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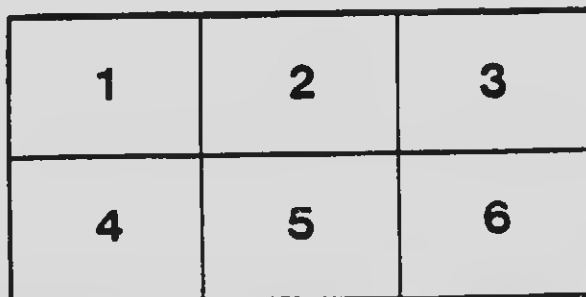
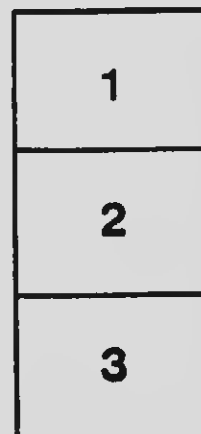
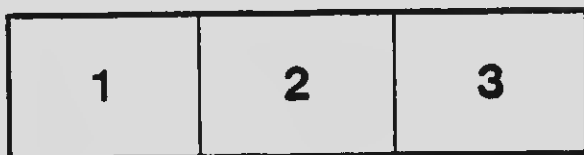
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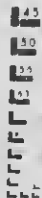
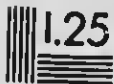
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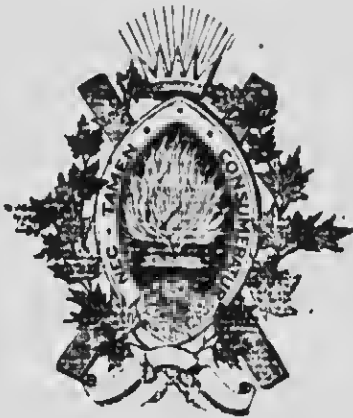
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JOHN KNOX

AND THE SCOTTISH
REFORMATION



ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN *SAINT DAVID'S CHURCH*, ST.
JOHN, N. B., ON MONDAY EVENING, *MAY 22nd*,
1905, AT A *PUBLIC MEETING* IN CONNEC-
TION WITH THE FOUR HUNDREDTH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF *JOHN KNOX*

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SAINT JOHN, N. B. :
FRED. DOIG, THE PRINTER, 85 GERMAIN STREET.
1905.

11

JOHN KNOX,

THE MAN AND HIS TIMES.

BY REV. PRINCIPAL SCRIMGER, D. D.

JUST four hundred years ago there was born a man who left his mark on the religious life of Scotland, England, France and Switzerland directly in his own person; who through Scotland left his mark also on Ireland, the United States, and on all the British Colonies; and who through the active efforts of these churches which he so largely shaped is likely to make his influence felt yet for hundreds of years, round the whole world, in many lands whose names he never heard and of whose peoples he knew nothing whatsoever. That man was JOHN KNOX, who, take him all in all, was not only the greatest Scotchman of his time, but was also probably Scotland's greatest contribution to the religious life of the world, and certainly the greatest organiser among all the leaders of the Reformation of the 16th century.

The eminence he attained was due entirely to his own native force and genius, without any of the advantages of rank or wealth. His family, though respectable, was so obscure that the place and exact date of his birth are uncertain. Though he is known to have studied for the church and to have been ordained to the priesthood, the only kind of ordination he ever received, he never held any parish or benefice in the unreformed church or obtained preferment of any kind, being obliged to support himself by teaching and by acting as a notary in drawing up and witnessing legal documents. He was forty years of age before he ever preached a sermon, and was fifty-four years old before he

held any recognized place among his fellow countrymen. All his life he had a constant struggle with poverty, twelve of his best years being spent in exile, and when he died his family was glad to receive one year's stipend to save them from starvation, though for thirteen years he had been the most prominent man in Scotland.

The life of Knox is altogether too full of incident to be given in detail here. Only the barest outline can be attempted. Those who care to study it more minutely may be referred to the well known life of Dr. McCrie, or still better to that published some ten years ago by Home Brown.

