; whilst large portions of the life of man, which ought to be determined by it, fall entirely beyond its dominion."—Dr. H. Martensen's *Christian Ethics*, pp. 365-366; 1873.

Mr. Spencer holds "that there have been, and still are, developing in the race certain fundamental moral intuitions, and that, though these moral intuitions are the results of accumulate experiences of utility, gradually organised and inherited, they have come to be quite independent of experience." He holds that the intuition of space arose in the same way, and "that the experiences of utility, organised and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition—certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experiences of utility."—*The Data of Ethics*, p. 123; 1879.

arguments. Those interested in this all-important subject (and who is not?) should not fall asleep and shut their eyes to the thought of the age. The first brunt of the battle will have to be fought in what is called sociology, and there the problem will certainly be toughly contested. The weapons of warfare on the negative side have immensely increased within the last quarter of a century, and the struggle will be long and hard. Meanwhile the following suggestion is offered for the consideration of both sides—theists and atheists: What is the relative importance of this small planet of ours, not simply to the solar system with which it is immediately connected, but to the universe at large? Is it possible to conceive that the earth and all that it contains, so far as known to us, may after all be intended only to exhibit one of the lower expressions of the Divine power and goodness? It pleases human vanity to imagine that we are the highest denizens in the universe, though it is to be feared that we will never be able to prove this. Is it within the limits of the thinkable, to suppose that there may be many other intelligent beings in the universe whose interests have to be consulted, as well as the interests of the inhabitants of this comparatively insignificant element in the scale of existence?





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