Knox comes first of all into notice as the companion of George Wishart in Knox's native county of Haddington, and he formed one of his bodyguard on the very day he was apprehended. Wishart's martyrdom at St. Andrew's shortly after aroused such indignation that a few of the hotter heads among those favorable to the Reformation combined for revenge, murdered Cardinal Beaton in his own palace, and then took refuge for safety in the Castle of St. Andrew's. Knox, it is needless to say, had no hand in the deed, but as he was naturally in danger of sharing Wishart's fate, he took refuge with them not long after, together with many others who had become obnoxious to the Government for like reasons. It was there in that company of adherents of the new views that Knox was first prevailed upon to preach, and he continued to minister to them for about four months, until the Castle was compelled to surrender to a body of French troops which had been brought over for the purpose by the authorities. The whole party was carried into France and there consigned to the galleys. For nineteen months Knox, along with the rest, labored and toiled as a galley slave under the almost intolerable conditions that then prevailed for such service, chained night and day to the same bench and ever under the whip of the officer in charge. But though the hardships of this life broke his health and nearly caused

his death they did not break his spirit. On one occasion the ship on which he served was cruising off the Scotch coast and came in sight of St. Andrew's. Being asked if he recognized the place he replied that he did and that he was fully persuaded that he would yet glorify God where he had already begun to preach the Gospel. The day of fulfilment, however, must have seemed to him long in coming. Except for a brief visit which he made to Scotland when he came to take away his bride from Berwick, it was an long years more before he was allowed to set foot on his native land, or do aught in person for the cause that lay so near his heart.

Five of those years were spent in England. It was through the intercession of the young king Edward VI that he and his companions were released from the galleys, and by his favor Knox attained a position and gained a credit that must strike us as extraordinary. He was appointed one of some half dozen royal chaplains and one of a few preachers who were licensed to preach anywhere in England. His chief work was done in Berwick and Newcastle, but he preached at many other points and in presence of the King as well. Before the King died he was offered the bishopric of Rochester as well as a large parish in London. Knox, however, would accept no preferment in the Church of England, as he was not satisfied with the nature of the Reformation that was being carried out there. He thought it should have gone much further and been much more thorough than it was. He especially objected to retaining the kneeling posture in the Communion. Though he did not succeed in getting that changed, it was out of deference to his opinion that a note was inserted in the Communion Service disclaiming any adoration of the elements in this act. This note, which is commonly called the black rubric because always printed in black ink even when the rubrics are in red, has proved to be one of the chief safeguards of the Protestantism of the Church of England and one of the principle obstacles to the efforts

of the reactionary party in that church. It clearly proves Knox's foresight, as well as reveals the influence which he had gained over those in authority.

The death of Edward and the accession of Bloody Mary soon closed England to Knox as well as Scotland, and he, like many more, betook himself to the Continent, where first at Frankfort and afterwards at Geneva he ministered to the refugees.

This period of Knox's life was important in various ways, both for the influence it had on himself and on those to whom he ministered. It brought him into contact with many of the leading reformers on the Continent, including Calvin. It gave him an opportunity to study in a practical way questions of public policy and of church organisation, thus fitting him for the time when action was called for him in his native land. It enabled him also to confirm the Protestantism of these refugees, most of whom were English, and who, when they returned to England, became the founders and leaders of the great Puritan party which afterwards exercised such an important influence on the course of English history, and ultimately secured constitutional government for the Empire. It is permitted to but few men to occupy a position which would tell so profoundly on the course of future events as that occupied by Knox in Geneva.

While in Geneva he paid a brief visit to Berwick to marry Marjory Bowes, to whom he had been betrothed for some years, and at the invitation of some of the nobility and gentry preached for a few months in different parts of Scotland, awakening widespread interest and making multitudes of converts to the new views. But notwithstanding his influential protectors the ecclesiastical authorities became so greatly alarmed and so energetic in their efforts to have him apprehended that it was judged wiser for him to return to Geneva. The day after he left he had the honor of being burned in effigy by order of the Royal Council. His correspondence,

however, with his noble friends continued, and before very long they urged him to come back to Scotland, informing him of the rapid progress of the new views and assuring him of their protection. With great sorrow he parted from his congregation in Geneva and made his way through France to Dieppe. But when he reached there he received news which caused him to hesitate and ultimately to return to Geneva. Yet while waiting he was not idle. He knew enough of the French language to preach in that tongue, and he took advantage of the opportunity to speak to such as would come to hear him there, with the result that a strong Protestant congregation was formed in the town where previously, so far as is known, there had not been a single adherent. Dieppe continued for over a century to be the Rochelle of the north, the strongest seat of the Reformation in that whole region, until the cause was stamped out by persecution at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

On the other hand it was at Dieppe that he made what must be considered the chief mistake of his life. It was there that he wrote his pamphlet entitled "*The First Blast Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.*" It was directed of course against the two Marys—Bloody Mary of England, still on the throne, and Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, who had been made Regent of Scotland on behalf of her daughter, the far more famous Mary Queen of Scots, who was still in France and little more than a child. But it gave great offence to Elizabeth, whose active help and countenance he sought most eagerly at a later date in Scotland. She never forgave him, though he made various attempts to explain away the pamphlet as not applying to her.

Though Knox returned to Geneva after his visit to Dieppe his work there soon came to an end. On the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth the refugees were free to return to England and the congregation was broken up. Elizabeth's anger at Knox's Blast was so great that she would not allow

him to enter the kingdom along with them and he was perforce obliged to proceed directly to Scotland, though he knew it was at considerable risk of his life. He arrived in the very thick of the conflict between the adherents of the new views and the old established order. He threw himself into it with all his energy and was at once recognized as the leader of the Reform party. During the first year at least his advice was asked on every point and taken almost without question, with the result that within a year they gained a decided victory. The Reformed Church was established by law and the celebration of mass forbidden anywhere within the kingdom. The great monasteries and religious houses were broken up, their inmates scattered, their lands confiscated and a new era begun in the religious history of Scotland.

The remaining twelve years of Knox's life were spent in securing what had been won. It was not held without difficulty, for when Mary Queen of Scots returned as a widow from France to rule over her own kingdom, she came with the determination to restore the old order of things. More than once she nearly succeeded. But Knox penetrated her every device and his influence proved too strong for her in the end. She was compelled to acknowledge herself beaten and finally abdicated in favor of her son, fled to England only to be made a prisoner there by Elizabeth and finally to be put to death on the scaffold at Fotheringay Castle. Knox, though worn out with his labors, died in peace at his own house in Edinburgh at the comparatively early age of sixty-seven, mourned of the whole kingdom, and leaving a name to be honored more and more through the centuries as his real greatness is perceived with increasing clearness.

The best tribute to Knox's character and abilities is to be found in the permanence of his work.

The Reformation in Scotland was the most thoroughgoing, the most universal, and was followed by the least reaction of any country in Europe.

There were various reasons for this.

One reason is to be found in the fact that the Roman Catholic church was more debased and corrupted in Scotland than probably anywhere else in the world. To begin with it was enormously wealthy. It is estimated that in one way and another the church held possession of fully one half of all the property in the kingdom. The great ecclesiasties were the equals of princes in the land and its high places were eagerly sought by the scions of the noblest families, not from worthy motives at all but in utter selfishness because of the wealth and dignity they conferred on the possessors. To make the matter worse it came to be the custom to bestow the great bishoprics and priories on the illegitimate sons of kings and high noblemen as the easiest way of providing for them. These were naturally men who had no home training in purity of life and had little appreciation of the value of virtue. With such leaders discipline was of course impossible, even if there had been any desire to maintain it. The clergy generally were utterly immoral and worst among them were the monks. They hardly made any pretence of observing their vow of chastity. They were rapacious to the last degree and ground the people to the earth with their ruinous exactions. They had little learning and seldom were either bishops or priests able to preach or give the people any instruction in their religion. They had no claim to the respect of the people either for their character or their ability, and when the church was attacked by the eager preachers of the new views they were in no position to defend it. The mass of the people therefore at once turned from them in utter disgust to those who promised them something so much better and worthier as a religion. No subsequent appeals, however plausible, could ever win them back to a cause which had become so utterly disgraced in their eyes.

Another reason is probably to be found in the mental character of the Scottish people. Though at that time they were rude and unlettered for the most part, they were keen of intellect and loved to pursue a principle to its logical conclusions. England was content with a halfway reform, as was Germany and

indeed most of the nations of Northern Europe. But Scotland when once it started out on the new road must go the whole way, ere it come to a resting place, and nothing could turn it back.

But there can be little doubt that the chief explanation of the thoroughness of the Reformation in Scotland was the personal character and leadership of JOHN KNOX.

Knox was in fact the very embodiment of the national mind in its clearest and most decided form. He was a man of strong will and a born leader of men, who had the faculty in an unusual degree of bending others to his purpose and convincing them of his opinions. There were many more learned men in Europe than he; for though a University graduate his education had been somewhat narrow and scholastic. He did not begin the study of Hebrew until he was fifty years of age. But he was a man of keen intellect, who had thought himself through the problems of religion until his mind was perfectly clear and sure of the results. His convictions were intense and he never hesitated to express them in clear unmistakeable terms. He always knew his own mind and was afflicted with no doubts to make him hesitate about applying his conclusions. He had a burning enthusiasm that carried men and women off their feet as he swept them along to his views. Wherever he appeared he made converts to his opinions by the hundreds, so that every one of his preaching tours was like a triumphal progress through the kingdom. He had the physical courage which made him wholly regardless of his own safety, and had it not been for the intervention of his friends he would have been killed long before his time. He had the moral courage which enabled him without flinching to stand up bravely for his views in any presence, however exalted, and at any time, however inopportune it might seem to others. It was no flattering testimony which was borne by the Regent Morton at his grave, when he said in his own sententious way, "Here lies one who never feared the face of man." He was of the kind whom brave men cannot but admire and whom good men will follow even unto death. For he was utterly unselfish and the very incarnation of self-sacrifice.

Nor was he a mere enthusiast, able to play upon the feelings of the multitude. He was truly a statesman who saw farther into the future than any of his contemporaries. He always had difficulty in carrying the politicians of his country along with him, and he seldom succeeded except by showing how strong was the public opinion of the masses in his favor. But the difficulty arose from the fact that his policy was a far-seeing and comprehensive one, while they were perplexed by their own petty interests and by minor difficulties of the immediate future. It was he for example who first clearly saw that both for political and religious reasons it was necessary to secure the support and friendship of England if they were to free Scotland from French domination as well as from Romish error. Owing to some recent events, such as the defeats at Flodden Field and Pinkie, the English alliance was most unpopular in Scotland, and was likewise viewed with great distrust in England. Queen Elizabeth, as we have seen, had a personal grievance against Knox owing to his unfortunate pamphlet, so that she would not allow him to enter the kingdom. But in spite of it all he persuaded his fellow countrymen to seek her aid and for some time personally conducted the negotiations, which in the end were so far successful that enough help came to give his party the victory, while it at the same time left Scotland free from any undue interference on the part of England in Scottish affairs. In fact we may say that but for Knox the union of the crowns and the subsequent union of the parliaments might never have taken place at all or at least would have been much longer delayed. As the direct result of Knox's influence, on the death of Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland at once took his place as James I of England without question or opposition from any quarter.

His constructive statesmanship was shown still more plainly in the measures he devised for the constitution of the Reformed Church. This was almost wholly his work. It was he who in four days prepared a Confession of Faith which served the Scottish Church for the first hundred years of its history, and to

which some think we might advantageously return even now. It was he who drew up the simple Liturgy which was used for about three-quarters of a century until it was laid aside out of deference to the wishes of the Puritan party of England in the time of Cromwell. And more especially it was he who laid down the lines of that Presbyterian organisation of the church which has remained almost unchanged to this day in Scotland and has been adopted in scores of other churches throughout the world formed after the same model. On all these points he had of course learned much from Calvin and the other reformers on the Continent. But the Presbyterianism of Scotland has proved to be far more vital and practical than any to be found there, and has shown itself strong enough to triumph over all reactionary influences whether coming from within or from without. It is more vigorous today than when outlined in his First Book of Discipline. There have been many divisions of the Church of Scotland, but practically all the disrupted fragments have remained Presbyterian. The difference is seen when we turn to England. Practically every secession from the church of England has discarded episcopacy in favor of some other form of church government. Scotland is all Presbyterian still. Transplanted to the new world his Presbyterianism has not only been a model for numerous churches but furnished the model for the organization of the great republic to the south of us, whose rapid progress has been one of the wonders of history. It may be said also to have furnished the model for our own Canadian constitution with all its possibilities of growth and development.

In another region closely allied to religion—that of education Knox likewise showed his foresight by outlining a scheme for a school in every parish so that the child of the ploughman might have as nearly as possible an equal chance in life with the child of the peer. Next to her sturdy faith there has been nothing which has contributed so much to Scotland's greatness as these parish schools. These have made her sons the merchant princes of the earth and the leaders in every kind of craft the world over.

Other branches of the Christian church can boast of the great universities they have been instrumental in founding and fostering for the education of the few in the higher branches of literature and science. Only one university has been founded in Scotland since the Reformation, that of Edinburgh. But the Scottish Church has a better right to boast of its parish schools, which have brought education within the reach of the masses of the people, and so set an example which has been widely followed with advantage by other countries on both sides of the Atlantic. The initiation of these schools is more due to Knox than any other one man. If he had never done anything else he would have been entitled to the grateful remembrance of posterity for all time to come. It was not the service which he himself would have valued most. But it is probably the one which is most widely appreciated by the world, even when it differs fundamentally from his religious views. It is these things that entitle Knox to his permanent place in history and which will keep his memory green throughout the centuries.

There is no doubt that John Knox, like other men, had his faults. He had the defects that naturally accompany the very qualities that made him great. His strong will sometimes passed into obstinacy, his courage into foolhardiness, and his outspokenness into truculency and uncharitableness. His very clearness of conviction made him intolerant of the convictions of others, and he never learned how to make courtly speeches. But his faults have often been exaggerated because they have been judged by the standard of another age. It has been well said that one century may judge another century, but only his own century has a right to judge the individual.

Perhaps no fact has told more to the injury of his memory than his plain speaking to Mary Queen of Scots in the personal interviews which were always of her seeking. That he made Queen Mary cry has created prejudice against him in multitudes of chivalrous and sympathetic hearts that have never stopped to inquire as to the character of the queen or as to the needs of the

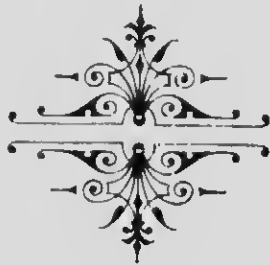
time. He felt it was better that one woman should weep than that a whole nation should perish, and, however stern his words may seem on the surface, when we reflect on the situation we can hardly do other than agree with him in the attitude he was compelled to take. In any case, believing, as he did, it would have been nothing short of the betrayal of the cause that was most sacred in his eyes had he allowed himself to be turned aside from his purpose by the tears of anyone, even though that one were a woman and a queen. The approval of God and of his own conscience was more to him than the good will of nobles and princes.

There is no foundation for the widespread idea that KNOX was a grim fanatic with a gloomy face and a harsh manner. Of all the Reformers he was the one who had the keenest sense of humor, with the possible exception of Luther. He was fond of society and was ever the life of any company in which he happened to be, regaling them with his varied experiences interestingly told, and delighting in quick repartee. He became sharp of tongue only when he thought his duty demanded, and then he spoke his mind frankly and unequivocally.

The secret of JOHN KNOX's character is to be found in the fact that he was truly a Godfearing man. Having learned to fear God he feared no other. The Word of God was to him a final authority from which he would allow no appeal. And if he sometimes interpreted the letter of that word in a way that caused him to miss the kindlier spirit of the Gospel, this is only what many others have done as well. He was too good a man to miss that altogether, and he was enabled to lay firm hold on those principles of righteousness which must prove the true basis of any genuine reform in church or state, and the true foundation for stable government in any country.

JOHN KNOX died as he had lived. Though broken in health and feeble before his time owing to the hardships he had endured in the galleys and to his incessant labors he preached up to the very end. One of his last public discourses was his denunciation of

the perpetrators of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, the news of which had just reached him. He clearly pointed the lesson of it to his own countrymen and his warning was not in vain. His body lies beneath the pavement of the High Street in Edinburgh, his resting place marked only by a small stone with his initials and the year of his death. But his spirit still dominates Scotland, and the cause for which he labored has flourished beyond his most sanguine anticipations. We believe, as he believed, that in the main it is the cause of God and is yet bound to triumph everywhere throughout the world. May God speed the day.



Pre-Reformation Conditions in Scotland.

By Rev. J. E. FOOTHERINGHAM, D. D.

THE Reformation was the resultant of many forces, political, literary and religious. Europe was entering upon a new era and the reformers were the oracles of the *Zithogist*. The new learning, which drew its inspiration from the revived study of the classic tongues, produced an intellectual activity unknown during the barren period which preceded. The Bible was read anew and its teachings studied with a freedom from the restraints of tradition that would not have been thought of before. The newly invented printing press multiplied books of all kinds especially those dealing with the most absorbing of all subjects, man's spiritual nature and ultimate destiny. Kings could no longer dictate laws, nor church councils impose creeds without question. Fires which were extinct upon Spanish altars were rekindled in the market places of the free cities of Germany. As long as Europe was threatened by the hordes of Islam the cross was the emblem of a united Christendom which, strong in stern virtue and masculine vigor, resisted an enervating orientalism with its baser creed. But that common danger had passed away and the national spirit began everywhere to assert itself. The sonorous Latin gave place to local mother tongues, and the people began to assert their right to think and act as a part of the body politic. The Roman Empire had come to an

end, even in the shadowy form which obtained in its trans-alpine home, and with it the power of the ghostly emperor who retained his seat at Rome began to wane. There was ecclesiastical decentralization as well as national segregation. The faith of Christendom began to voice itself through men of the people rather than through popes and councils. The Italian priests who assembled at Trent vainly strove to nullify the decrees of the truer oecumenical as uttered by Luther and Calvin, Crammer and Knox. Rome was the great reactionary force of the day. She refused to reconcile herself to the new conditions. The corruption of her morals and the perversion of her doctrine were the results of the past and the occasion, rather than the cause, of the Protestant revolt.

Scotland shared in the general movement of the times, but, like other countries, under conditions which were distinctively her own, and which determined largely the ultimate effects upon the church and nation.

I. There was first, the political situation, the result, we may say, of centuries of preparatory national discipline.

Wars with England had been almost incessant since the days of Bruce, and the truest patriots of both countries had made many attempts to unite the crowns upon one head. Their hopes appeared about this time to be on the eve of realization. Negotiations were proceeding with a view to the marriage of the infant Queen Mary with the son of Henry VIII. The crafty Cardinal Beaton succeeded in defeating this plan, and Scotland paid for his intrigues at the sack of Leith and Edinburgh. But alliance with England now meant the triumph of Protestantism, thus most clearly the interests of piety and patriotism were united. When later the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew's day struck horror to the heart of Scotland all true men saw whither the French influence and the dominance of Romanism would lead.

When, in 1561, the young queen arrived from France, the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland had met and John Knox occupied the pulpit of St. Giles. Yet danger of a reaction in favor of the past order of things was not over. Mary was a woman of extraordinary intellectual ability and personal attractions. Had the vigilance of her statesmen relaxed for a single moment; had they suffered themselves to be overcome by the glamor which she cast over so many, there might have been a "Blood-Mary" on the throne of Scotland as well as on that of England. But her defeat at Langside threw her into the power of her jealous rival Elizabeth, and her imprisonment in an English castle far from the border, together with her subsequent execution, removed the most dangerous enemy of the faith and peace of the kingdom. No one remained who could rally the scattered forces of medievalism with any hope of success.

One of the chief material causes of the Reformation was the enormous wealth of the Church. The great abbots, such as those of Arbroath, Dunfermline and Coldingham, lived in princely style and enjoyed privileges and immunities which furnished a revenue far greater than that of any of the nobles of the realm. By tolls and tithes almost every branch of industry was heavily taxed for the support of hordes of economically unprofitable members of the community. The nobility who had lost faith in the teaching of the church, beheld, with increasing impatience, the broad acres which their ancestors had bequeathed in return for imaginary post-mortem benefits, in the possession of men whose moral character belied their religious pretensions, and whose perfunctory performance of their sacred duties betrayed little evidence of sincerely implementing their contract with the dead. The common people groaned under the burden of the imposts levied upon them, which were remorselessly exacted with cruel disregard of the sufferings

of the poor, the widow and the orphan. It is estimated that one half of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the church and therefore paid no taxes and rendered no material service to the state. Such a social condition was intolerable. It needed only the loosening of the fetters of ignorance and superstition to inaugurate a revolution.

II. We notice, secondly, the state of learning at the time of the Reformation. Popular education was never at any period wholly neglected in Scotland. In the early Columban church the first duty of the clergy was instruction. In every period of her history we find the machinery of education in operation, even during the darkest times preceding the Reformation. Such men as Michael Scott, Thomas of Ercildoune, and John of Duns, commonly called Duns Scotus, could not have arisen in a country which wholly neglected its schools. King James I was the finest poet of his time. Education for the people has always in Scotland, taken the place of education for the few. Learning was encouraged while the church degenerated, but in promoting it the soil was prepared for the seed of evangelical truth. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were grammar schools in all the principal towns, in which the Latin language, the universal medium of learning, was thoroughly taught. The road to Parnassus was open to all, for the universities were free to the poor as well as to the rich. In all the great universities of the continent there was a "Scottish Nation" composed of the students from that country. Balliol College at Oxford was founded for their accommodation and a number resorted to Cambridge as well. Probably nowhere else, certainly not in England, was the great mass of the people so well prepared to understand the questions agitated, or so ready to profit by the ministrations of the reformed preachers. With the awakening intellect of Europe the genius of Scotland awoke also. The men who led the Reformation movement,

Moray, Knox, Buchanan and others, formed a galaxy of learning, combined with moral eminence such as no other country in Europe could boast at the time. The intellectual forces of Scotland ranged themselves on the side of progress.

Sir David Lindsay, courtier and poet, lashed with unsparring pen the vices of the clergy, and his satires coarse and indelicate as they seem to us, were only Dantesque descriptions of the real rottenness of the clerical estate. The influence which they had in promoting the overthrow of the system which he assailed is well portrayed in an old print which represents him clothed in the insignia of his office as Lion-king-at-arms, seated like a smith at an anvil, smashing with his hammer the keys of the Pope.

Of an entirely different character was the influence wielded by John Major, one of the most learned men of his age. At Glasgow and St. Andrew's he inoculated the youth of Scotland with doctrines in religion and politics which could only find their practical expression in the events which followed. Barren as was his philosophy, harsh and unattractive his style, there is no doubt that he was one of the chief intellectual forces in producing a change in which he himself was left far behind. He supplied the logical and moral grounds for the social and ecclesiastical revolution which followed. Knox and Buchanan received the germs of their subsequent teaching from him.

Go to the Free Public Library and pick up a copy of Blackwood's Magazine—the face that greets you on the cover is that of George Buchanan. His name is spoken with reverence to the present day in the land of his birth. He was one of the most brilliant men of letters that Scotland or any other country ever produced. His fame was world-wide, and his influence upon the intellectual life of his time was incalculable. He continued for centuries to mould the literary taste of his countrymen. His version

of the Psalms was a text book in Scottish grammar schools within the memory of men still living. But his share in the work of the Reformation alone concerns us here. Sir David Lindsay wrote in the speech of the common people, and Buchanan in the stately Roman tongue, but both dealt with the same theme. The peasants laughed at the broad innendos of the one and the king and his courtiers delighted to see the church dignitaries of the palace writhe under the no less pungent satire contained in the measured hexameters of the other. Compelled for a time to flee the country, he openly embraced the Reformation and filled important posts in various places. In 1562 we find him reading Livy with Queen Mary "dailie after her dinner." Buchanan was too much of a scholar to take a very prominent part in the stirring scenes that were being enacted around him, but his counsel was highly valued and his writings produced an effect that extended beyond his life. They were burnt by the common hangman in England, but their doctrines are now embodied in the statute book of that country and are the foundation stones of British liberty. Twice did he preside over the General Assembly as its Moderator, being the only layman who has ever occupied that position. We have no evidence that he was even a ruling elder.

III. The chief explanation of the Reformation movement will, doubtless, be found in the state of religion at the time. In estimating the religious influences in operation we must remember that Romanism was in Scotland a foreign importation. Introduced by Queen Margaret in the end of the eleventh century, it had none of the prestige of antiquity, and, as an exotic it tended to decay. The principles of the old Columban church still maintained their hold upon sections of the country, and doubtless in many parishes the secular clergy were as conspicuous for their worth and faithfulness as their brethren of the monastic orders were for

the opposite characteristics. Nowhere do we find the antipathy of the people manifested against the parish priests. Their rage breaks forth in the demolition of the monasteries, abbeys and other religious houses. The fact that the church, after 1650, was able in so large a measure to overtake at once the duties of a national establishment shows that "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith," and that *ex animo*, and not in the spirit of "the Vicar of Bray."

The Culdee Society of St. Andrew's was in existence in 1328, and there is no doubt that the Lollards of Kyle, who were brought before the Archbishop of Glasgow, were of the same primitive faith. In estimating the different causes which gave the Scottish Reformation its distinctive character a first place must be given to the surviving influence of the earlier and purer church.

Next to this was the influence of the continental reformers. Merchant traders and scholars who visited foreign universities brought many of the writings of Luther into the country. These were read with avidity and such was the danger apprehended from them that in 1525 an Act of Parliament was passed forbidding their importation. Patrick Hamilton, a scion of the blood royal, preached a gospel of free grace in 1527 and sealed his testimony with his blood at St. Andrew's in the following year. George Wishart, with the fervor and gentleness of St. John, twenty years later, stirred the hearts of the people as he told the truths which Calvin had taught him. He, too, died a martyr's death. There were many others who read the Bible in secret and met for mutual study of the new doctrines, so that, as in the primitive church, while Herods displayed their impious pomp "the word of God grew and was multiplied."

The corruption of the Scottish clergy in the beginning of the sixteenth century is almost beyond belief. In no

other part of Europe had the moral standard fallen so low. The statements of Lindsay and Buchanan cannot be reproduced on the modern page. Sober history endorses their truthfulness. The masterly summary of the subject in Dr. McCrie's "Life of Knox" is amply sustained by contemporary evidence. It needed but a slight acquaintance with the gospels to convince the people that such priests were no true ministers of Christ. The doctrinal writings of the reformers showed them the folly of resting their hopes for eternity upon the mechanical observances prescribed by the church. Time will not permit me to expand and illustrate this subject nor is it an agreeable one on which to dwell. But the facts cannot be disputed however much they may be deplored. The highest ecclesiastics were most notorious for licentious lives. We need not wonder that such a clear sweep was made of monasticism in every corner of the land.

In Scotland, as in other countries, the fires of persecution were kindled, but we are struck with the comparatively small number who suffer the death penalty, moreover, few of these are persons of high intellectual or social standing. So far from repressing "heresy," however, these severe measures, savagely successful elsewhere, only seem to have increased the impetus of the reform movement. Its proto-martyr, Patrick Hamilton, was burnt at St. Andrew's in 1528, in the twenty-fourth years of his age. He was a youth of a singularly aimable disposition and of exemplary piety. His cruel death, with St. Stephen's prayer upon his lips, led men everywhere to ask the pertinent question, "Why was Patrick Hamilton burned?" The answer disseminated Protestant doctrine. So it was forcibly said "The reek of Patrick Hamilton's burning hath infected all it blew upon." When, in 1546, George Wishart perished on the same spot, the Cardinal Archbishop was unable to obtain the regent's consent to his death and feared so much a rising of the people that he had the cannon of the castle trained on

the place of execution. When the last martyr the aged priest, Walter Mill, sealed his testimony and rode in a fiery chariot to his reward, the regent refused his consent to the execution; not a faggot would the townspeople sell for the pyre, and the Lords of the Congregation summoned Knox to return to Scotland. With his advent "the man of destiny" appeared on the scene. The struggle was practically over. Scotland was won for Christ's evangel.

